

FREER GALLERY OF ART, SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION
FINE ARTS DEPARTMENT, UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

ARS ORIENTALIS, VOL. I

Errata

Add to title page: Smithsonian Institution Publication No. 4187.

Page 43: Interchange first two line drawings.

Plate facing page 192 should face page 240.

ARS ORIENTALIS

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THE ARTS OF ISLAM AND THE EAST



VOL. 1

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FREER GALLERY OF ART, SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION
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THE SEASONS AND THE LABORS OF THE MONTHS IN ISLAMIC ART

BY D. S. RICE

TO THE MEMORY OF GILBERT BORIS

REPRESENTATIONS OF THE SEASONS AND MONTHS are frequent themes in the classical and medieval art of the West. They have been made the subject of searching and detailed studies. The existence of these same themes in Islamic art has, so far, gone unnoticed.

In the present paper it is intended to show that representations of the Seasons and Months occur in Islamic art and also that they were borrowed from Western models during the later Middle Ages.

The pictorial material on which this study is based belongs to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and practically all of it is reproduced here for the first time.¹

A. THE SEASONS

"In the archaic and classical art of Greece, the Seasons are usually shown in full figures

¹ I gratefully acknowledge receipt of a grant from the Central Research Fund of the University of London in aid of this study. My thanks are also due to Bay Tahsin Öz, then Director of the Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, Bay Elif Naci, Director of the Türk ve İslam Müzesi, Istanbul; Dr. Hamit Z. Koşay, Director of the Etnografya Müzesi, Ankara; Bay Zaki Oral, Director of the Museum of Konya; Dr. M. Zuffa of the Museo Civico, Bologna; Dr. F. Rossi, Director of the Museo Nazionale, Florence; MM. Jean Porcher, Keeper of MSS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; J. David-Weill, of the Musée du Louvre; Mr. Marvin C. Ross, of the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore; Dr. A. F. L. Beeston, of the Bodleian Library, Oxford; Mr. B. Gray and Mr. W. King of the British Museum, and Mr. B. W. Robinson of the Victoria and Albert Museum, for permission to study and reproduce objects in their care. My thanks are also due to R. A. Harari, L. A. Mayer, and D. Maitland-Muller for reading this paper in typescript and for a number of improvements.

and participate in some mythological scene; in early Roman art they appear as isolated figures and in late Roman art as isolated busts."² Early representations of the Seasons were all female. Male representations developed in the second century A.D. and were most frequently reproduced in the third century, especially on coins, sarcophagi, and mosaics.³

The so-called "active" Seasons in which one or more figures were depicted engaged on work associated with the Season were a later development. This type emerged under the influence of pictorial "rustic calendars." Such calendars reflected agricultural, civil, and religious activities. From them a single figure was chosen—the most obvious one—for each month, but "a figure always depicted in full activity never as a symbol."⁴ A similar choice of a figure of a month particularly characteristic of the season led to the appearance of the types of "active" Seasons which enjoyed their greatest popularity in the fourth century A.D.⁵ "In the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. we find only two major types: the busts of female Seasons, represented by some twenty examples, and the standing frontal Seasons which occur half a dozen times." Occupational types of Seasons are known only from two examples: the bronze reliefs of a casket from Fénék (Hungary), attributed to the fourth or fifth

² G. M. A. Hanfmann, *The season sarcophagus in Dumbarton Oaks*, Cambridge, Mass., 1951, vol. 1, p. 75.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 217, 221.

⁴ Doro Levi, *The allegories of the months in classical art*, *The Art Bulletin*, vol. 23 (1941), p. 287.

⁵ Hanfmann, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

century and a "Visigothic" mosaic in Cordoba, dated to the sixth or seventh century.⁶

Another manner of depicting the Seasons was to place them in the four corners of concentric images of the universe. Frieze-like compositions occur less frequently. The best extant examples are those of Hrabanus Maurus's *De Universo*, a codex written at Monte Cassino in A.D. 1023.⁷

In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, considerable influence is said to have been exercised by the Byzantine seasonal types. In these representations the Seasons occupy four compartments of a wheel turned by personifications of Day and Night. "The most energetic attempts to adjust the Seasons to new Christian contents were made in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The sculptures of Romanesque and early Gothic cathedrals are the final step in making the Seasons part of a consistently planned Christian universe and in revising their appearance to the extinction of late antique heritage."⁸

In Syria and Palestine—the first territories to fall under Arab domination, and the cradle of the first Islamic state—representations of the Seasons were to be seen by the conquerors. A number of examples have survived to our day in the monuments of Antioch,⁹ Beth Alpha,¹⁰ and Dair Şolaib.¹¹

Late Greco-Roman art, in its modified

⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 264; vol. 2, p. 167, No. 362; p. 168, No. 364a.

⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 265–266, 270. See also G. Rasetti, *Il calendario nell'arte italiana*, Pescara, 1941, pls. 8–9.

⁸ Hanfmann, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 265, 275.

⁹ Doro Levi, *Antioch mosaic pavements*, Princeton, 1947, vol. 1, pp. 85 ff., 161 ff.

¹⁰ E. L. Sukenik, *The synagogue of Beth Alpha*, Jerusalem, 1932, p. 39 ff., pl. 17.

¹¹ J. Mattern, R. Mouterde and A. Beaulieu, *Dair Şolaib, II. Mosaïque "prophylactique."* *Le décor*, Mélanges de l'Université St. Joseph, Beirut, vol. 22 (1939), p. 20 ff., pls. 14–16, 18.

Syrian form, continued to flourish well into the Umayyad period. The earliest known paintings, those of Quşayr 'Amrah (A.D. 712–715), a hunting lodge in the Transjordan desert, have rightly been called "one of the last creations of profane art surviving from the Hellenistic age."¹² This judgment is also valid when applied to a floor fresco discovered at Qaşr al-Ḥair al-Gharbī, which belongs to the second quarter of the eighth century.¹³ Yet it does not seem that representations of the Seasons were taken over into the repertoire of the artists working for the Umayyad rulers.¹⁴

No examples of the theme have so far come to light among the scanty remnants which have reached us from the Abbasid period. It is not until the close of the fourteenth century that we encounter an unequivocal set of illustrations depicting the four Seasons. They are included among the miniatures which adorn a miscellany of astrological and other tracts falsely attributed to the great Abbasid astronomer Abū Ma'shar of Balkh (died in 272/886) and catalogued under the title of *kitāb al-bulhān* as Ms. Bodl. Or. 133 in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.¹⁵

This important manuscript has not yet been

¹² Th. W. Arnold, *Painting in Islam*, Oxford, 1928, p. 30.

¹³ D. Schlumberger, *Deux fresques Omeyyades*, Syria, vol. 25 (1946–48), p. 90 ff., pl. B.

¹⁴ It must be mentioned, however, that some scholars believed that they could identify representations of three Seasons in some busts depicted in the frescoes of Quşayr 'Amrah. Others preferred to see in them the Ages of Man. Still others tried to identify the Seasons in three winged figures which admittedly bear some resemblance to earlier examples from Syria. Unfortunately the condition of the frescoes makes a re-examination of the problem impossible. For the relevant literature see Hanfmann, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 213, and vol. 2, p. 97, note 15.

¹⁵ A. Nichol, *Bibliotheca Bodlianae codicum manuscriptorum orientalium catalogi*, Oxford, 1821, vol. 2, pp. 270–277.



Fig. a. Ver—Spring (fol. 104)



Fig. b. Estas—Summer (fol. 101)



Fig. c. Autumnus—Fall (fol. 102)

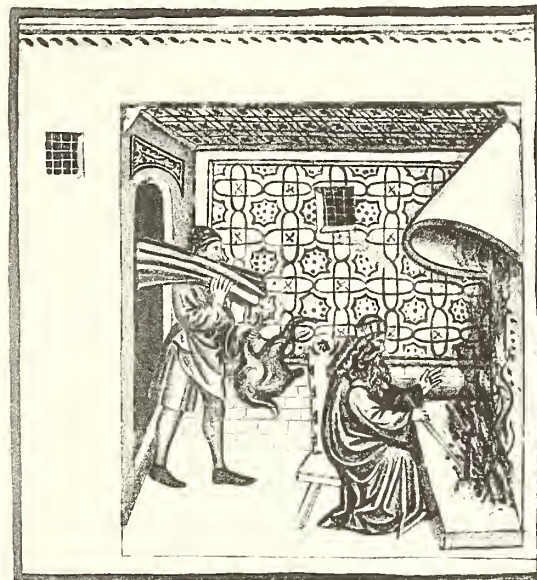


Fig. d. Hyemps—Winter (fol. 103)



Fig. e. Carnes Leporinae—Meat of Hares (fol. 137)

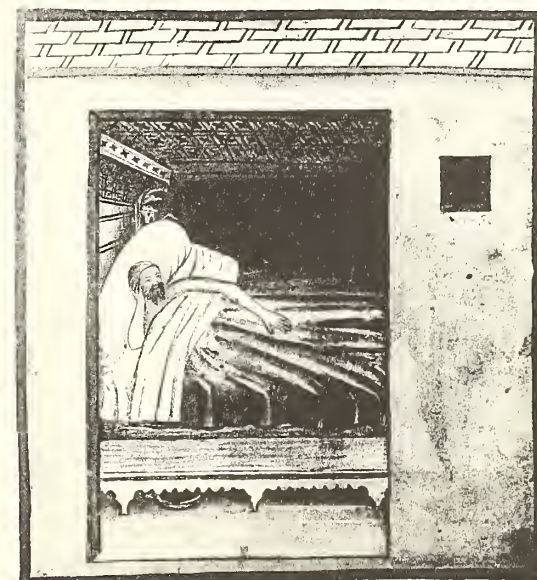


Fig. f. Vigiliae—Vigils (fol. 199)



Fig. a. Spring (fol. 38 v.)



Fig. b. Summer (fol. 44 r.)

fully and properly studied and it is, therefore, necessary to digress here for a rather full description.

MS. Bodl. Or. 133 is a slender volume of 176 ffo. measuring 24 x 16 cm. Only part of it—128 ffo.—belongs to the original work which, according to a note by a late (seventeenth century) owner on its flyleaf, is called *kitāb al-bulhān* which could be rendered as "Book of Well-being." The volume contains miscellaneous tracts on astrology, divination, and prognostication. Its most interesting and unusual part consists of fifty-four full-page miniatures in rebus form depicting a series of popular legends, wonders of the world, images of supernatural beings, etc. Only brief captions accompany the pictures and the reader is deliberately left to guess their full significance. Each story is represented in a single, self-contained, miniature and is expressed with the utmost condensation and economy of pictorial elements.

This remarkable picture book, and the tracts bound with it, were both "composed" (so the introduction informs us) and illustrated by one 'Abd al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn al-Ḥasan, a native of Baghdad of Iṣfahānī descent. He dedicated the work to his friend Ḍiyā' (al-Dīn) Ḥusain al-Irbilī whom he calls "the tongue of his time," viz, the most eloquent man of his age. The recipient of the work was also the scribe who copied it, as is apparent from several colophons inserted at the end of various sections of the MS. Neither the "author"-illustrator nor the scribe-recipient are known to me from literary sources.

The date of the MS. was hitherto fixed, on the strength of a sale recorded on one of its pages, as prior to 812/1409.¹⁶ It can now be dated accurately through the reconstruction of the colophons to the year 801/1399.

The MS. was in all probability written and

¹⁶ K. Holter, *Die islamischen Miniaturhandschriften vor 1350*, Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen, vol. 54 (1937), No. 82.

illustrated at Baghdad.¹⁷ In style it is closely related to a small group of illustrated MSS. of the Jelairid school.¹⁸ This school of painting flourished under the enlightened rule of the Jelairid sultans who resided alternately at Baghdad and at Tabriz (736–813/1336–1410). The Bodleian MS. was painted during the reign of the last important ruler of the dynasty, Aḥmad ibn Uwais (784–813/1382–1410), who was renowned as a patron of the arts.¹⁹

Kühnel has expertly summed up the most distinctive features of the Jelairid style: "The figures have round faces and most of them wear clinging garments with but few folds. As a rule they are set against a background of schematically arranged tufts of grass."²⁰ The miniatures of the Bodleian MS. have all these characteristics. Their palette is sober. Gold is most sparingly used; the artist favored bright yellow, red, and blue, subdued greens, and pastel shades of pink, gray, beige, and brown. Mauve is little used, practically only as coloring for architectural details. The compositions are all the more attractive for their provocative simplicity.

In the course of time the Bodleian MS. has suffered from unskilled and careless mending.

¹⁷ A special article on the date and history of the MS. is under preparation.

¹⁸ The best example of Jelairid work is the Persian MS. on the Wonders of the World written for Aḥmad b. Uwais, the last sultan of the dynasty (Bibliothèque Nationale, Supp. Persan 332), but not all of its miniatures are by the same hand; cf. H. Massé, *Le livre des merveilles du monde*, Paris, 1944. Other Jelairid paintings are found in a Bidpai MS., cf. E. Kühnel, *A Bidpai manuscript of 1343/4 (744 H.) in Cairo*, Bull. American Inst. Iranian Art and Archaeology, vol. 5 (1937), pp. 137–141.

¹⁹ Cf. W. Barthold, *Aḥmed Djalāir*, Encyclopaedia of Islām, Leiden, 1913–38, vol. 1, pp. 196–197; F. R. Martin, *Miniatures from the period of Timur*, Vienna, 1926, p. 1 ff.

²⁰ E. Kühnel, *Book painting*, A survey of Persian art, Oxford, 1939, vol. 3, p. 1839.

In several places opaque scraps of paper have been pasted over parts of the miniatures and text, and the sequence of some pages has been upset. Two astronomical treatises, not connected with the original MS., have been inserted in the middle and bound together with it.

It has, nevertheless, been possible to reconstruct the correct sequence of the folios with the help of a Turkish MS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Suppl. Turc, 242).²¹ That MS., though disguised under a different title and claimed as the work of an Ottoman author, is nothing more than a Turkish adaptation, both textually and pictorially, of the Arabic work in the Bodleian Library. The Turkish MS., which was written and illustrated in 990/1582 for a daughter of Sultan Murād III, is preserved in excellent condition. It was brought from Egypt by Monge and deposited in the then Imperial Library by order of Napoleon. It has preserved the original sequence of the miniature cycles and allows us to reconstruct their parallel sequences in the nearly-two-centuries-older Bodleian MS.

The seventy-eight miniatures in MS. Bodl. Or. 133 can be grouped as follows (full-page miniatures are marked with an asterisk):

- (a) Astrological 18*
- (b) Prognostication and divination.... 18
- (c) Demons and supernatural beings... 12*
- (d) Mirabilia and legends..... 19*
- (e) The seasons 4
- (f) The climes 7*

Only the last two groups are dealt with in the present article. They cover the only two cycles of miniatures not included in the Tur-

kish version in the Bibliothèque Nationale and are, to the best of my knowledge, unique. I propose to return to the study of the remaining groups of miniatures in the two picture-books at a future occasion.

Three of the four Season miniatures in the Bodleian MS. are grouped together: Summer (fol. 44r) (*pl. 2, b*), Autumn (fol. 44v) (*pl. 3, a*), and Winter (fol. 45r) (*pl. 3, b*); Spring (fol. 38v) (*pl. 2, a*) is no longer in its original position. The miniatures occupy only a little less than half a page and are inserted between a caption and a brief text. Text and pictures are bordered by bold yellow frames and are distributed as follows: (i) Caption, (ii) miniature, (iii) text. The caption is in bold black thuluth script, the text below the miniatures is in small black and red naskhī. Part of the text is disposed in two vertical columns to the right and the remainder is written in eleven horizontal lines.

The headings leave no doubt that the miniatures are meant to represent the four seasons. Their texts vary only slightly:

(1) The Discourse on the Season of Spring—*al-qawl 'alā faṣl al-rabī'*.

(2) The Discourse on the Season of Summer—*al-qawl 'alā faṣl al-ṣaif*.

(3) The Talk about the Season of Autumn—*al-kalām 'alā faṣl al-kharīf*.

(4) The Discourse about the Season of Winter and the Talk about it—*al-qawl 'alā faṣl al-shitā wa'l-kalām 'alaihi*.

The vertical portions of the text under the miniatures contain, in the first column, the names of three signs of the zodiac and, in the second column, those of the corresponding months. The names of the months and zodiac signs are written alternately in red and black ink so as to produce a chess-board effect.²²

²² Spring:

ḥamal—ādhār	Aries—March
thawr—nīsān	Taurus—April
jawzā'—iyār	Gemini—May

²¹ E. Blochet, *Manuscrits à miniatures de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Revue des Bibliothèques, 1898, p. 10 ff. There is an identical MS. in the Pierpont Morgan collection (*Review of the activities of the Pierpont Morgan Library, 1930-35*, New York, 1937, pp. 23-25, pl. 5). The existence of two MSS. of the same work, both dedicated to Fāṭimah Sulṭān and completed in 990/1582, has not been fully explained.

Each of the horizontal parts of the text begins with a set phrase written in red ink: "The physicians, the ancient sages, and the masters of astronomy say that this season . . ." (*qālat al-aṭibbā' wa 'l-'ulamā' al-mutaqaddimīn* (sic!) *wa-arbāb al-aflāk innā hādhā 'l-faṣl* . . .). Then follow hygienic and medical observations, which vary with each season:

"Spring: Food and drink should be reduced. Food should consist of a light diet such as chicken (*firākh*), grouse (*ṭayhūj*) eggs, goat milk and sheep's milk; also lettuce (*khāss*), chicory (*hindabā*), and chicken boiled in vinegar (*maṣūṣ*).²³ Baths—twice or thrice weekly."

"Summer: Food should be reduced and drink somewhat increased. Drinks must be well mixed with cold water and snow. Warm, dry medicines and foods must be avoided.²⁴ Only delicate meat is to be eaten, such as that of black lamb (*al-ḥumlān al-sūd*). There is no harm in eating beef and goat's meat if prepared with vinegar and celery (*karafs*). One should not linger in the bath nor should emetics be resorted to frequently."

"Autumn: Food should be warmer and drier and increased in quantity while the con-

sumption of drink should be reduced. All moist, warm foods are suitable. Chickens should be consumed and warm moist ointments are to be applied. Bleeding is to be resorted to only if absolutely necessary. Baths should be taken at rare intervals—once a week; sexual intercourse should also be less frequent."

"Winter: Food is to be dry and warm and should be taken in large quantities before retiring for the night. Beverage should not be mixed but taken neat (*ṣirf*) or nearly so. Dishes should be warm such as roast meat (*kabāb*), birds (*'aṣāfir*), figs (*tīn*), nuts (*javz*), pistachios (*fustuq*), and hazel nuts (*bunduq*). There is no harm in taking physical exercise (*riyāḍah*). Sleep and sexual intercourse in daytime should be indulged in with moderation. Meat of buffaloes and horses may be consumed, but beef and goat's meat should be avoided. Anything cold and dry such as sour things and vinegar and sumac should not be taken."

At the end of each text comes the warning: "This is the nature of the season, the treatment, food and drink appropriate to it. He who follows the doctors' prescriptions will be immune from the ailments of Spring (/Summer/Autumn/Winter). He who acts contrary to their instructions harms himself. God is the Giver of health (*shāfi*), the Sufficient (*kāfi*) and the Healer (*mu'āfi*)."

As can be seen at a glance from plates 2 and 3, the miniatures placed above the texts make no attempt to illustrate them. They are in fact, as will be shown, genre pictures associated with European occupational pictures of the Seasons.

Spring (*pl. 2, a*).—A youth, in long orange robe and white turban, seated under a tree, is playing a lute resting on his raised left knee. In the foreground is a tall blue vessel with two handles, set on a pale brown tray and covered with a lid of the same color. The remainder of the miniature depicts a land-

Summer:

saraṭān—ḥazīrān	Cancer—June
asad—tammūz	Leo—July
sunbulah—āb	Virgo—August

Autumn:

mizān—aylūl	Libra—September
'aqrab—tishrīn I	Scorpio—October
qaws—tishrīn II	Sagittarius—November

Winter:

jadī—kanūn I	Capricornus—December
dalū—kanūn II	Aquarius—January
ḥūt—shubāt	Pisces—February

²³ On this dish cf. M. Rodinson, *Recherches sur les documents relatifs à la cuisine*, Revue des études islamiques, 1950, p. 153.

²⁴ The terms warm, cold, dry, and moist in this and subsequent passages are used in their medical connotation.

scape. To the extreme left, a cypress with a straight trunk, colored a brilliant red, followed by another variety of coniferous tree on which four birds are perched. Next, in the center of the picture, is a peach or almond tree in full bloom and under the trees are clusters of luxuriant flowers (poppies?).

Summer (*pl. 2, b*).—A young man in a pale orange half-length robe is stepping forward to draw a bow. He wears a white turban and a mauve pouch hangs from his gilt belt; his shoes are green, long and pointed. He is aiming at a flying bird but the arrow cannot be seen as it is masked by his outstretched left arm. In the right-hand top corner of the miniature is a stylized sun with golden rays. The bird at which the archer is aiming and another one, perched on a tree to the left, are colored a bluish green and resemble long-billed bee-eaters. A white hare, drawn in sepia outline, scurries away to safety but the archer seems to ignore its presence. The remainder of the composition is filled by a remarkable variety of trees. Among them one can distinguish fruit-bearing peach trees, an orange tree, and an apple tree. Their trunks have carefully differentiated colorings: gray, green-gray, brown.

Autumn (*pl. 3, a*).—A youth in pale mauve robe and holding a gold cup filled with a deep-red liquid kneels in the center of the picture. The thin rim of his red skullcap shows above his white turban. In front of the youth is a long-necked, light-blue bottle with dark-blue stripes. It stands on a gilt tray. All the leaves on the trees to the extreme right and left have rust-red contours, and so have those profusely scattered over the ground. A tree with thick evergreen leaves (laurel?) and a date palm with two heavy bunches of dates complete the scene. The birds, one of which is pecking at the ripe dates, are of the same species and are painted with the same fluent strokes of the brush as those in the picture of Spring.

Winter (*pl. 3, b*).—This is the only indoor scene. It shows a man sitting up in bed. He seems to be nude but this is not certain as the pigments on the body have peeled off. The man's legs are covered by a green blanket and he is propped up against an orange cushion. In front of his outstretched hands is a gilt brazier with some black coals, set in a crimson circle. To the right, one can see a bare tree through the open window in a blue-tiled wall. To the left, a door with an orange frame and a yellow drawn-back curtain opens in a blue wall. The background of the central scene, which is framed above and below by crimson bricks, is a blue floor with a dark-blue flower pattern and a wide-open window whose green curtain has been tied up. A cluster of tormented clouds in the Chinese fashion towers above the caption (not visible on the reproduction).

All four miniatures are by the same hand, though the clumsy rendering of the man's hands in Winter, for instance, contrasts visibly with the delicate, assured drawing of the lute-player's hands in Spring. One suspects models of different origin and of unequal merit.

The artist has not attempted to relate the four Seasons to the ages of man, as was sometimes done. Autumn and Spring are portrayed by youths and both are equally mournful. Summer seems to be a young man and Winter an older one, but still beardless.

In all three outdoor scenes we find the stylized schematic tufts of grass which are the hallmark of the Jelairid school of painting. They are fitted in incongruously, like afterthoughts. In Autumn their lush green is particularly out of tune with the red-rimmed fallen leaves. Even in Spring and Summer one feels that they were deliberately added to already finished homogeneous compositions.

Autumn and Summer are the most attractive of these little pictures. There is a mood of sadness about Autumn and a liveliness in

Summer which have a special appeal. The trees in both these miniatures are subtly grouped. In Summer they accentuate the movement of the archer; in Autumn they bend their branches to form a bower for the meditative squatting youth. Compared with these two miniatures, the remaining two are of inferior quality. In all four pictures the human figures are out of proportion with the trees, but only in Spring is this disproportion felt acutely. This is due to the rigidity of the figure and to the less skillful composition. In Winter, the strangely colored slanting walls, the bare tree, the dramatically drawn curtains (a favorite device in Ilkhanid painting, from which the Jelairid school directly stems) do not completely compensate for the inferior draftsmanship.

The four Seasons in the Bodleian MS. are, in the first place, genre scenes. It is obvious that they are neither original inventions of the Islamic artist nor developments of an earlier Islamic or classical tradition. They are clearly recognizable borrowings from almost contemporary Western models.

The closest parallels for a set of four Season miniatures is to be found in a small group of Latin MSS. of the *Tacuinum Sanitatis* illustrated in northern Italy during the last quarter of the fourteenth century. The *Tacuinum Sanitatis* is a treatise on hygiene and macrobiotics compiled in Arabic by Ibn Buṭlān, a Christian physician of Baghdad who died at Antioch ca. A.D. 1075.²⁵ The original work, which bears the title *taqwīm al-ṣiḥḥah*, comprises forty synoptical tables in which are listed the medicinal properties of foodstuffs, winds, climates, seasons, etc., as well as the times most appropriate for all types of human

activity. The Arabic text has survived in many MSS., but none is illustrated.²⁶

In the thirteenth century the *taqwīm al-ṣiḥḥah* was translated into Latin, probably in southern Italy or in Sicily.²⁷ Nearly all the Latin MSS., of which we possess a great number, preserve the "*taqwīm-form*," i.e., *dispositio per tabellas*,²⁸ and are arranged in 40 tables. They, too, contain no illustrations.

There exists, however, a small group of illustrated MSS. of the *Tacuinum*, which, though closely related to the original work, are neither complete nor arranged in synoptical tables. These MSS. contain only a selection of the original 280 items and consist of full-page illustrations with brief, condensed summaries of the text below them and a short heading above them.

The oldest of these MSS. is in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Nouv. acq. lat. 1673).²⁹ It is the work of a Lombard artist of ca. 1380–1390. Other MSS. in Vienna³⁰ and in the Casanatense Library in Rome³¹ are somewhat later, but all are products of northern Italy.³²

²⁶ I hope to discuss the extant Arabic MSS. of the *taqwīm al-ṣiḥḥah* in a separate article.

²⁷ Cf. E. Wickersheimer, *Les Tacuini Sanitatis*, Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance, vol. 12 (1950), Genève, pp. 85–97; L. Thorndike and P. Kibre, *A catalogue of incipits of mediaeval scientific writings in Latin*, Cambridge, Mass., 1937, pp. 327, 513.

²⁸ Cf. G. Sarton, *Tacuinum, taqwīm*, Isis, vol. 10 (1928), p. 490 f.

²⁹ Facsimile edition by E. Berti Toesca, *Il tacuinum sanitatis*, Bergamo, 1937.

³⁰ J. von Schlosser, *Ein veronesisches Bilderbuch und die höfische Kunst des XIV. Jahrhunderts*, Jahrb. d. Kunsthistorischen Sammlung d. allerh. Kaiserhauses, vol. 16 (1895), pp. 144–230.

³¹ Facsimile edition by L. Serra, *Theatrum Sanitatis*, Rome, 1940.

³² There are later MSS. with illustrations such as those described by G. Carbonelli and R. Ravisini, *Commenti sopra alcune miniature e pitture italiane a soggetto medico*, Rome, 1918; and L. Deslisle, *Traité d'hygiène du Moyen Age*, Journal des Savants, Paris,

²⁵ For a biography of this author cf. J. Schacht and M. Meyerhof, *The medico-philosophical controversy between Ibn Buṭlān of Baghdad and Ibn Ridwān of Cairo* (The Egyptian University, Faculty of Arts, Publ. No. 13), Cairo, 1937, p. 7 ff.

In a recent masterly study, O. Pächt has stressed the importance of this group of *Tacuinum* MSS. and of the Season pictures in them for the development of early calendar landscapes in particular, and for the creation of modern landscape painting in general. Pächt concludes: "The *Tacuinum* pictures, Spring (gentry disporting themselves in the country, picking flowers, winding wreaths, etc.), Summer (reaping corn), Autumn (vintage scene), Winter (old man warming himself at an open fire), have, of course, their precedents in pictures of the months . . . yet they are Calendar pictures of a novel type. The Calendar illustrations of the Italian Trecento still belong to the category of 'occupations of the months' pictures . . . in the *Tacuinum* Seasons, however, especially in those of the Vienna copy, the accent lies entirely on the scenery, on the aspect of nature at a particular time of the year and not on any single human activity."³³

A MS. closely related to these north-Italian *Tacuinum* MSS. must have served as a model for the illustrator of the Arabic Bodleian miscellany who, it will be remembered, worked probably at Baghdad in the year 1399. Instead of pairs or groups of people, the Islamic artist uses a single figure for each Season; in this he differs from the illustrators of the *Tacuinum* MSS. The attention which he pays, after his own fashion, to the treatment of landscapes is without precedent in Islamic art and is well in accord with the emphasis which the Italian Trecento artists of the *Tacuinum Sanitatis* laid on scenery. While it is impossible to point to precise parallels between each Season in the Bodleian MS. and its

European counterparts, there can be no doubt that they are the fruit of the same inspiration. There is, moreover, no question that the Western versions preceded and influenced those of the Orient, which are, at least, a decade later.

Although the Muslim artist drew his themes from European models (a fact that will become even clearer when we examine the cycle of seven climes in the Bodleian MS.), he maintained throughout a considerable degree of independence in his interpretation. He not only transposed his themes into his own personal style, but also discarded iconographic formulas which did not appeal to him, drawing freely on others unconnected with the Season miniatures. His figures wear turbans and, with one exception, their garments are typical of those seen on Jelairid miniatures.

Winter (*pl. 3, b*) comes closest to the European model. Here the painter, who did not possess a model for "Winter in Bed," seems to have combined two subjects which are treated separately in the *Tacuinum* MSS.: *Hyemps* proper and *Vigiliae* (*pl. 1, d, f*). The artist's struggles with the European models have produced some curious results. The open blinds of the windows are rendered convincingly, but the cushion against which the man in "Winter" is leaning, instead of being shown in perspective (as in *Vigiliae*, *pl. 1, f*), is placed upright in a way common to a number of thirteenth-century and later Islamic miniatures. The brazier, instead of being placed immediately in front of "Winter," is set beside the bed on what appears to be a large round platter. The architectural setting is patently non-Islamic.

In Autumn (*pl. 3, a*) the Muslim artist deliberately abandoned the European models which invariably depict scenes of vintage or wine making (*pl. 1, c*). In his version, Autumn is represented by a youth sitting under a palm tree and holding a cup filled with a deep-red liquid. Wine drinking was an infringement

1896, p. 518 f. I have had no access to the newly discovered *Tacuinum* MS. in the University Library of Liège.

³³ O. Pächt, *Early Italian nature studies and the early calendar landscape*, Journ. Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, vol. 13 (1950), pp. 37-38.

more tolerantly overlooked by Islamic jurists than wine making. It might even be pleaded that the beverage in the youth's cup and in the long-necked bottle placed in front of him is but the perfectly licit date juice and not the stronger, inebriating, unlawful product of the grape. The palm tree may even have been introduced into the picture to indicate such a connection.

In Summer (*pl. 2, b*) the European inspiration is clearly noticeable. Hunting scenes of a formalized kind are not unknown in Is-

Hunting scenes are not infrequently used to portray the activity of the summer months, but they nearly always show hunters on horseback. Some representations of huntsmen on foot and the hunting of hares are also encountered. Such is the picture of January in the *Chronicon Zwifaltense minus* of Stuttgart (*fig. 5*) which belongs to the twelfth century. The harvesting peasant of the *Tacuinum* MS. is found elsewhere in Bodl. Or. 133, where he portrays the zodiac sign of *sunbulah*—*Virgo* (*pl. 4, a*). Representations of this sign as a



FIG. 1, *a-c*—FOURTEENTH-CENTURY REPRESENTATIONS OF THE ZODIAC SIGN SUNBULAH (VIRGO)

lamic art, but in the miniature of the Bodleian MS. we are in the presence of a fully developed genre scene. Both in its general aspect and in several details it betrays its Western origin. Such are the long, pointed shoes, which became the fashion in Italy only toward the last quarter of the fourteenth century,³⁴ the half-length gown, and the hunter's pouch fastened to the belt, many examples of which can be found in the Paris *Tacuinum* MS. (*pl. 4, b, c*). Summer in the European versions is represented by a harvest scene. The Muslim artist has preferred a shooting scene and turned to such a picture as the *Carnes Leporinae* in the Casanatense MS. (*pl. 1, e*) for a model.

³⁴ Berti Toesca, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

man harvesting with a sickle are not unknown in Islamic art of the preceding centuries,³⁵ but, in the fourteenth century, *sunbulah* is always depicted as a man sitting crosslegged between two ears of corn (*cf. fig. 1*).³⁶

³⁵ Cf. *Survey of Persian art*, ed. A. U. Pope, London, New York, 1938–1939, vol. 6, pls. 1301 B, 1312 E, 1311 D, 1314 A, 1328, 1336 B.

³⁶ The examples reproduced in figure 1 are taken from: (a) A fourteenth-century brass bowl in the Museo Nazionale, Florence (No. 364 c); (b) a mirror in the Topkapu Sarayı Müzesi (No. 2, 1786) datable A.D. 1343–1368. (Cf. D. S. Rice, *The blazons of the Baptistère de Saint Louis*, Bull. School of Oriental and African Studies, vol. 13 (1950), pl. 6, p. 372); (c) from a brass basin made for Hugues de Lusignan IV of Cyprus (1324–1361) formerly in the R.-H. D'Allemagne collection (R.-H. D'Allemagne,

For his picture of Spring the artist of the Bodleian MS. (like the painters of the *Tacuinum MSS.*) has chosen a garden scene. But the scenery is different and instead of gentlefolk of both sexes disporting themselves in the garden he has preferred to paint a solitary youth plucking his lute.

If we now turn to examine the miniatures depicting the Seven Climes in the Arabic MS., the fact that the artist who painted them must have been acquainted with a European (in all probability a north-Italian) MS. can be established beyond all reasonable doubt. This set of seven miniatures, like the four Season pictures, is not included in the Turkish version, and is not only unique in Islamic art but, to the best of my knowledge, occurs in no other art.

The Ptolemaic division of the known surface of the earth into seven *klimata* was accepted and elaborated by the Arab geographers. The earth was divided into seven parallel strips in such a manner that the longest day in each differed from the longest day in the next by half an hour.³⁷

A number of Arabic geographical works give lists of towns grouped according to the *climes*—a subdivision of primary importance to the astrologers who taught that each *clime* came under the special influence of one of the seven planets. This line of thought produced what is known as astronomical geography.

The seven miniatures in the Bodleian MS. of A.D. 1399 which depict the *climes* partly adopt the rebus form chosen by the artist for his illustrations of the wonders of the world and of various popular legends (see above, p. 4). All seven follow the same pattern (*pls. 5 and 6, a*). They are headed by captions in thuluth script: "The discourse on X clime

of Y planet." The remainder of the pages is filled by miniatures in yellow frames. In each picture the sky is indicated by a segment of a circle painted blue. In the center of the segment is a crimson circle flanked by two stylized clouds. The figure of the planet which dominates the *clime* is painted in the center of the crimson circle. These planet pictures, which F. Saxl has traced back to ancient oriental sources, are to be found in the many illustrated Arabic, Persian, and Turkish MSS. of Qazwini's *Wonders of the Creation*.³⁸ Older Islamic examples can be seen on metalwork, and the earliest dated piece, with a complete cycle of the planets, is a mirror in the Harari collection (now in the Arab Museum, Cairo) which bears the date 548/1153.³⁹

The figures of the planets in the miniatures of the *climes* in the Bodleian MS., like most of the figures on metalwork, are set against plain backgrounds, while all the pictures of the Qazwini MSS. are placed on stools and thrones or are leaning against cushions.

Clime I, Saturn (zuhal): An aged, black-skinned man with a grizzly beard, wearing a high red bonnet and yellow trousers, and holding a pick in his right hand (*pl. 5, c*).

Clime II, Jupiter (mushtarî): A venerable bearded man in long-sleeved green cloak and white turban (*pl. 5, b*).

Clime III, Mars (mirrikh): A warrior wearing an orange-colored dress under his armor, holding a sword in his right hand and a severed head, still dripping with blood, in his left (*pl. 6, a*).

Clime IV, Sun (shams): A flat-nosed face, with slanting eyes and eyebrows, set in a circle of stylized rays (*pl. 5, a*).

Clime V, Venus (zuhrah): A female flute player in yellow dress and dark-green undergarment wearing a headdress fastened with a red ribbon under her chin (*pl. 5, f*).

Clime VI, Mercury ('utârid): A man wearing green

La maison d'un vieux collectionneur, Paris, 1948, vol. 1, pp. 146-149 and pls. 175-175 bis), and now in the Musée du Louvre.

³⁷ Cf. E. Honigmann, *Die sieben Klimata*, Heidelberg, 1929, p. 155 ff.

³⁸ F. Saxl, *Beiträge zu einer Geschichte der Planetendarstellungen im Orient und im Okzident*, *Der Islam*, vol. 3 (1912), pp. 151-177.

³⁹ *Survey of Persian art*, vol. 6, pl. 1301 A.



Fig. a. Autumn (fol. 44 v.)

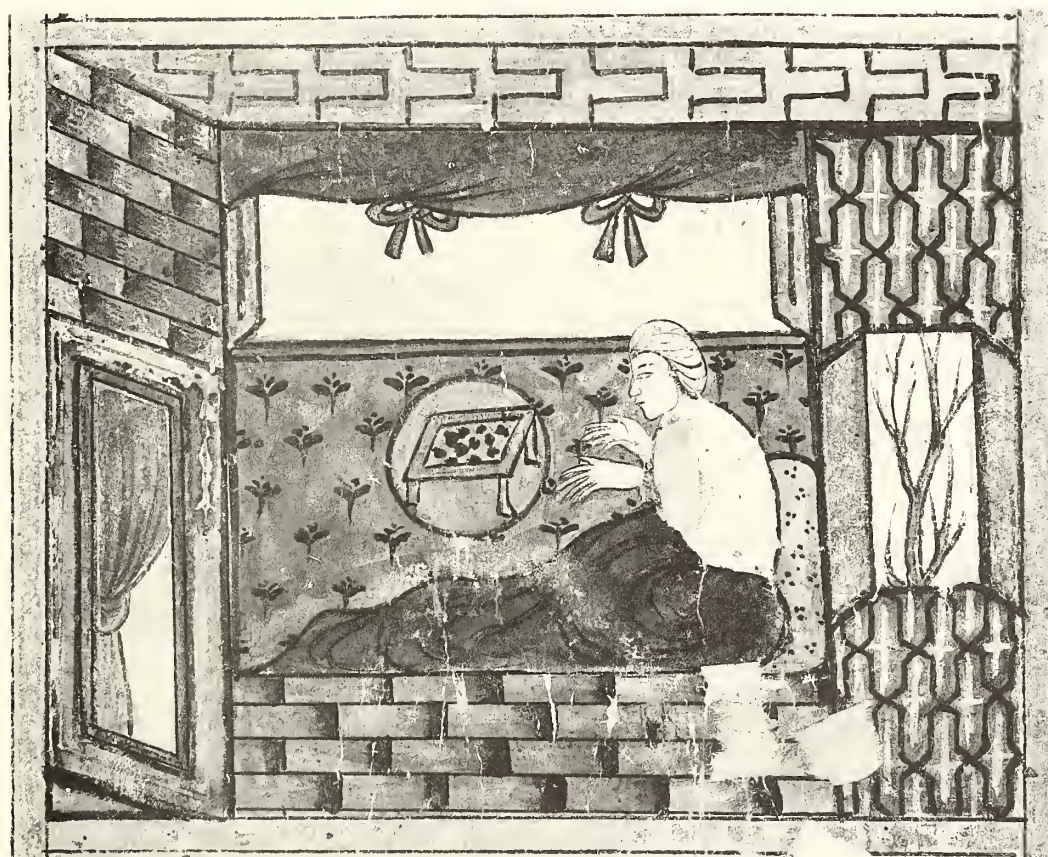


Fig. b. Winter (fol. 45 r.)

Ms. BODL. OR. 133
(Courtesy Bodleian Library.)



Fig. a. Ms. Bodl. Or. 133, Sunbulah (fol. 11 v.)



Fig. b. Bibl. Nationale, Ms. Nouv. acq. lat. 1673, Porra (fol. 24 r.)



Fig. c. Bodl. Or. 133, Summer (fol. 44 r.), detail



Fig. d. Daghestan Sculpture (after Bashkiroff, Pl. 71)



Fig. e. Bibl. Nationale, Nouv. acq. lat., flyleaf inscriptions (fol. 1 r.)



Fig. a. First Clime (fol. 41 r.)



Fig. b. Second Clime (fol. 47 r.)



Fig. c. Fourth Clime (fol. 48 r.)



Fig. d. Fifth Clime (fol. 48 v.)



Fig. e. Sixth Clime (fol. 49 r.)



Fig. f. Seventh Clime (fol. 49 v.)

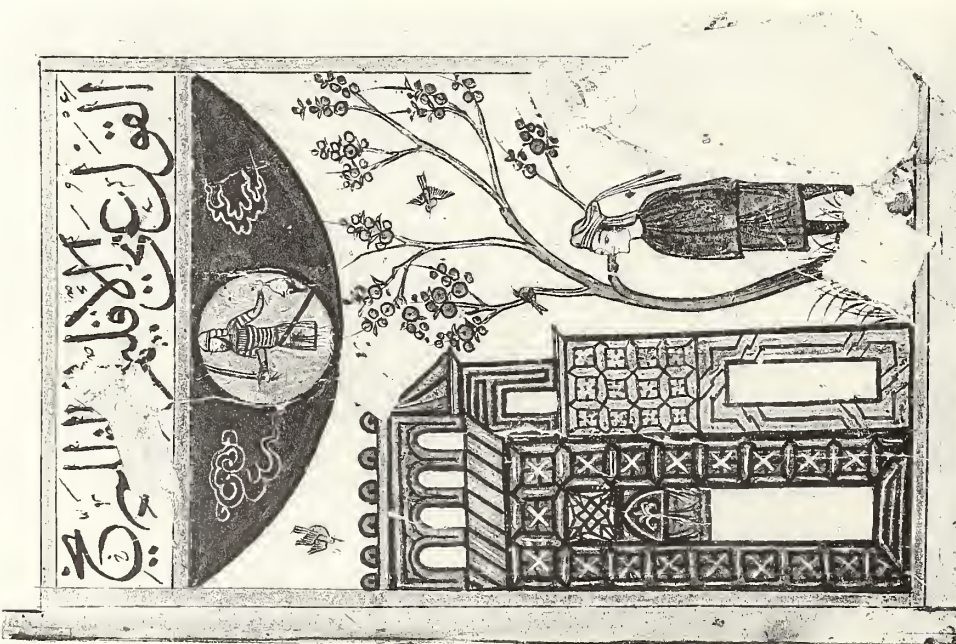


Fig. a. Bodl. Or. 133, Third Clime (fol. 47 v.)



Fig. b. Paris *Tacuinum Sanitatis*, Brodum cicerum (fol. 46 r.), enlarged detail

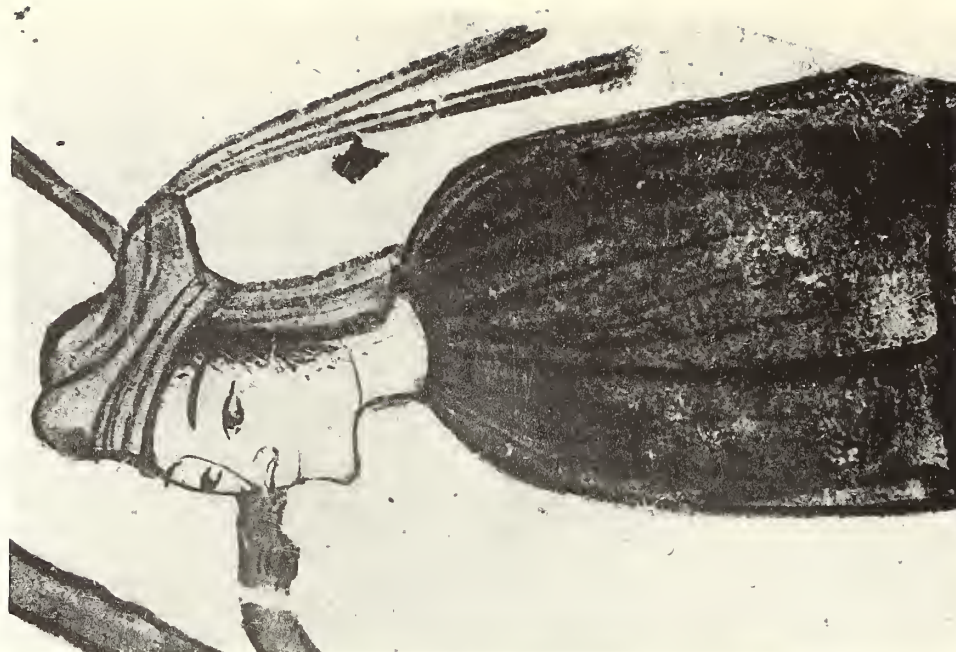


Fig. c. Enlarged detail from (a)



Fig. a. Louvre 3436, formerly Koechlin Collection

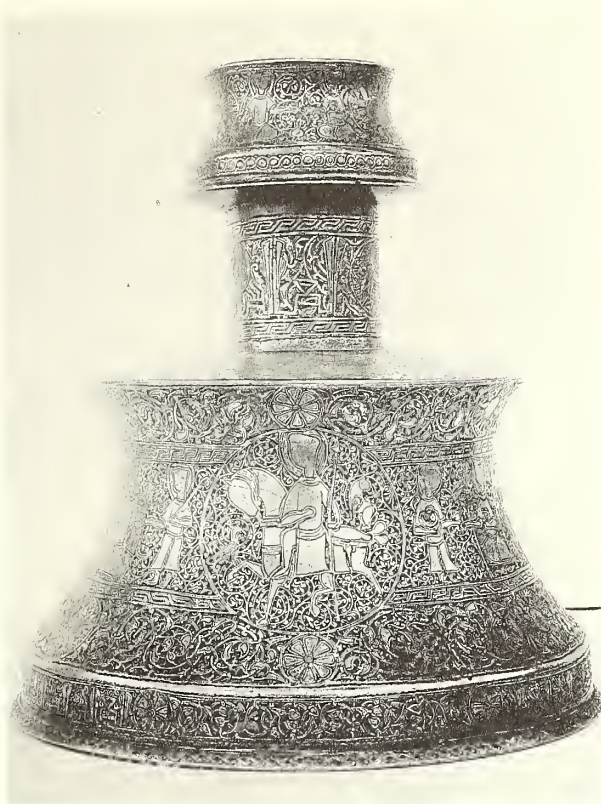


Fig. b. D. S. Rice Collection, No. 1



Fig. c. Türk ve Islam Eserleri Müzesi, No. 1373



Fig. d. Türk ve Islam Eserleri Müzesi, No. 2556

CANDLESTICKS
(Photographs by D. S. Rice.)



Fig. a. Türk ve Islam Eserleri Müzesi,
No. 112



Fig. b. Türk ve Islam Eserleri Müzesi,
No. 107



Fig. c. Etnografya Müzesi, Ankara,
No. 5538



Fig. d. Türk ve Islam Eserleri Müzesi,
No. 114



Fig. e. Türk ve Islam Eserleri Müzesi,
No. 109



Fig. f. Benaki Museum, Athens, No. 52/9



Fig. g. Türk ve Islam Eserleri Müzesi,
No. 108



Fig. h. Etnografya Müzesi, Ankara,
No. 5539



Fig. i. Türk ve Islam Eserleri Müzesi,
No. 1318

CANDLESTICKS
(Photographs by D. S. Rice.)

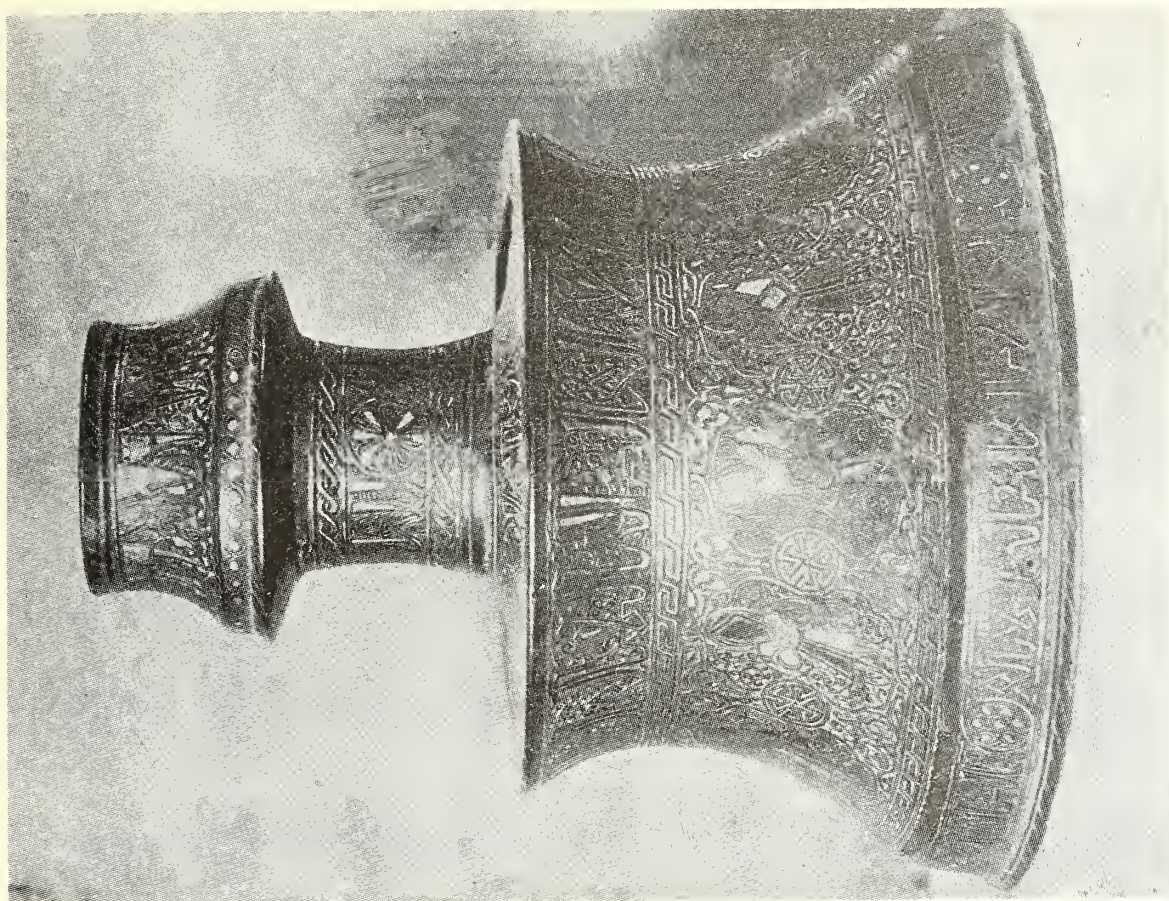


Fig. b. S. Maria in Vulturella
(After A. Rossi.)



Fig. a. Berlin, No. IB.499
(Courtesy Islamische Abteilung, Berlin.)

CANDLESTICKS WITH LABORS OF THE MONTHS



Fig. a. Topkapu Sarayı Müzesi



Fig. b. Türk ve Islam Eserleri Müzesi

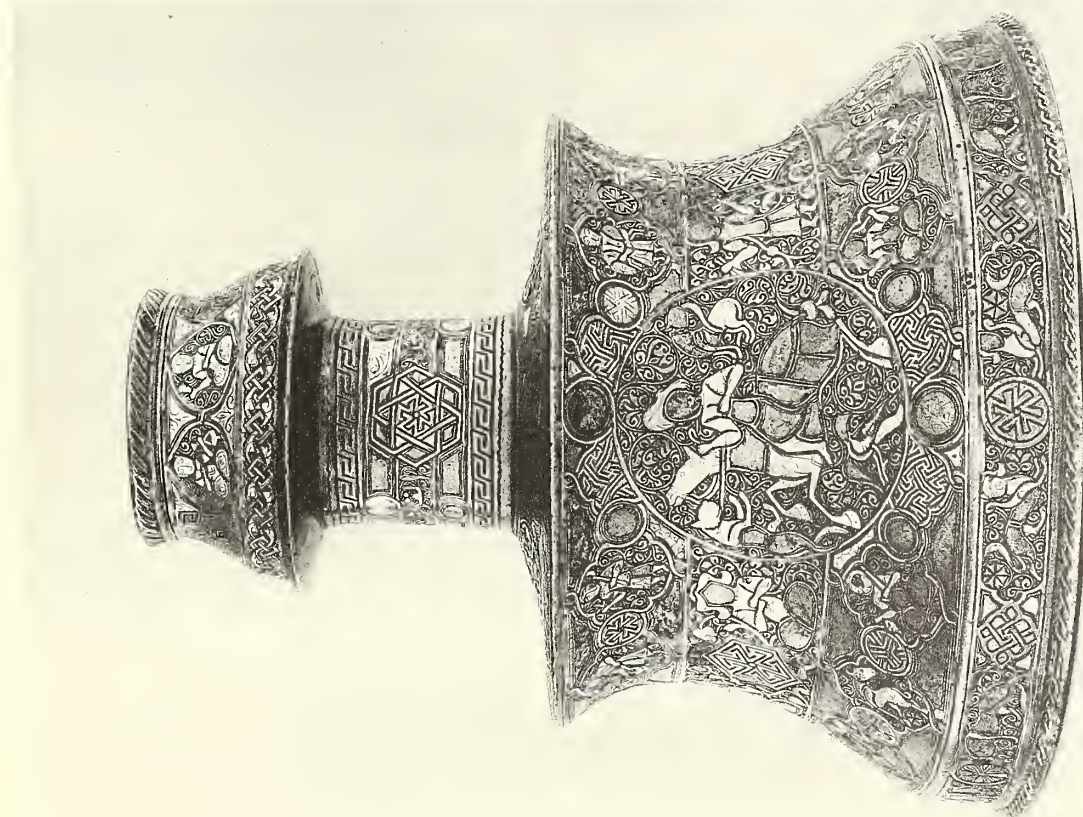
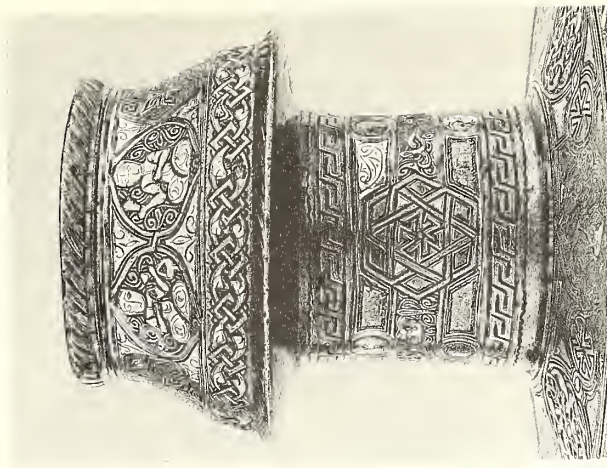
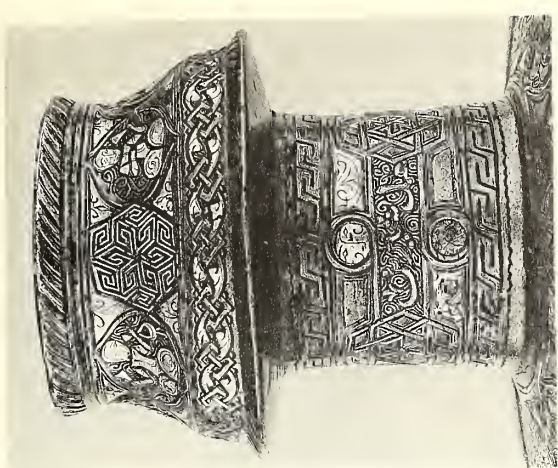


Fig. a. General View



Figs. b-e. Socket and Neck with Inscription

CANDLESTICK WITH LABORS OF THE MONTHS. BOLOGNA, MUSEO CIVICO, No. 897
(Photographs by D. S. Rice.)



Fig. 3



Fig. 2



Fig. 1



Fig. 6



Fig. 5



Fig. 4



Fig. 9



Fig. 8



Fig. 7

DETAILS OF NINE FIGURES ON BOLOGNA CANDLESTICK (PL. 11, a), No. V
(Photographs by D. S. Rice.)



Fig. 3



Fig. 2



Fig. 1



Fig. 6



Fig. 5



Fig. 4



Fig. 9



Fig. 8



Fig. 7



Fig. 12



Fig. 11



Fig. 10

TWELVE MEDALLIONS OF BERLIN CANDLESTICK (PL. 9, a), No. I
(Courtesy Dr. H. Brauer.)



Fig. 3



Fig. 2



Fig. 1



Fig. 6



Fig. 5



Fig. 4



Fig. 9



Fig. 8



Fig. 7



Fig. 12



Fig. 11



Fig. 10



Fig. 3



Fig. 2



Fig. 1



Fig. 6



Fig. 5



Fig. 4



Fig. 9



Fig. 8



Fig. 7



Fig. 12



Fig. 11



Fig. 10



Fig. b. Birth of Muhammad (fol. 24 r.), detail. Edinburgh Rashid al-Din Ms.



Fig. c. Annunciation (fol. 44 r.). Edinburgh Rashid al-Din Ms.

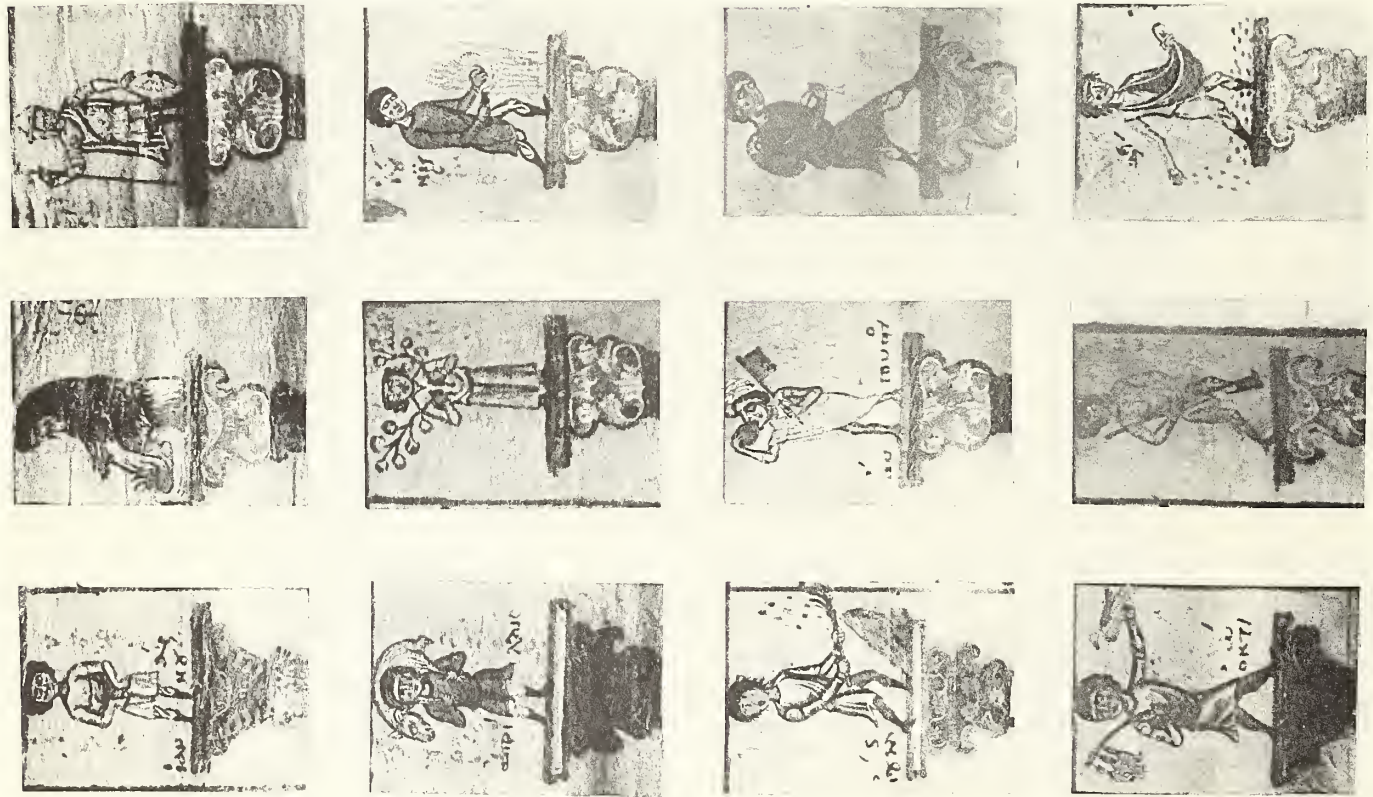


Fig. a. The Months from Cod. Grec. DLX, Biblioteca Marciana, Venice

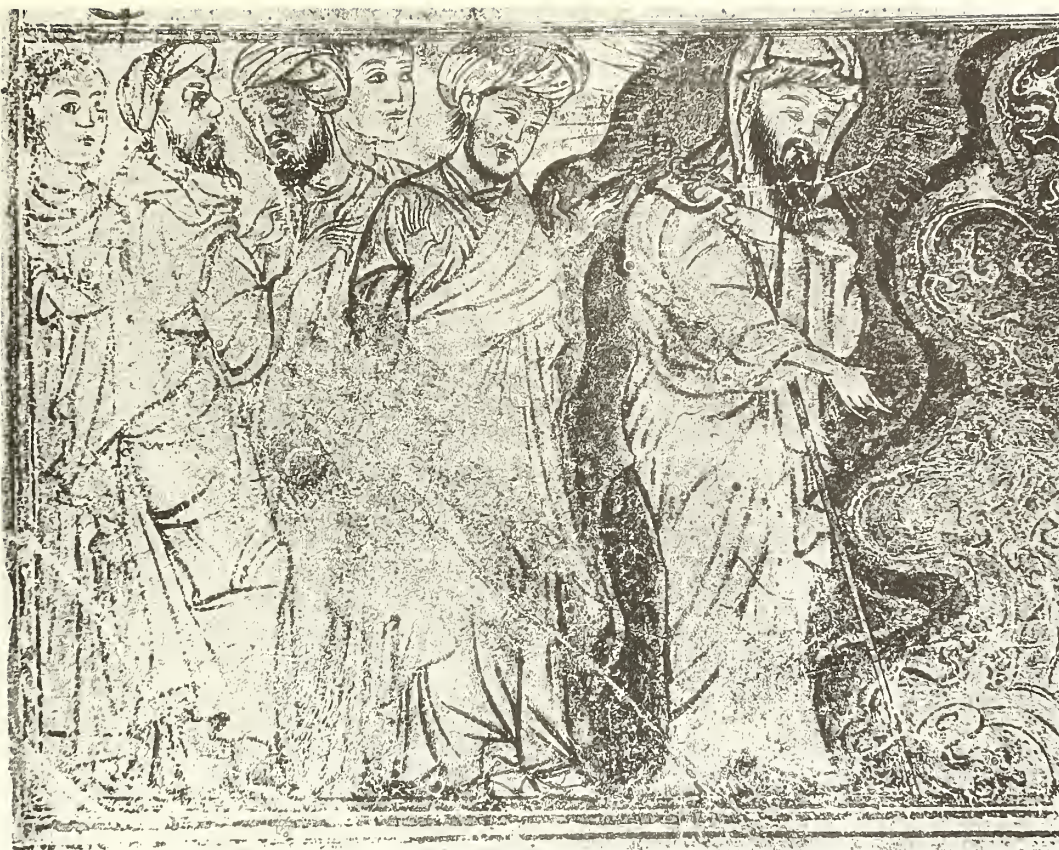


Fig. a. Moses at the Red Sea (fol. 10 v.), detail



Fig. b. Moses and Korah (fol. 11 r.), detail

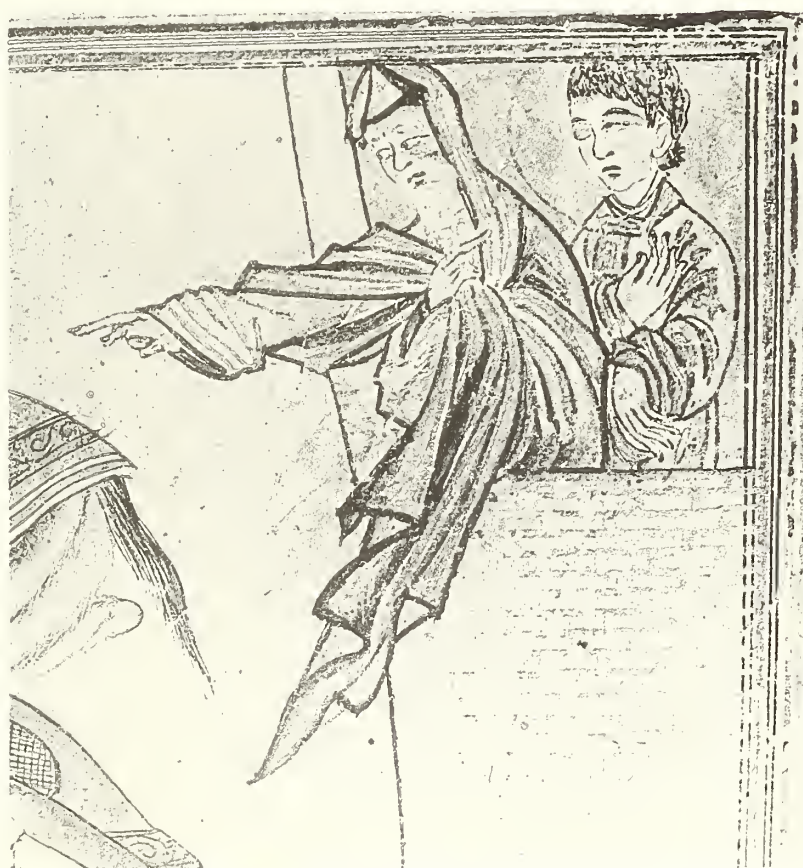


Fig. c. The Companion of the Monk Bahira (fol. 45 r.), detail



Fig. a



Fig. b



Fig. c



Fig. d

clothes and white turban, holding a half-open book (*pl. 5, e*).

Clime VII, Moon (*qamar*): A human face painted in a silver circle over a golden crescent (*pl. 5, d*).

In three of the seven *climes* the figures of the planets differ from the currently used types, as represented, for example, by the oldest Qazwini MS. (cod. Monacensis 464), which was written and illustrated at Wāsiṭ in Qazwini's lifetime (who was Qāḍī of Wāsiṭ) and is dated 678/1280.⁴⁰

Bodl. Or. 133	Monac. ar. 464
<i>Clime II</i> :	
Jupiter—seated man.	Man looking into open book.
<i>Clime V</i> :	
Venus—female flute player.	Female lute player.
<i>Clime VI</i> :	
Mercury—man looking into an open book.	Scribe.

In all these instances, however, the "correct" planet figure will be found in the body of the corresponding miniature: The man reading an open book in *Clime II* for Jupiter, the lute player for Venus in *Clime V*, and the scribe for Mercury in *Clime VI*.

The figures in the remaining four *climes* do not symbolize the planets but express certain concepts associated with them. Their precise significance, however, is not always clear. The sad-faced young man in *Clime VII* may have been intended to express the influence of the Moon; the bearded archer in *Clime IV*—a figure familiar from Ilkhan paintings—may represent sovereignty and kingship which derived, according to the astrologers, from the Sun. Specific planets were believed to control all trades and professions. Two tables setting out these "children of the planets" are also included in the Bodleian miscellany of A.D. 1399 and in its Turkish counterpart in the

Bibliothèque Nationale, which is dated A.D. 1582. In both of these tables the first place in the group which comes under the domination of the Sun is occupied by the King.⁴¹ The figure of the archer in the fourth *clime* may, therefore, represent kingship and it should be borne in mind that the bow and arrow had special symbolic significance as symbols of authority among the Mongols.

The two figures depicted in *Clime I* are Negroes. They may indicate that the *clime* was dominated by the dark-skinned Saturn and also that Abyssinia and Nubia were included in the geographical area covered by this *clime*.

But it is the figure in the miniature of *Clime III* (*pl. 6, a*) which is of particular importance to our inquiry. For, here, standing under an apple tree, is unmistakably the figure of a European. His dress and appearance and every detail of his features are totally different from those of all the other figures in the Bodleian MS. He wears a green cloak over a short blue garment, red stockings, and a headdress known in the Middle Ages as a *liripipe* or *liripoop*. This kind of headdress originated in Italy in the fourteenth century and later spread to France and other countries.⁴² It consisted of a padded ring and had a characteristic long scarf which was allowed to hang loosely, normally on the right. In the miniature before us the *liripipe* is rendered almost like a turban with loose ends and indi-

⁴¹ For reproductions of the table from the Bodleian MS. see F. Saxl, *Probleme der Planetenkindbilder, Kunstchronik und Kunstmarkt*, No. 48 (1919), pp. 1013–1021; E. Panofsky and F. Saxl, *Classical mythology in mediaeval art*, Metropolitan Museum Studies, vol. 4 (1933), p. 245 and fig. 28.

⁴² Cf. M. C. Houston, *Medieval costume in England and France in the 13th, 14th and 15th centuries*, London, 1939, pp. 165–166. For a contemporary representation of this headdress in the East see the tombstone from Istanbul reproduced in E. Dallegio D'Alessio, *Le pietre sepolcrali di Arab Giami* (Istanbul Asariatika müzeleri neşriyatı), Genoa, 1942, p. 95, No. 48.

⁴⁰ On the importance of this MS. cf. D. S. Rice, *A miniature in an autograph of Ibn Faḍlallāh al-Umarī*, Bull. School of Oriental and African Studies, vol. 13 (1951), p. 862.

cates that the artist was copying an object with which he was not familiar. In the treatment of the head the miniaturist completely abandoned the standard round figures, so characteristic of Jelairid painting, in order to follow his model very closely. There is, indeed, a striking resemblance between the head of the European in *Clime III* (pl. 6, c) and a head in the Paris *Tacuinum* MS. of ca. 1380–1390 (pl. 6, b). In both we find the pointed chin, the long nose, the thin lips, and even the stubble-marked jaws and the almond-shaped eyes. Yet so skillfully did the Muslim artist assimilate his borrowed material that the obvious Western character of the figure has escaped notice until now.

It is no longer possible to say whether there was any object, person, or animal beside the figure in this miniature, as there is a hole to the right of it which has been crudely mended with a patch of thick paper.

I have not found a satisfactory explanation for the significance of this figure in the *clime* dominated by the planet Mars. The European might have been intended to represent the traditional enemies of Islam, but this is no more than a guess. The trades and professions which Mars was supposed to influence are depicted on the tables of the "children of the planets" in the following order: the hangman, the butcher, the glassblower, the blacksmith, the cook, the street lighter, and the cheetah keeper; none of these is particularly well represented by a north-Italian gentleman. Nor could the figure have been meant to indicate the geographical area covered by the third *clime*, for Italy was included in the fifth.

As for the fantastic architecture in all the seven miniatures (pls. 5 and 6, a), it is colored mauve, orange, blue, and green and bears practically no relation to any found in earlier Islamic book illustrations. It, too, is probably influenced by European models.⁴³

⁴³ Cf. other architectural Western influences in a

Having established beyond any reasonable doubt that the artist of the Bodleian MS. of A.D. 1399 was acquainted with a north-Italian illustrated MS., it is interesting to note that at least one such MS. had definitely reached the East.

The Paris *Tacuinum* belonged to the wife of Archduke Leopold of Austria. This is attested by a note on the flyleaf of the MS. which reads (pl. 4, e):

Das puech ist gewäst Erzherzog Leopold Kayser Fridrichs Anne Hausfrau herzog warnebe von Mailandt Tochter.

The lady was Verde (Viridis), daughter of Bernabò Visconti of Milan. She married the Archduke in 1365 and died in 1405.⁴⁴

Below this note, after an illegible entry, is another note, in Arabic:

Hādhā kitāb min fulān marsūl min izmīr ilā hādhā 'l-makān wa mafhūmuhu al-asrār al-sihr fī'l-šūrāt.

This note, though perfectly legible, is not without certain structural and grammatical difficulties. It can be rendered as follows: "This is the book from So and So (and) was sent from Smyrna to this place. Its meaning is: the secrets of magic in pictures" (!) or "the secrets of magic are in the pictures."

The unusual plural of *šūrah-šūrāt* is used instead of the normal *šuwār*. This and the structural abnormalities denote a poor knowledge of Arabic, which contrasts with the clarity and assurance of the script itself.

Two important points are, however, clear: (a) the MS. was in Smyrna, and (b) it was sent from there to a place where Arabic was in use. Beyond these two obvious facts it

Maghrebi MS., U. Monneret de Villard, *Un codice arabo-spagnolo con miniature*, *Bibliofilia*, vol. 43 (1941), pp. 209–223; A. R. Nykl, *Historia de los amores de Bayād y Riyād*, New York, 1941; see also L. T. B[albás], *Miniaturas hispano musulmanas*, *Al-Andalus*, vol. 15 (1950), pp. 196–202.

⁴⁴ Berti Toesca, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

would be idle to speculate. "This place" could, of course, have been Baghdad.

It is clear that the writer of the Arabic note did not connect the *Tacuinum Sanitatis* of the fourteenth century with the Arabic *taqwīm al-ṣiḥḥah* of the eleventh. For this he can hardly be blamed, for the illustrated version bears but a remote resemblance to the original or to its Latin translation in synoptical tables.

After this unavoidably rather long digression, we may sum up the results of the first part of our inquiry:

Representations of the Seasons do not appear in early Islamic art as far as this is known at present. The first unmistakable pictures of the Four Seasons appear in a MS. of the Jelairid School which was illustrated, probably at Baghdad, in the year 801/1399. They are adapted from almost contemporary European models and are closely connected with a group of illustrated north-Italian MSS. of the *Tacuinum Sanitatis*.

B. THE LABORS OF THE MONTHS

The number of pictorial representations of the Labors of the Months in classical antiquity and throughout the Middle Ages is very great, much larger than that of the Seasons. The classical world knew "allegories" and "representations of the months" but never evolved a fixed iconography for each single month. The same representations were used in different calendars for two and sometimes even three different months. The allegories of the months referred to their most characteristic features, either religious events or man's activities in the country. The earliest popular liturgical calendar goes back to the first or second century B.C. and is preserved in a bas-relief which now decorates a wall of the Lesser Metropolitan Church, Hagios Eleutherios, in Athens. The various representations refer to the principal feasts of the Attic calendar and are accompanied by the corresponding signs of the zodiac. The Roman cal-

endars continued the tradition, but omitted all details referring to Hellenistic religious ceremonies which were foreign to Roman religious life. More and more emphasis was laid on the naturalistic element.

There is no radical split between the classical models and their medieval counterparts. Gradually the representative picture was transformed into a scene of action—"from abstract to concrete, from allegory to the practical aspect of life."¹

"In taking over the pagan theme of the months, the Christian artists endowed it with a concreteness it had never possessed in Antiquity. . . . The Middle Ages gradually produced a series of genre scenes of the labors of the months, following the changes of the year's work according to the seasons, the climate and the agricultural economy of the land and therefore showing characteristic variations from region to region."²

The development of the different series of Labors of the Months as they appear in mosaic, painting, sculpture, and book illumination has been very fully studied as far as Western art is concerned.³ Their occurrence in Islamic art has not as yet been noticed or considered.

I know of no painting or sculpture in Islamic art in which the theme is used, but there are clearly identifiable representations of the Labors of the Months both in Islamic metalwork and on ivories.

¹ Doro Levi, *The allegories of the months*, p. 276 ff.

² M. Schapiro, *Review of Webster's "Labors of the Months,"* *Speculum*, vol. 16 (1941), pp. 131-132.

³ Cf. J. C. Webster, *The labors of the months in antique and mediaeval art to the end of the twelfth century* (Northwestern University Studies in the Humanities, 4), Evanston and Chicago, 1938; O. Koseleff, *Die Monatsdarstellungen der französischen Plastik des 12. Jahrhunderts*, Basle, 1934; and *Representations of the months and zodiacal signs in Queen Mary's Psalter*, *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, vol. 22, series 6, 1942, pp. 77-88; G. Rasetti, *Il calendario nell'arte italiana e il calendario abruzzese*, Pescara, 1941.

Complete series of the twelve-months' cycle appear on a very particular type of bronze candlestick. This type, of which numerous specimens are scattered among a number of private and public collections, deserves a special study which I hope to undertake later.⁴ A

⁴ Following is a list of 34 candlesticks of this type which have come to my notice. I should be most grateful to anyone who would call to my attention any additions by writing to me c/o The School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, W.C. 1 (England):

United Kingdom:

Victoria and Albert Museum	Nos. 547-1899 548-1899 711-1910 35-1923
W. L. Hildburgh coll.	No. 239
D. S. Rice coll.	Nos. 1 2

France:

Louvre	No. 3436
Mutiaux coll.*	No. 50

Italy:

Bologna, Museo Civico	No. 897
Florence, Museo Nazionale	No. 358 C
S. Maria in Vulturella (Tivoli)	Nos. X Y

Germany:

Berlin, Islamische Abteilung	Nos. J. 3577 IB 499
Sarre coll.*	No. 40

Sweden:

Stockholm, F. R. Martin coll.*	No. 34
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Greece:

Athens, Benaki Museum	No. 52/9
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Turkey:

Istanbul, Topkapu Sarayı Müzesi	No. X
Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi	Nos. 104 107 108 109 112 114 1318 1373 2556

somewhat lengthy digression is, nevertheless, necessary here.

All the candlesticks in this series are cast and hollow inside and their height approximately equals the diameter of their base (ca. 21 cm.). All have bell-shaped bodies and most of them are inlaid with silver. Though identical in shape and cast in an alloy which produces dark-brown and olive-brown patinas, this group of candlesticks shows an extraordinary variety of décors with a remarkable range of motifs and techniques.

The first to be published is known only from an engraving. It belonged to a private collection in Bologna, but I do not know where it is at present (*fig. 2*).⁵ The best-known piece (but by no means the earliest of the series) originally belonged to R. Koechlin and is now in the Louvre (No. 3436; *pl. 7, a*).⁶ The décor consists largely of polylobed medallions depicting hunters and revelers. The inscription, in pseudo-kufic script, is purely ornamental and meaningless. A similar candlestick, belonging to the late M. Mutiaux was recently sold by auction in Paris.⁷ The prin-

Ankara, Etnografya Müzesi	Nos. 5538 5539
Konya, Müze	Nos. 389 391

Egypt:

Cairo, Arab Museum, Harari coll.	No. 69
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(The present whereabouts of pieces marked with an asterisk are unknown to me.) Cf. also D. S. Rice, *Studies in Islamic Metal Work—IV*, BSOAS, vol. 15 (1953), p. 501, note 2.

⁵ M. A. Lanci, *Trattato delle simboliche rappresentanze arabiche*, Paris, 1845, vol. 3, pl. 6. The ball-shaped hand warmer on top of the candlestick naturally has no connection with it.

⁶ G. Migeon, *Exposition des arts musulmans*, Paris, 1903, pl. 17, a.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pl. 17, b; *Succession du Col. W . . . ancienne coll. Mutiaux, cinquième vente, objets d'arts orientaux*, Paris, Hotel Drouot, 14, mars, 1952; item 50, illustrated on the cover of the catalogue.

cial themes are again concentrated in medallions with hunters, but these are linked by decorative bands filled with arabesques, animals, musicians, and revelers.

A further, magnificent specimen, unfortunately rather badly worn and disfigured by a clumsy late graffito, is in the Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi, Istanbul (No. 112; *pl. 8, a*, and *fig. 17*). Another is in the Victoria and



FIG. 2—CANDLESTICK IN PRIVATE COLLECTION,
BOLOGNA
(After Lanci.)

Albert Museum (No. 547-1899), and a third in the writer's possession (*pl. 7, b*). To the same group belongs a specimen in the Etnografya Müzesi, Ankara (No. 5538), which has preserved most of its inlay (*pl. 8, c*).⁸ Another example in the Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi is adorned with greater wealth of epigraphic bands of which one can count four in pseudo-kufic and two in naskhī script (No. 107; *pl. 8, b*).⁹ The Türk ve İslam Eserleri

⁸ For a photograph showing another view cf. H. Koşay, *Tekke ve türbeler kapandıktan sonra*, *Güzel Sanatlar*, No. 6 (1949), p. 5.

⁹ The Museum register records its provenance as

Müzesi also possesses a piece from whose décor all epigraphic elements have been excluded (No. 114; *pl. 8, d*) and a very similar piece with a single, meaningless, pseudo-kufic inscription round the neck only (No. 109; *pl. 8, e*).¹⁰ The Victoria and Albert Museum possesses an almost identical example of the latter candlestick (No. 711-1910).

Another variant is represented by candlesticks on which at least the naskhī inscriptions (containing the traditional blessings) make sense. One is in the Benaki Museum (No. 52/9; *pl. 8, f*), one in the Museum of Konya (No. 389), and two others in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Nos. 548-1899 and 35-1923).

Again in the Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi, there is a specimen very similar to the preceding, but with arabesques reserved and set off, as if in negative, by a silver background (No. 108; *pl. 8, g*).¹¹ This is a technical device known to me only on brasses of the thirteenth century.

There are also instances when the décor of the candlesticks is made up of interlaced strands enclosing seven-petaled rosettes. Of these, one is in the Museum of Konya (No. 391), another in the Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi (No. 2556; *pl. 7, d*), and a third in the writer's possession.

The Harari collection, Cairo, includes the base of a candlestick of this type (No. 69) with a very interesting décor consisting mainly of a row of dancers holding hands. Another specimen of this kind, but of poorer workmanship and also without its socket, belongs to the W. L. Hildburgh collection (now on loan exhibition at the Victoria and Albert Museum,

the mausoleum of Sayyid Battal Gazi near Eskişehir (see art. *Battāl*, in *Encyclopaedia of Islām*, vol. 1, p. 680).

¹⁰ The provenance of these two pieces is given as Niksar.

¹¹ The provenance is given as the Gedek Ahmed Mosque of Serez near Salonica.

No. 239), and a complete specimen with the same décor of dancers is in the treasury of S. Maria in Vulturella (Tivoli).¹²

Other variants include candlesticks with figural or ornamental décor on boldly hatched grounds such as those of a piece in the Etnografya Müzesi, Ankara (No. 5539; *pl. 8, h*), and another in the Türk ve Islam Eserleri Müzesi (No. 1318; *pl. 8, i*).¹³

Furthermore, some of these candlesticks are decorated with small medallions depicting the signs of the zodiac. One is in the Museo Nazionale, Florence (No. 358 C), one in the Islamische Abteilung, Berlin (No. J. 3577), and a third belonged to F. R. Martin. This piece has a decoration identical with that of a candlestick which belonged to F. Sarre. In addition to animal friezes, medallions with the signs of the zodiac and the usual naskhī inscriptions (of which one ends in human heads), its décor included two engraved Persian quatrains.¹⁴ The same Persian quatrains appear on the candlestick in the F. Sarre collection (No. 40; *fig. 3*) and were deciphered and translated by E. Mittwoch.¹⁵

Neither the date nor the origin of this type of candlestick has, as yet, been satisfactorily fixed. Migeon ascribed the Koechlin piece (*pl. 7, a*) to the fourteenth century, without specifying the origin.¹⁶ Later he attributed it to Mosul and dated it to the thirteenth-fourteenth century.¹⁷ Glück and Diez described one of the Berlin specimens (*pl. 9, a*) as "Persian" (?) and dated it to the thirteenth-four-

teenth century.¹⁸ Kühnel, describing the Koechlin piece, thought that it did not quite fit the Mosul group and suggested that it should be attributed to Asia Minor under the Seljuqs and dated to the thirteenth century.¹⁹ F. R. Martin's attribution of his candlestick to Damascus (?) and to the sixteenth century does not deserve to be discussed seriously. Sarre described the identical piece in his possession as fourteenth-century but did not propose an origin.



FIG. 3—CANDLESTICK IN SARRE COLLECTION
(After Sarre.)

Yet, everything, as will be shown, points to Azerbaijan and to the province lying immediately to the north of it as the place of origin of this typical kind of cast candlestick. The Persian quatrains which adorn two of these pieces firmly establish their Persian origin. The palaeographic characteristics of most of the inscriptions have close parallels in the epigraphy of the Caucasian province of Daghestan (*pl. 4, d*).²⁰ Moreover, the only signed

¹² A. Rossi, *Santa Maria in Vulturella*, Rome, 1905, pl. 13.

¹³ The provenance of the latter is indicated as the Büyük Minareli Mosque, Antalya.

¹⁴ F. R. Martin, *Ältere Kupferarbeiten aus dem Orient*, Stockholm, 1902, pl. 34.

¹⁵ In F. Sarre, *Erzeugnisse islamischer Kunst, Teil I, Metall*, Berlin, 1906, pp. 20, 80, and fig. 19, reproduced above as figure 3.

¹⁶ Migeon, *Exposition*, pl. 17.

¹⁷ Migeon, *Les cuivres arabes*, *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, vol. 23 (1900), p. 122.

¹⁸ H. Glück and E. Diez, *Die Kunst des Islam* (Propyläen Kunstgeschichte V), Berlin, 1906, p. 588 and pl. 456, where it is described erroneously as "gehämmert." All the candlesticks in this group are cast, not raised.

¹⁹ E. Kühnel, *Meisterwerke muhammedanischer Kunst*, Munich, 1910, vol. 2, pl. 149, No. 3065.

²⁰ Cf. A. S. Bashkirof, *Iskusstvo Dagestana*, Moscow, 1931, pls. 12, 13, 71, 73.

candlestick of this type (which will be described in detail below) is signed by an artist who probably came from a place situated south of the Caucasus.

The territory which lies to the west of the Caspian Sea is rich in mineral resources and the Alan inhabitants of the Caucasus were renowned as skilled metalworkers.²¹ At Angert, in the district of Qarajadāgh, situated in the northwestern part of Azerbaijan, there is a deposit of a composite ore of copper and tin which could be made to yield bronze by direct smelting.²² From this area comes one of the finest of Islamic cast bronzes—a group of “a cow, a calf and a lion cast simultaneously” for Rūzbeh ibn Afrīdūn by ‘Alī ibn Muhammad ibn Abī’l-Qāsim in 603/1206, which belongs to the Hermitage Museum in Leningrad.^{22a} Qazwīnī (who died A.D. 1283) relates the following highly interesting facts about Tabriz, the capital of Azerbaijan and for many years the center of the Ilkhan administration: “The coinage of Tabriz is made of bronze (*ṣufr*) from which *ḥils* are struck. They (the inhabitants) also use objects (*qīṭa’*) such as pots (*ṭanjīr*), mortars (*hāwin*), and candlesticks (*manār*) as currency. When they make use of these objects for commercial transactions they buy goods and take the change in small

pieces.”²³ This statement by a well-informed author, describing conditions which he himself had witnessed in the latter part of the thirteenth century, is of capital importance. It may help to explain why the bell-shaped candlesticks in our group were always made in the same form and size. Uniformity was obviously desirable in objects which were also intended for use as “currency.”

While the northwest-Persian origin of this type of candlestick is practically certain, its dating still presents some difficulty, as no dated specimen has so far been recorded. Judging by palaeographic details, however, (such as the naskhī inscriptions ending in human heads), by the use of gold inlay (which is not found elsewhere before the mid-13th century), and by certain decorative features (such as the background scrolls, and the Labors of the Months, which will be analyzed below), it is possible to attribute most of the pieces in this group to the second half of the thirteenth century and some of the less skillful specimens to the early fourteenth.

But of particular interest for the purposes of this study are five candlesticks of the same type whose décor includes figures that represent the Labors of the Months. They belong to five different collections:

- I. Islamische Abteilung, Berlin (No. IB 499; *pls. 9, a, and 13; fig. 6*).
- II. S. Maria in Vulturella (*pl. 9, b*).
- III. Topkapu Sarayı Müzesi (*pls. 10, a, and 14*).
- IV. Türk ve Islam Eserleri Müzesi (No. 104; *pls. 10, b, and 15*).
- V. Museo Civico, Bologna (No. 897; *pls. 11 and 12*).

I. A photograph of this candlestick has been reproduced, but the significance of the striking and unusual medallions has not been noticed.²⁴ There are naskhī inscriptions on the

²¹ See the notes collected by L. Olschki, *Guillaume Boucher, A French artist at the court of the Khans*, Baltimore, 1946, p. 8, note 22.

²² Y. Mactear, *Some notes on Persian mining and metallurgy*, Transactions of the Institution of Mining and Metallurgy, vol. 3, London, 1894–1895, p. 3 f., who quotes a dispatch to Lord Palmerstone dated 1837; also, D. Ghambashidze, *Mineral resources of Georgia and Caucasia*, London, 1919, esp. pp. 23–44.

^{22a} М. М. ДЬЯКОНОВ, БРОНЗОВЫЕ ВОДОЛЕИ 1206 Т.Н. Mémoires, III^e Congrès international d'art et d'archéologie iraniens, Leningrad, 1939, pp. 45–52, pls. 24–25; ШИРВАНСКИЙ БРОНЗОВЫЙ ВОДОЛЕИ. ПАМЯТНИКИ ЗПОХИ РЧСТАВЕЛИ, Leningrad, 1938, pp. 247–254, pls. 37–40.

²³ Qazwīnī, *Athār al-bilād*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen, 1849, p. 227.

²⁴ Glück and Diez, *op. cit.*, fig. on p. 449a.

socket and neck (the former with letters ending in human heads) and one more on the upper part of the base. Besides medallions enclosing a bird, the décor consists of twelve oblong, ogival medallions linked by small circles containing alternately six-armed swastikas and six-petaled rosettes. The figures have kept most of their inlay of silver and are, together with those of No. V, the best preserved of the series.

II. Owing to the inaccessibility of the Monastery of Santa Maria in Vulturella, I have been unable to visit it, and no photographs of the individual medallions could be obtained. Judging by a general view (*pl. 9, b*) and by the description provided by Attilio Rossi in his little-known monograph on the Monastery, there can be no doubt, however, as to the nature of the decoration. Rossi's comments on Islamic metalwork are outdated, but he deserves credit for having given a correct interpretation of the twelve figures when he wrote:

L'artefice rappresentò in una serie continua di medaglioni a forma di scudo, alternati con piccole ruote dentate, dodici figure virili, vestite della corta tunica araba, stretta alla cintura, il capo ornato di aureola, ricoperto di un berretto a turbante e recanti in mano utensili diversi . . . Uno di essi, con una vanga nelle mani, piega la persona al faticoso lavoro della terra; un altro, con la destra armata di una stretta roncola, attende a mietere le alte biade che ha innanzi; un terzo seduto sopra una argine è in atto di pescare con la lenza; un quarto porta sul dorso un capriolo ucciso nella caccia; un quinto stringe una scure; altri, infine, recano un'anfora capace sotto il braccio o sollevano in alto una piccola coppa o portano due piccoli calici o una grande secchia. Il significato molto preciso di alcuni di tali figure, come quelle che sono in atto di mietere, di pescare, di vancare o come reduci della caccia, ci muovono a riconoscere in esse le allegorie dei mesi, rappresentati nell'esercizio o funzione più conveniente à ciascuno, malgrado che non di tutti i personaggi e delle loro attitudini sia con certezza riconoscibile il particolare valore allegorico.²⁵

²⁵ Rossi, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-79, and *pl. 12*. I have not been able to consult a copy of Cascioli, *Memorie storico-critiche del santuario di N. S. di Mentorella*,

On this piece we also find five bands of pseudo-Arabic inscriptions, two in naskhi (one ending in human heads) and three in pseudo kufic.

III. The candlestick of the Topkapu Sarayı Müzesi (*pl. 10, a*) was acquired during my stay in Istanbul in 1951 and was not yet numbered when I was allowed to photograph and study it. It is a badly worn piece, but most of the silver inlay is still preserved. It shows the same pseudo inscriptions as the preceding two pieces and also twelve oblong, ogival medallions with figures of the Months linked by small roundels with six-armed swastikas.

IV. The well-preserved candlestick in the Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi (*pl. 10, b*) has lost most of its silver inlay. Although its décor follows the general lines of those observed in the foregoing pieces, there are some significant differences. The designs are incised much deeper, the script is cruder and more than usually distorted and the 12 medallions are no longer elegant and oblong but squat and bulging at the sides. There are, above all, differences in the treatment of the figures and of their backgrounds which will be discussed below.

V. The last, and most magnificent, candlestick in this series belongs to the Museo Civico of Bologna (*pls. 11, 12, and 20, d*). This piece is outstanding for its craftsmanship and originality and it is also the only specimen of this type of candlestick which bears an artist's signature. It is, therefore, necessary to describe it more fully.

Like all the other candlesticks in this series, it is cast in bronze and of nearly equal height (19.7 cm.) and width (20.5 cm.). It is hollow inside and decorated with traced and silver-inlaid designs on its entire outer surface. Gold is used only as inlay for the inscription and for the small roundels and hexagons that

Rome, 1901, where another photograph of the candlestick is said to be reproduced.

punctuate the framework of the décor which is organized in circular bands:

(a) *The socket* (upper diam. 6.1 cm.).—Three pairs of musicians and revelers separated by hexagons filled with patterns based on six-armed swastika designs; the whole underlined by pointed half-palmettes interlaced with square frames (*pl. 11, b-e*).

(b) *The neck* (diam. 4.5 cm.).—Three hexagons inscribing "Seals of Solomon" linked by a gold-inlaid naskhi inscription on a ground of chased palmettes and scrolls, above and below (in the center of each segment of the inscription) small round faces with lovelocks chased on silver. The inscription reads:

- (i) 'amal shirīn (ii) bin awḥad (iii) al-quway'i.
 (i) "The work of Shirīn" (ii) "son of Awḥad"
 (iii) "al-Quway'i."

Though perfectly legible (*pl. 11, b-d*) the text presents a number of difficulties. Prof. V. Minorsky kindly contributed the following comments on Shirīn: "*Shirīn* for a man? Unless his name was not *shirīn* (ancient *shirēn* from *shir*, "milk," "sweet") but *shērēn* (from *shēr*, "lion," "leonine"). The name *shērī* does occur, but very rarely. *Shērīn* (<*shērēn*) may be an archaic form used by the Kurds." I have, however, found one example of the use of *Shirīn* as a man's name. It was that of the Sheikh of the Hospice of Baybars in Cairo (al-khānaqāh al-baybarsiya) who died in 749/1348-9.^{25a}

The name of the artist's father, Awḥad, is well attested and I shall in future refer to the artist of the Bologna candlestick as Ibn Awḥad. The *nisbah* is perfectly clear, down to the *hamzah* in form of *yā'*, but I know of no parallel, nor is it to be found in the great dictionary of *nisbahs* compiled by Sam'ānī. The geographical dictionary of Yāqūt records a place name *Quwayy* and explains it as de-

rived from *qāwiya* "an empty place, a desert," but no *nisbah* is mentioned.²⁶

A twelfth-century Arabic text on the history of the area that lies between the Caucasus and Azerbaijan mentions a place called Quwā, which fell under the domination of the Shirvānshāhs.²⁷ Quway'i could be a *nisbah* of a diminutive of this place name. The attribution of our type of candlestick to the region of Shirvān and Tabriz is thus further strengthened. We may now proceed with the description of candlestick No. V:

(c) *The shoulder*.—Three quadrilobed medallions with birds of prey alighting on ducks alternating with three round medallions filled with arabesques.

(d) *The base* (height 11 cm.) is divided into three horizontal bands intersected by three large, slightly oval medallions (diam. 6. cm.). The medallions depict (i) a rider piercing a lion with his lance, a cheetah on the horse's crupper, a bird on the ground (*fig. 7*); (ii) a rider holding a hawk on his gloved left hand, a hunting dog, and a perched bird; (iii) a rider with dagger and small circular shield fighting a dragon, a flying bird.

The horizontal bands depict (from top to bottom): (i) Nine shield-shaped medallions with figures of the Months (*pl. 12*); (ii) three pairs of musicians, revelers, and a dancer set against a ground filled with vigorous scrolls; (iii) the twelve signs of the zodiac set in medallions similar to those of the Months in the uppermost band. It should be noted that the twelfth sign "Leo" has been replaced in this cycle by the symbol of the sun which is a planet. The same substitution also takes place in other candlesticks of this series decorated with zodiac signs (see above, p. 16).

²⁶ Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Leipzig, 1866-73, vol. 4, pp. 23, 207.

²⁷ V. Minorsky and Cl. Cahen, *Le recueil transcaucasien de Mas'ūd b. Nāmdār*, Journal Asiatique, vol. 237 (1949), pp. 118, 139, 140.

^{25a} Cf. Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalānī; *Ad-durar al-kāmina*, Hyderabad, 1349 A.H., vol. 2, p. 197, No. 1952.

The décor of candlestick No. V is rounded off by a beautifully balanced frieze of affronted winged sphinxes and lions.

We may now examine the figures of the months as they appear on the five candlesticks described above by taking the Berlin specimen (No. I) as point of departure. In the following, Roman numbers refer to the five candlesticks and Arabic numbers in parentheses refer to the position the figure occupies in each cycle (*pls. 12-15*). All cycles are started with the figure of the man warming himself by the fire and proceed clockwise.

I(1). A man with a pointed conical hat is sitting on a tilted stool, his hands are stretched forward (*pl. 13, upper right*); behind his hands is a rod-shaped object; at his feet is a stylized plant. It is at once obvious that the model before the Islamic artist was that of the figure warming himself by an open fire which in Western art traditionally represents January or February. The iconography of this month developed mainly during the Middle Ages, but it had a classical antecedent in a figure of the decorated ceiling of Hadrian's villa.²⁸ The figure on candlestick No. I(1) has retained the characteristic gesture of the outstretched arms, but it is doubtful whether the artist had understood its significance. As in Western art, the figure is shown in a seated position. In some cases (I(1) and V(1)) its stool is tilted forward (for which detail parallels also exist in great number in Western art) in others (III(1) and IV(1)) the stool has three legs. A figure described by Rossi in No. II is said to be "seduto sopra una argine . . . in atto di pescare con la lenza." This may be yet another figure in which the flames from the fire were mistaken for a fishing line (though representations of fishermen do occur among the Labors of the Months).

²⁸ N. Ponce, *Arabesques antiques des bains de Live et de la villa Adrienne*, Paris, 1789, pl. 10. The ceiling has since been destroyed.

The figures of January and February often appear in Western art clad in warm winter cloaks with raised hoods.²⁹ In the Islamic version the hood is transformed into a conical hat for which there are many parallels in metalwork and miniatures. Finally the flame, either misunderstood or discarded as unsuitable for engraving on metal, assumes various shapes. It is a "rod" in I(1) and also, partly, a plant in V(1), a thin undulating line in III(1), and disappears entirely in IV(1).

I(2). A man digging with a mattock. This iconographic theme representing February has several European parallels.³⁰ It also appears on No. II (see *pl. 9, b*), and on III(3). The figure is omitted in the incomplete cycle of No. V and appears "out of place" as "May" in IV(5). In Western art this figure sometimes represents March (especially in England) as well as February, but only once April (in Germany), never May.³¹

I(3). A man carrying a horned animal on his shoulder. The gesture is familiar from monuments depicting "the good shepherd" (Lucas, XV, 4), which have their antecedents in classical and, further back, in old oriental themes.³² It is not uncommon in Islamic art, of which the oldest example occurs in a fresco at Samarra.³³ Several other Islamic examples can easily be quoted but in all these instances

²⁹ Webster, *op. cit.*, pls. 21, 27, 31, 34, etc.; Koseleff, *Die Monatsdarstellungen*, p. 19.

³⁰ Cf. the sculptures of the cathedral of Cremona and Parma, both belonging to the twelfth-thirteenth centuries, Webster, *op. cit.*, pl. 25 and p. 139, No. 39; pl. 28 and p. 144, No. 47.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 175-179.

³² F. Saxl, *Frühes Christentum und spätes Heidentum in ihren künstlerischen Ausdrucksformen*, Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte, 2(16) (1923), Vienna, 1925, pp. 88-100.

³³ This was shown by J. Sauvaget in *Remarques sur les monuments omeyyades, II: Argenteries "sasanides,"* Journal Asiatique, vol. 232 (1940-41), p. 54 ff., who correctly interpreted the figure as a man carrying an animal killed in the chase.

the figure carrying an animal on its shoulders is devoid of any symbolic significance. "Good shepherd" figures are far from common among the representations of the Labors of the Months. But they occur as figures for April in a Greek MS. of the eleventh century belonging to the library of St. Mark's (*pl. 16, a*)³⁴ and among the calendar sculptures of the great portal of the Basilica of St. Mark's in Venice,³⁵ which are a work of the thirteenth century to which more references will be made below. It is significant to note that, despite its rarity in Western art, this iconographic figure of April appears in all five Islamic candlesticks: In I(3), III(5), and V(2) the two bent horns of the animal are clearly visible, and it appears to be a calf or an ox. In IV(3) it is more like a gazelle. Rossi says of one of the figures in No. II that it represents a man who "porta sul dorso un capriolo ucciso alla caccia."

I(4). A man holding a bent stick on his right shoulder. A similar figure occurs in V(3) but the stick ends in a bird's head, and also in IV(7), where it resembles a hockey stick. This figure may have been derived from the iconographic theme of June, which is sometimes represented by a man with a scythe.³⁶

The oddly shaped sticks might be distorted renderings of the scythe—an implement unknown in Near Eastern agriculture during the Middle Ages—or it might be meant to represent a flail. Threshing scenes occur quite frequently in Western art as Labors of the Month of August (cf. *pl. 20, b*).

I(5). A man holding a flail-shaped stick on his left shoulder and a sheaf in his right hand, almost identical with the preceding Labor of the Month. A slightly different rendering is to be found in III(10). Similar figures

occur in Western art³⁷ and also in a late Georgian calendar whose iconography must be based on a long-standing tradition (*fig. 4*).³⁸

I(6). A man reaping with a sickle. This is a very common figure for July in Italy and Spain and for August in France, England, and Germany.³⁹ It is repeated on four of the five candlesticks and also appears on Islamic representations of the zodiac sign of *sunbulah* (Virgo) (see above, p. 9 and note 35; also *pl. 4, a*). In I(6) and V(4) the reaper is shown in profile and is bearded. In III(8) he is shown *en face* and Rossi describes the corresponding figure in No. II as "armata di una stretta roncola attende a mietere."

I(7). A man wearing a crown-shaped hat and holding a beaker. A similar but hatless figure occurs in V(6), and according to Rossi one of the figures on No. II is lifting "una piccola coppa." The theme does not appear on Nos. III and IV. August is sometimes represented by a cup and fan (or only one of these attributes) to indicate the heat of the Summer month. Such a figure drinking from a cup is found in the Chronograph of A.D. 345, on the mosaic pavement of Beisan dated early sixth century A.D., and in the already quoted Greek MS. of St. Mark's Library, Venice (*pl. 16, a*).⁴⁰ But it is not common in the medieval iconography of the Labors of the Months in Europe. It does occur, however, among the sculptures of the portal of the Basilica of St. Mark's where August is shown as a youth asleep in an armchair and holding a fan.

I(8). A man with a broad-brimmed hat holding a branch or flower stalk. A similar figure is to be seen in V(5) but the man is again hatless. It is also found in III(4) and possibly in IV(6). It may have been derived

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pls. 9, 14, etc.

³⁸ Reproduced from J. Mourier, *L'art du Caucase*, Brussels, 1907, p. 92.

³⁹ Webster, *op. cit.*, pp. 175-179.

⁴⁰ Webster, *op. cit.*, pls. 3, 8.

³⁴ Codex Gr. DXL; see also Webster, *op. cit.*, pl. 10.

³⁵ For reproductions see Rasetti, *op. cit.*, pl. 30.

³⁶ Webster, *op. cit.*, pp. 175-179.

from a pruning scene which appears in some European cycles of the Labors of the Months.

I(9). A man holding an ax-shaped tool in his left hand and lifting a pear-shaped object in his right. An identical figure occurs in IV(8) but the "ax" has a rectangular shape. In V(7) the man holds up the "pear-shaped object" but has no "ax." In III(11) both attributes are completely deformed, only the gesture remains the same. There is a very close parallel between this group of figures and Au-

The figure of a warrior armed with shield, sword, and sometimes also lance, appears in the Byzantine Octateuchs, in the Greek MS. of St. Mark's Library (*pl. 16, a*), and in the sculptures of the Basilica of St. Mark's (which partly derived their inspiration from Byzantine cycles) as the figure of March. It also appears in the Georgian calendar referred to above (*fig. 4*). The most common Western figures for October are vintage scenes, feeding of hogs, and ploughing.



FIG. 4—GEORGIAN CALENDAR

(After Mourier.)

gust in the Greek eleventh-century MS. in the Library of St. Mark's (*pl. 16, a*). The "ax" in fact is a fan and the "pear-shaped object" a cup. They are best rendered in IV(8), but even in I(9), where the fan is really shaped liked an ax, its true nature is revealed by the shaft sticking out at the top. This series of figures is, in all probability, a group of doublets for those discussed under I(7) above.

I(10). A bareheaded man with a round shield and sword. The same figure appears in V(8) and also, it seems, in No. II where Rossi found a figure which "stringe una scure." IV(2) might have been intended as a rendering of the same theme but the sword has become a dagger and the shield (if it is a shield) is oblong. There is no parallel in No. III.

I(11). A man holding a cleft stick in his left hand and three indeterminate objects in his right. The figure does not appear in the incomplete cycle of No. V or in No. IV and seems to correspond partly to III(11) and III(6). It may have been intended to represent "turnip pulling" which sometimes stands for November in Italian cycles.⁴¹

II(12). A man with a broad-brimmed hat holding a square object which may be a cage. The same figure appears in V(9), but it is absent from the Istanbul candlesticks III and IV. A man in a similar position and holding a cage is found on the mosaic of the Monastery of

⁴¹ Webster, *op. cit.*, p. 132, No. 28; p. 133, No. 31; p. 134, No. 32.

Lady Mary in Beisan (A.D. 568-569).⁴² It also appears in the *Chronicon Zwifaltense minus* of Stuttgart (*fig. 5*) and in the Georgian calendar (*fig. 4*). A bird catcher without a cage represents November in the sculptures of St. Mark's (*pl. 19, d*).

III(4). Man with a flower on a long stalk.

III(7). Man with two ears of corn.

III(12). Man holding a hare. This is a known iconographic type for October. It occurs in the Chronograph of A.D. 345, in the mosaic from Carthage in the Musée du Troca-

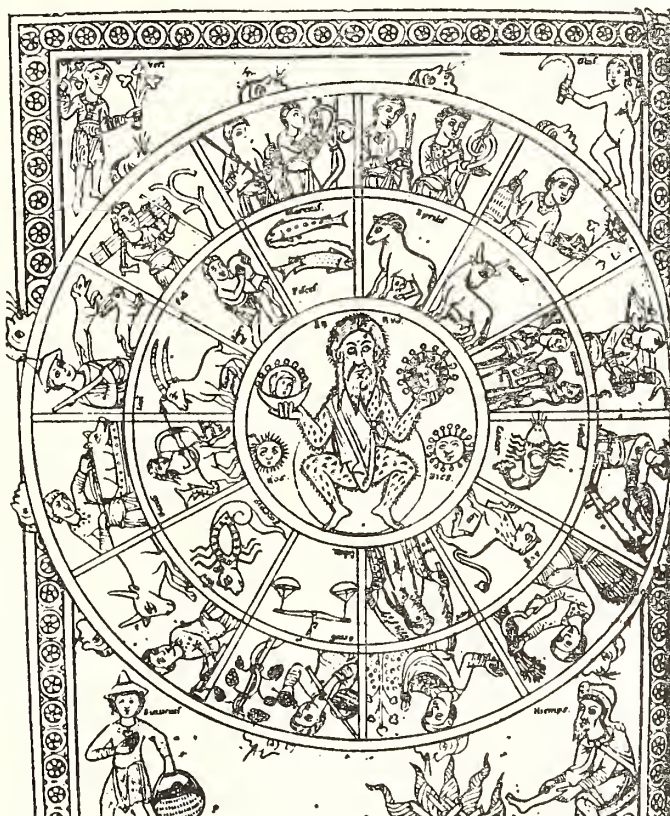


FIG. 5—CODEX ZWIFALTENSE MINUS

(After Webster.)

Apart from providing parallels for the twelve figures on candlestick No. I, the other four pieces show a number of additional representations:

No. II must be excluded from the discussion, for the time being, for lack of photographs.

III(2). A standing figure with a round object in each hand.

⁴² *Ibid.*, pl. 8, b.

déro,⁴³ and, in a somewhat modified form, in the Georgian calendar (*fig. 4*).

IV(4). Man with a mirror-shaped object.

IV(6). Man with flowers. Cf., e.g., the figure for May in the Greek MS. of the Library of St. Mark's (*pl. 16, a*), and the Georgian calendar (*fig. 4*).

IV(9). Man carrying two buckets. This figure seems to have a parallel on No. II

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pls. 3 and 5.

where it is described as "portando una secchia."

IV(10). Man carrying a hare, which hangs from a stick, and a basket or cage. A close parallel is to be found in the Georgian calendar (*fig. 4*).

IV(11). A tambourine player, and

IV(12), a figure without attributes, defy explanation and may have no connection with the Labors of the Months cycles.

All the nine figures on candlestick No. V have parallels in the cycle of No. I and have already been discussed.

Certain observations may now be based on the foregoing detailed analysis. The Berlin piece (No. I) shows the cycle of Labors of the Months closest to a Western model. A glance at the figures after omission of the medallions and their backgrounds (*fig. 6*) will help to emphasize this view. Several figures have headdresses of a type which is not oriental and the feet of the warrior in I(10) are shown in perspective in a manner not usual in Islamic metalwork.

The candlestick of Bologna (No. V) is closely related to that of Berlin. The figures are hatless but their attitudes are nearly always the same as in No. I.

The Topkapu Sarayı specimen is decorated with a cycle which shows many divergences from the foregoing. It not only includes a number of new figures but also shows slight differences such as the reaper seen *en face* (III(8)) and the three-legged stool of the man warming himself by the fire (III(1)).

The candlestick of the Türk ve Islam Eserleri Müzesi (No. IV) is in a category by itself. Its figures are the farthest removed from the Western model and have probably passed through the hands of several copyists.

The figures of the candlestick of S. Maria in Vulturella are the only ones whose heads are surrounded by halos. This shows a greater



FIG. 6—THE LABORS OF THE MONTHS ON CANDLESTICK No. I. (BERLIN.)

degree of adaptation to Islamic taste and a stricter observance of the conventions of Islamic metalwork. There are, to my knowledge, only a few examples of human figures without halos in Islamic metalwork until the end of the fourteenth century.

There is a further significant aspect of this

series of candlesticks which is, as far as I know, without precedent, namely the treatment of some of the backgrounds. This is particularly noticeable in the background of a large medallion of No. V (*fig. 7* and *pl. 20*).

scrolls for larger areas—twelfth century and first half of the thirteenth century.

(c) Scrolls with palmettes and half-palmettes, spiral scrolls, flowers, animals and birds as filling between the principal figures



FIG. 7—MEDALLION WITH RIDER AND CHEETAH FROM CANDLESTICK NO. V.
(BOLOGNA.)

Roughly speaking, the development of the backgrounds on early Islamic metalwork falls into the following groups:

(a) Plain backgrounds until the eleventh century.

(b) Punch-marked backgrounds for small surfaces (*fig. 8*) and tightly rolled spiral

(*fig. 13*); this is characteristic of the so-called "Mosul School."

(d) The "emancipated" background scroll which has, as it were, a life of its own and winds and curls behind as well as between the figures. Another new feature of this development is the appearance of intersecting scrolls.

It is characteristic of the Syro-Egyptian workshops of the early Mamluk period (late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries) (*fig. 9*).⁴⁴

(e) A further development of (d) and multiplication of meandering scrolls with peg-shaped tendrils and fewer flowers, characteristic of the more stereotyped décors of Persian wares of the mid-fourteenth century (*fig. 10*).⁴⁵

It is clear at once that the background of the rider in the medallion of candlestick No. V (*fig. 7*) falls into none of these categories. Here we have a relatively large surface devoid of any inlay and incised with totally different scrolls and palmettes. The same pattern is to be seen in the backgrounds of the Labors of the Months in candlesticks I, III, and V (*pls. 12-14*). In No. IV two types of background alternate in the medallions (*fig. 11* and *pl. 15*). Half the backgrounds are decorated with continuous scrolls with hooked tendrils (*fig. 11, a*), the other half are filled with tightly wound spirals (*fig. 11, b*) already to be found on some "Mosul" metalwork and also on a debased and probably late candlestick of the Azerbaijan series in the Türk ve Islam Eserleri Müzesi (No. 1373) (*pl. 7, c*). Yet another pattern appears in the corresponding surfaces on No. II (as far as can be judged from the only available photograph, *pl. 9, b*). There the scrolls resemble the type with tendrils described in category (e) above.

The unconventional scrolls which decorate the backgrounds in Nos. I, III, and V are clearly in a category apart. They have little in common with traditional Islamic scrolls and their continuous undulating lines never inter-

sect (*fig. 7* and *pl. 20, e*). On the other hand they have a striking affinity with the backgrounds of certain well-defined Limoges enamels grouped under the name of *émaux à fonds vermiculés* (cf. *pl. 20, d*, and *fig. 12*). This class of Limoges enamels was first recognized by C. de Limas⁴⁶ and systematically studied by J. J. Marquet de Vasselot.⁴⁷ The Limoges enamels à *fonds vermiculés* have gilded backgrounds ornamented with continuous incised scrolls. The examples chosen for comparison here (*fig. 12* and *pl. 20, e*) are in the British Museum,⁴⁸ but about 120 pieces of this category of enamels are known, scattered among many collections and church treasuries.⁴⁹ They include some of the finest products of the Limoges workshops and have been dated to the end of the twelfth and the early thirteenth centuries. The *vermiculé* type of enamel gradually lost its popularity toward the end of the first quarter of the thirteenth century.⁵⁰

There can be no doubt that the ornamental scroll patterns are of oriental origin and probably reached the ateliers of western Europe through Byzantine channels. The *vermiculé* scroll is a characteristic development of the basic design. It covers the whole gilt surface of the backgrounds and hugs the contours of the figures. The Islamic *vermiculé* scroll (as represented by the backgrounds of the candlesticks with Labors of the Months) is in every way similar to the *vermiculé* of the

⁴⁶ C. de Limas, *La chasse de Gimel (Corrèze) et les anciens monuments de l'émaillerie*, Paris, 1883.

⁴⁷ J. J. Marquet de Vasselot, *Les émaux à fonds vermiculés XII^{ème}, XIII^{ème} siècle*, *Revue Archéologique*, vol. 6 (1906), p. 4 ff.

⁴⁸ See O. M. Dalton, *A guide to the mediaeval antiquities . . . in the British Museum*, London, 1924, p. 51, fig. 32, and p. 83, fig. 48.

⁴⁹ Cf. M. M. S. Gauthier, *Emaux limousins champlevés des XII^{ème}, XIII^{ème} et XIV^{ème} siècles*, Paris, 1950, pp. 30-31, pls. 9-11, 16.

⁵⁰ Cf. J. J. Marquet de Vasselot, *Les crosses limousines du XIII^{ème} siècle*, Paris, 1941, p. 111 f.

⁴⁴ Cf. D. S. Rice, *The Baptistère de Saint Louis*, Paris, 1953, especially pls. 8-23.

⁴⁵ The medallion chosen for this illustration was taken from the Nisan Tasi in Konya which is a Persian metal basin with cover and stand of exceptionally large dimensions. It bears the titles of the last Ilkhan Abū Sa'īd, who died in A.D. 1336.

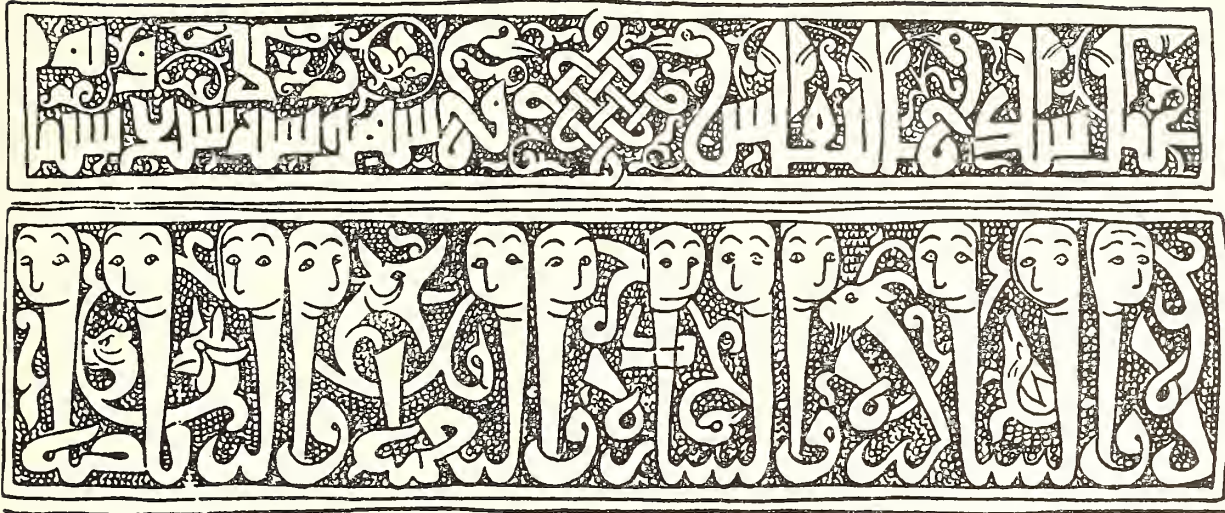


FIG. 8—DETAIL, PEN CASE DATED 607/1210. FREER GALLERY OF ART
(After *A Survey of Persian Art*.)



FIG. 9—DETAIL, "BAPTISTÈRE DE SAINT LOUIS." MUSÉE DU LOUVRE

Limoges enamels. Like the latter, it covers, like a carpet, the entire space between the figures without ever moving behind them. Its

European model, it is never inlaid. So far, I have found the Islamic *vermiculé* scrolls in the original form only on the candlesticks deco-



FIG. 10—MEDALLION FROM NISAN TASI, KONYA, MÜZE



a



b

FIG. 11, *a, b*—MEDALLIONS FROM CANDLESTICK NO. IV. TÜRK VE İSLAM ESERLERİ MÜZESİ

coils and undulating lines are tangent and never intersect. Like the European *vermiculé*, it makes profuse use of large, typical palmettes enclosed in loops of scrolls and, like its

rated with the cycles of the Months whose iconographic derivation from the West is well established. In a somewhat modified form the same scroll also appears on another candle-

stick of the same series, which is decorated with hunters on horseback (Türk ve Islam Eserleri Müzesi, No. 112, *pl. 8, a*, and *fig. 17*).

It is interesting to compare, in this connection, the rendering of a familiar theme typical of Islamic iconography—the hunter on horseback accompanied by his cheetah (*fig. 7*). It recurs on several of the northwest Persian

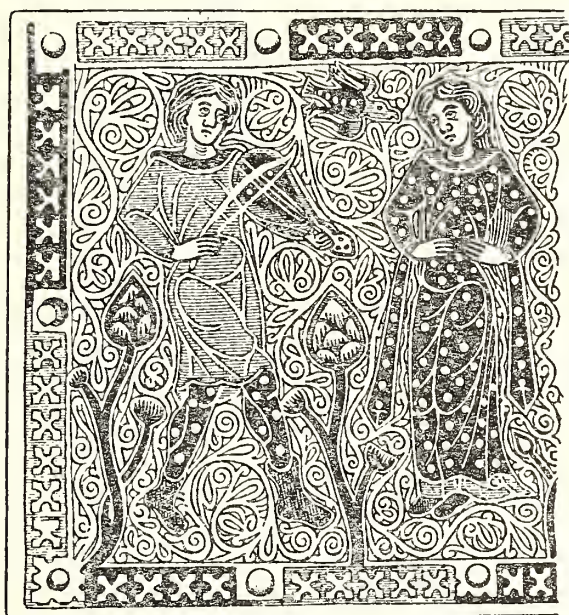


FIG. 12—LIMOGES VERMICULÉ

(Courtesy British Museum.)

candlesticks, and on other, datable, pieces of Islamic metalwork. The significant differences in the treatment of the backgrounds can thus be best visualized.

In a medallion of the famous Blacas Ewer in the British Museum which was made in Mosul in A.D. 1232, the cheetah is seen *en face*; the background is filled with a very thin scroll with palmettes, and some subsidiary figures and plants (*fig. 13*).⁵¹

On an early Mamluk basin in the Victoria

⁵¹ For photographs see *Survey of Persian art*, vol. 6, pl. 1330.

and Albert Museum, which can be dated to the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century and ascribed to an Egyptian workshop, the cheetah's eyes are hidden by a hood (*fig. 14*).⁵² The scrolls are typical of early Mamluk work and frequently intersect, in contrast with the "Mesopotamian" and *vermiculé* scrolls.

Almost contemporary with the basin, and making use of a somewhat archaic form of spiral scrolls with hook-shaped tendrils, is the scene depicted in a polylobed medallion of a thirteenth-century (probably Syrian) candlestick in the Harari collection (*fig. 15*). The rider has turned toward the cheetah and is holding a ball used for the training of these animals.

In a medallion on an unpublished bowl by a Shīrāzī artist and dated A.H. 705/A.D. 1305 in the Galleria Estense, Modena (*fig. 16*), the animal is rendered in humorous fashion and the scrolls are almost completely concealed under large exuberant flowers.

The background of the medallion taken from a candlestick of the northwest-Persian series in the Türk ve Islam Eserleri Müzesi (No. 112; *pl. 8, a*) comes closest to the *vermiculé* scrolls (*fig. 17*), but it shows some adaptation to Islamic taste and in places moves behind the figures. The joining of the hunter with cheetah and the dragon-spearing horseman in a single composition is unusual, but it occurs again on another candlestick of the same series (Türk ve Islam, No. 114; *pl. 8, d*, and *fig. 18*). Here, however, the scrolls bear only the slightest likeness to *vermiculé* backgrounds.

The hunter in a third example from the same series is carrying a polo stick (Türk ve Islam, No. 107; *pl. 8, b*) and the scrolls have

⁵² For a general view of the basin see Victoria and Albert Museum: *Fifty masterpieces of metalwork*, London, 1951, pl. 44. This is the only example of a hooded cheetah known to me outside of Indian miniatures.



FIG. 13—BLACAS EWER, A.D. 1232



FIG. 14—VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM BASIN



FIG. 15—HARARI CANDLESTICK



FIG. 16—MODENA BASIN, DATED 1305



FIG. 17—TÜRK VE İSLAM ESERLERİ MÜZESİ CANDLESTICK NO. 112



FIG. 18—TÜRK VE İSLAM ESERLERİ MÜZESİ CANDLESTICK NO. 114



FIG. 19—TÜRK VE İSLAM ESERLERİ MÜZESİ CANDLESTICK NO. 107

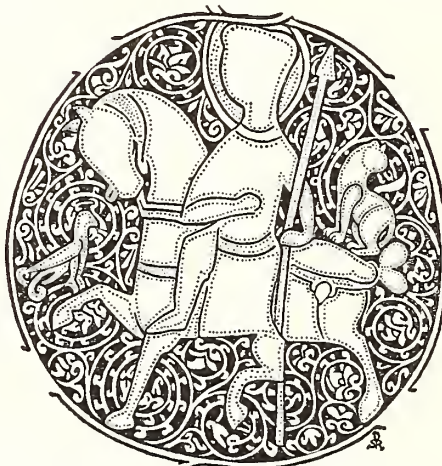


FIG. 20—D. S. RICE CANDLESTICK NO. 1



FIG. 21—KOECHLIN CANDLESTICK, LOUVRE

become spirals with hooks and tendrils (*fig. 19*). On a candlestick in the writer's possession (*pl. 7, b*, and *fig. 20*) most of the scroll is of this type but the winged half-palmettes are reminiscent of *vermiculé* backgrounds.

Finally, on the Koechlin candlestick (Louvre 3436; *pl. 7, a*, and *fig. 21*) the scrolls are massive, inlaid with silver, and frequently intersect and continue their loops behind the figures in a manner which bears no resemblance to *vermiculé* work.

No Limoges enamels à fonds *vermiculés* depicting the Labors of the Months have come to light so far. This does not mean, of course, that they never existed, for the surviving 120 pieces of *vermiculé* enamel are only a small fraction of the vast output of the Limoges workshops. The loss, in particular, of many pieces of the early thirteenth century with secular themes is an acutely felt lacuna. Enamels with religious themes that were kept in treasuries of churches and monasteries have survived in greater numbers.

There are, however, representations of some Labors of the Months on a type of Limoges enamels that has been attributed to the middle of the thirteenth century and which belong to a group following immediately upon that of the *vermiculé* enamels. The surviving examples are a vintage scene in a medallion of the British Museum (No. 1898, 10-28, 1; *pl. 20, a*), a pruning scene(?) and a threshing scene, both in the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore (Nos. 44.489 and 44.493; *pl. 20, b-c*).⁵³ *Vermiculé* enamels with similar scenes may well have existed and found their way to the Near East, where they were transposed by Islamic artists into the medium in which for several centuries they had maintained unrivaled supremacy—traced and inlaid metalwork. It is interesting to note in this connection that the British Museum medallion

with the vintage scene (*pl. 20, a*) was discovered in Cyprus, and that Cyprus was the point of departure of merchants, ambassadors, and travelers who proceeded via Ayās, in south-eastern Anatolia, to Erzerum, and thence, via Tabriz, to Central Asia and to the Far East. Moreover, cloisonné enamel did not make its appearance in China until the Yuan period and the Chinese term *fa lan* by which it is known denotes a Western origin.⁵⁴ It is also well to remember that the road to China and to the court of the Great Khan led through the territory of the Ilkhans.

Western influences on Islamic metalwork are by no means limited to iconographic borrowings such as those of the cycle of Labors of the Months. Attention has already been drawn to the adoption of the *vermiculé* technique derived from Limoges enamels. In another instance one can point to the adoption of a specific shape for an Islamic vessel. The "Vaso del Vescovali," recently acquired by the British Museum⁵⁵ is a cast, covered bowl of unusual shape. It closely resembles the thirteenth-century ciborium belonging to Lord Balfour of Burleigh in size, shape, profile, and even in the organization of its décor. On the other hand, many characteristics of the "Vaso del Vescovali" link it with the cast and inlaid candlesticks of northwestern Persia and it should be dated not earlier than the middle of the thirteenth century.

Before turning to examine in greater detail the channels by which European artistic production reached the Near East, it is necessary to describe yet another set of Islamic examples of Labors of the Months. These are to be found on some of the famous Carrand ivories now in the Museo Nazionale, Florence (*pl. 19, a* and *c*). These pierced ivories—five

⁵⁴ Olschki, *Guillaume Boucher*, p. 106, note 134.

⁵³ I am greatly indebted to Mrs. M. M. S. Gauthier of Limoges for information on this subject.

⁵⁵ R. H. Pinder-Wilson, *An Islamic bronze bowl*. British Museum Quarterly, vol. 16 (1951), pp. 85-87, pl. 32.

pieces of unequal size—are plaques which originally decorated one or more coffers. The three smaller pieces are decorated with dancers and musicians, the two larger plaques each show a pair of Labors of the Months. The figures of the larger plaques bear a striking resemblance to the sculptures which decorate the great portal of the Basilica of St. Mark's in Venice. In these masterly sculptures of the thirteenth century, various stylistic elements—Romanesque, Byzantine, and early Gothic—are admirably blended (*pl. 19, b and d*).⁵⁶

In the Carrand ivories the order of the registers is reversed, but the principle of the layout and the rhythm are the same as in the Venetian sculptures. The large leaves which serve as background setting for the reliefs are replaced by scrolls with large oval loops that follow the same outlines. The figures and their attitudes have undergone some modification and are adapted to Islamic tastes. It is doubtful whether the Islamic artist was ever aware of the significance of the figures. He was probably attracted only by their decorative value.

The figure of the vintager in the first plaque follows very closely the Western model that depicts September, but the figure of the peasant with the spade has become a lion hunter armed with a spear and retains only the main outlines of its model.

The lower figure in the second plaque is that of a man holding a hare by its legs with his right hand and quenching the thirst of his hunting dog from a jar which he holds in his left hand. Above the huntsman's shoulder is a bird (wild duck?). The group represents a hunting scene and corresponds to the figure of the bird catcher in the Venetian relief representing October. A figure combining those of the bird catcher and hare hunter also occurs

⁵⁶ A. Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, Milan, 1904, vol. 3, p. 359 ff.; P. Toesca, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, Turin, 1927, vol. 2, pp. 495-497, figs. 521-523.

in the Georgian calendar (*fig. 4*) to which reference has already been made.

The last figure in the upper register of the second ivory plaque depicts a man bending forward to cut the throat of a horned animal (gazelle?). This is simply the Islamic version of the traditional Western scene of hog killing which illustrates the occupation of December in the Venetian cycle and in many others. The Muslim artist naturally avoided depicting an unclean animal and replaced it by one whose flesh was fit for consumption. The manner of killing has also been altered—instead of sticking, the severing of the throat veins is resorted to, this being the only method of killing authorized by Muslim religious practice.

The borrowings from Western iconography made by the artist who carved the Carrand ivories are obvious. Together with the iconographic motifs, certain stylistic elements found their way into the Islamic ivories. They are evident in the treatment of the folds (especially in the dress of the lion hunter), in the manner in which the sheath of the gazelle-killer's dagger is suspended, in the wickerwork of the vintager's basket, and in the cut of the short-sleeved tunic of the huntsman. All these show that they were derived from a foreign model.

The date and origin of the much-published Carrand ivories have been the subject of considerable divergences of views, and have remained controversial. Hans Graeven called them Sicilian and dated them to the twelfth century.⁵⁷ Migeon called them Fatimid.⁵⁸ Kühnel suggested Egypt or Asia Minor as their place of origin and placed them in the

⁵⁷ Hans Graeven, *Frühchristliche und mittelalterliche Elfenbeinwerke in photographischer Nachbildung*, Rome, 1900, p. 25, No. 40.

⁵⁸ G. Migeon, *Manuel d'art musulman* (2d ed.), Paris, 1927, vol. 1, p. 341; *Les arts musulmans*, Paris, 1926, pl. 39, and p. 31.

thirteenth century on grounds of their affinity with certain Mamluk wood carvings. He favored, however, an attribution to the Seljuqs of Asia Minor.⁵⁹ Glück and Diez, without any cogent arguments, while accepting the thirteenth-century dating, thought that the ivories were the products of either Egypt or Sicily.⁶⁰ Dimand agreed with Migeon and stated that "these plaques, which represent the height of Fatimid ivory carving, may be assigned to the period of the caliph Mustansir (1036-1094)." ⁶¹

There need be little argument about the date in future. The iconographic borrowings have close parallels in the Labors of the Months which decorate the portal of St. Mark's in Venice (completed ca. 1275)⁶² and cannot be much earlier than the second half of the thirteenth century. This date is confirmed by the style of the palmettes which blossom from the scrolls. It goes without saying that some portable object, perhaps even an ivory carving,⁶³ and not the sculptures must have been the actual models of the Islamic artist. As for the origin of the Carrand ivories, they may be the product of Sicily, Egypt,

⁵⁹ E. Kühnel, *Meisterwerke muhammedanischer Kunst*, Munich, 1910, vol. 3, pl. 253.

⁶⁰ Glück and Diez, *Kunst des Islam*, p. 599 and pls. 498-499.

⁶¹ M. S. Dimand, *A handbook of Muhammadan art* (2d ed.), New York, 1944, pp. 124-125.

⁶² E. Bressan, *La basilica di San Marco*, Venice, 1943, p. 59.

⁶³ For a Byzantine ivory carving of the twelfth century depicting September, cf. A. Goldschmidt and K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen des XI-XIII. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1934, vol. 1., pl. 54, No. 83.

R. Ettinghausen kindly called my attention to the fact that R. Riefstahl, in a footnote, had also observed the resemblance of the Carrand ivories to the St. Mark's portal; cf. R. Riefstahl, *Vier syrische Marmorkapitäle mit figuralen Darstellungen in der Moschee zu Boz Uyük*, *Der Islam*, vol. 20 (1932), p. 190 f., note 6.

Asia Minor, or even Mesopotamia. It would be rash to attempt a more definite localization in the absence of any specific evidence.

C. CONCLUSION

The impact of Byzantine art and, mainly through it, of Classical art on artistic developments in the Islamic world during its early formative centuries still awaits study. The limited role played in the later Middle Ages by the native Christian communities of the Near East in transmitting their iconographic themes and techniques to the Muslim artists is now better understood in all its complex aspects.⁶⁴ The influence of Islamic art on the arts and crafts of western Europe has received some attention,⁶⁵ but no serious attempt has been made, as yet, to outline the extent of the trend in the opposite direction (from West to East) which the reciprocity implied in all cultural contacts leads us to expect.

That Christian religious motifs were occasionally used for the decoration of inlaid Islamic metalwork has been recognized for some time. Two dated pieces in this style have come down to us and help us to classify most of the undated ones. All belong to the thirteenth century. The dated pieces are a candlestick in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris (dated 646/1248), and a large basin made for an Ayyubid sultan (637-647/1239-1249) in the

⁶⁴ Cf. H. Buchthal, *The painting of the Syrian Jacobites and Islamic art*, Syria, 1939, pp. 136-150; "Hellenistic" miniatures in early Islamic manuscripts, *Ars Islamica*, vol. 7 (1940), pp. 125-133. U. Monneret de Villard (*Le pitture musulmane al soffitto della Cappella Palatina in Palermo*, Rome, 1950, p. 54 f.) is inclined to attribute a greater share to the Christian communities of Edessa and other north-Mesopotamian towns.

⁶⁵ Cf. the examples surveyed by R. Ettinghausen, *Islamic art and archaeology*, Near Eastern Culture and Society, ed. by T. Cuyler Young, Princeton, 1951, p. 17 ff.

d'Arenberg collection.⁶⁶ The finest undated pieces are a pilgrim bottle from the Eumorfopoulos collection in the Freer Gallery of Art,⁶⁷ a ewer in the Homberg collection,⁶⁸ an unpublished ewer in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, and a platter in the Leningrad Hermitage.⁶⁹ Smaller pieces with Christian motifs are the incense burners in the British Museum, in the Islamische Abteilung, Berlin,⁷⁰ and in Cleveland,^{70a} and cylindrical boxes in the Victoria and Albert Museum,⁷¹ in the Stroganof collection,⁷² and in the Harari collection in the Arab Museum in Cairo.⁷³ In a class apart is a large cup of unusual shape (in the Türk ve Islam Eserleri Müzesi) which I propose to publish in detail in my current *Studies in Islamic Metal Work*. It is important to note that no Christian themes appear on Islamic metalwork prior to the thirteenth century and that nearly all the pieces decorated in this manner are of Syrian origin.

The artists who decorated these vessels

⁶⁶ For reproductions see *Meisterwerke Muhammedanischer Kunst*, vol. 2, pls. 146 and 147; vol. 4, No. 3057.

⁶⁷ Cf. M. S. Dimand, *A silver inlaid canteen with Christian subjects in the Eumorfopoulos collection*, *Ars Islamica*, vol. 1 (1934), pp. 17-21.

⁶⁸ Cf. G. Migeon, *Exposition d'art musulman*, Paris, 1903, pl. 15.

⁶⁹ Cf. *Meisterwerke*, vol. 2, pl. 153; and A. ЯКЧ-БОВСКЛИ, КАШГАРСКОЕ ВЛЮДО XII-XIII ВВ. ПАМЯТНИКИ ЭПОХИ РЧСТАВЕЛИ, Leningrad, 1938, pp. 209-216, pls. 23-27.

⁷⁰ Cf. M. Aga Oglu, *About a type of Islamic incense burner*, *The Art Bulletin*, vol. 27 (1945), figs. 8-9.

^{70a} Cf. H. C. Hollis, *An Arabic censer*, *Bull. Cleveland Museum of Art*, vol. 35 (July 1938), p. 137 f. and fig. facing p. 135.

⁷¹ Cf. D. S. Rice, *The brasses of Badr al-din Lu'lu*, *Bull. School of Oriental and African Studies*, vol. 13 (1950), pl. 15.

⁷² Cf. G. Migeon, *Manuel d'art musulman*, vol. 2 (2d ed.), p. 54.

⁷³ G. Migeon, *Exposition d'art musulman*, Alexandria, 1925, pl. 11, 3.

with scenes borrowed from Christian iconography were almost certainly Christians, and the motifs they used were part of the traditional repertoire transmitted from father to son in the families of craftsmen.⁷⁴ To what extent these models belonged to the iconographic cycles of the Eastern or the Western Church is a matter still awaiting detailed analysis. In one instance, at least, a Western origin must be suspected, for the tournament with hooded horses on the Freer Gallery pilgrim bottle shows a form of sport introduced to the Near East by the Crusaders.

In the series of candlesticks which I have ascribed to northwest Persia in the thirteenth century we can see figures derived from secular iconography—representations of the Labors of the Months. To these should be added scenes from other Persian metal vessels of the fourteenth century, the most striking examples of which will be found in the unpublished medallions decorating a candlestick in the Topkapu Sarayı Müzesi (No. 2628; *pl. 18*). This piece is anonymous but its laudatory inscription has the palaeographic characteristics of Persian metalwork of the Ilkhan period. On the other hand, its general shape, some of the floral ornaments, the grounds filled with interlinked swastika patterns (often called T patterns),⁷⁵ the splayed friezes of petals, and the rows of flying duck (but not their style) are reminiscent of the techniques of Syrian workshops.⁷⁶ This strange mixture of styles pro-

⁷⁴ Cf. Aga Oglu, *op. cit.*, p. 34 f.

⁷⁵ On this ornament see Rice, *The brasses of Badr al-din Lu'lu*, p. 630 and fig. 4.

⁷⁶ It is not surprising, therefore, that E. Kühnel, who published a general view of this candlestick (*Die Sammlungen türkischer und islamischer Kunst im Tschinili Köschk*, Berlin, 1938, pl. 30), classified it as a thirteenth-century Ayyubid piece and attributed it to Aleppo; the *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe* (eds., E. Combe, J. Sauvaget, G. Wiet, Cairo, 1941-42, vol. 11, No. 4122) lists the inscription on this candlestick as that of an Ayyubid sultan. There is no justification for such an attribution.



Fig. a

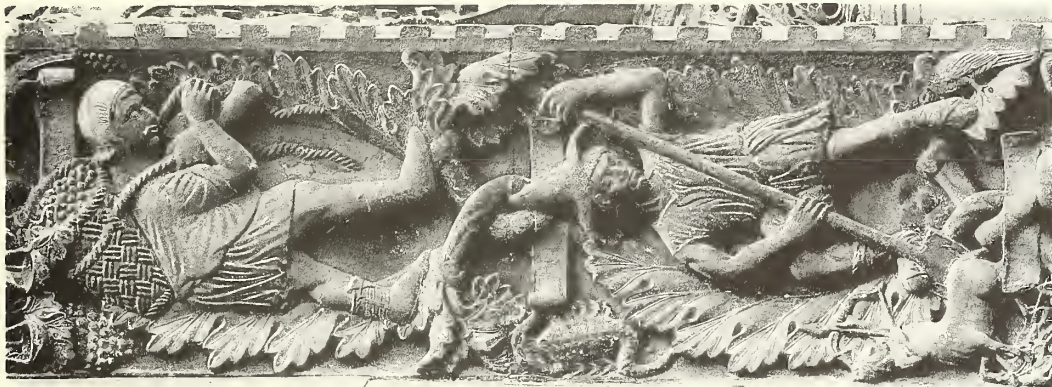


Fig. b



Fig. c



Fig. d

Figs. a and c. Carrand Ivories, Museo Nazionale, Florence. Figs. b and d. Sculptures from the Portal of the Basilica of Saint Mark's, Venice (details)
(Photographs Courtesy Flli. Alinari.)



Fig. e. St. John (detail), Limoges enamel à fond vermiculé, British Museum



Fig. c. Pruning Scene, Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore



Fig. b. Medallion with Threshing Scene, Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore



Fig. a. Medallion of Vintagers, Limoges Enamel, British Museum



Fig. d. Medallion from Bologna Candlestick, detail

(Photographs a, d, and e by D. S. Rice; photographs b and c courtesy Walters Art Gallery.)

vides a clue to the date. The candlestick was almost certainly made shortly after Ghāzān's conquest of Syria in A.D. 1300 when, in keeping with Mongol practice, groups of metalworkers had no doubt been deported to Persia. These craftsmen must have exerted considerable influence on the art of metalwork in Persia at the beginning of the fourteenth century. Thus we find the carpetlike interlinked-swastika patterns on balls from a window grating bearing the name of Ghāzān's successor, Öljaytu (A.D. 1304–1316), in the Harari collection,⁷⁷ and the combination of this motif with certain large floral designs (which are typically Persian) on an anonymous bowl in the Louvre.⁷⁸

The candlestick in the Topkapu Sarayı Müzesi can, therefore, be included among the early work of the Ilkhan period. Its most original features are to be found in the four small medallions (reproduced larger than life size on plate 18) which separate the panels bearing the large anonymous inscription. These small circular surfaces (only 4.5 cm. in diameter) are filled with beautifully balanced compositions, which, despite the loss of their silver inlay, have forfeited nothing of their liveliness.

In the first medallion (*pl. 18, a*) a man is riding on a zebu. He carries a stick and the animal grazes.⁷⁹ The hare in the medallion can hardly have been tied to the man's stick and is probably meant to be running. In the second medallion (*pl. 18, b*) a man riding a zebu is blowing a horn. The animal has turned its head to scratch its muzzle with a foot.

⁷⁷ R. A. Harari, *Metalwork of the early Islamic period*, A Survey of Persian Art, vol. 6, pl. 1357 A.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, pl. 1370 B.

⁷⁹ Cf. a similar scene on a glazed Persian tile in the Kelekian collection: *Meisterwerke Muhammedanische Kunst*, vol. 2, pl. 110; also А. Т. ГЮЗАЛЬЯН, ФРИЗОВЫЕ ИЗРАЗОЧЫ XIII В.С. ПОЭТИЧЕСКИМИ ФРАГМЕНТАМИ. ЗПИГРАФИКА ВОСТОКА, vol. 3, 1949, p. 77 f., fig. 4.

The remaining two medallions (*pl. 18, c, d*) feature couples of musicians in a garden. The last two compositions have a distinct European (one is tempted to say Italian Trecento) flavor and recall early examples of European genre painting.⁸⁰

The heads of the persons in these medallions are surrounded by halos, but this and, to some extent, the treatment of the vegetation are the only features characteristic of Islamic metalwork. All the rest, i.e., the poses of the men and women in the two medallions, the cut of their robes, the rendering of the draperies, even the style of their hairdress, and the shape of the benches on which they sit, are Western. There can be no doubt that the models for these scenes with musicians were European works of art, and probably Italian.

More subtle and more fully assimilated, and therefore less obvious, is the Western influence that can be detected in another famous Islamic metal vessel. This is to be seen in the medallions which decorate the so-called Guérin bowl now in the Harari collection.⁸¹ R. Ettinghausen, who was the first to publish this important piece, noted that "these scenes are marked by a certain fluid, natural quality and grace. This is all the more remarkable since the inlay technique generally tends towards heaviness and still more, because most of the inlay has fallen off, leaving only the silhouettes of the personages. Another unique feature is that the artist was here seriously concerned with the problem of composition and spatial relations, whereas in earlier and later metal pieces, the figures are merely placed against decorated backgrounds just as writing would be."⁸²

⁸⁰ Cf., e.g., the garden scene in the *Trionfo della Morte* fresco in Pisa; for a reproduction cf. *Enciclopedia Italiana*, vol. 27, pl. 97 b.

⁸¹ For photographs see Harari, *op. cit.*, pl. 1366.

⁸² R. Ettinghausen, *A fourteenth century metal bowl*, Bull. American Inst. Persian Art and Archaeology, vol. 4 (1935), pp. 41–42.

This concern with "composition and spatial relations" is indeed the newest and most striking feature both in the medallions of the Topkapu candlestick and in those of the

these three compositions of the Harari bowl, the fourth—representing a prisoner being led to a personage seated on a throne—is strikingly conventional (*fig. 25*). Not only do we



FIG. 22—SCENE WITH PARASOL



FIG. 24—SCENE WITH SOLDIERS



FIG. 23—SCENE WITH "HENINS"



FIG. 25—SCENE WITH PRISONER

FIGS. 22-25—HARARI BOWL

Harari bowl. There are no examples of similar attempts in the thirteenth century. It is unlikely that an artist of the preceding century would have cut any of his figures as in two medallions of the Harari bowl (*figs. 22, 23*) or drawn them together tightly round a semicircle as in figure 24. Compared with

frequently find this theme in various illustrated *Shāh-nāmehs* but the figures are conventionally disposed, none are cut, and more space is given to filling in with floral ornaments. The garden scenes in the first three medallions (*figs. 22, 23*) clearly reflect a different origin. They suggest a Western inspiration which ad-

mittedly has been almost completely transformed and assimilated.⁸³

Examples of similar trends in Islamic miniature painting are rare. The earliest are provided by the Edinburgh MS. of Rashīd al-Dīn's *Jāmi' al-tawārikh*, dated 714/1314, a work of the Ilkhanid School. Borrowings are restricted to Christian religious iconography. The most obvious instances are the picture of the Annunciation (fol. 24 r.; *pl. 16, c*) and the birth of Christ used as a model for the birth of Muhammad (fol. 44 r.; *pl. 16, b*).⁸⁴ There are other borrowings, however, such as the group of Moses and his followers in the miniature of The Crossing of the Red Sea (fol. 10 v.; *pl. 17, a*; note in particular the bare-headed figures); also the figure of Moses in the picture of the Death of Korah (fol. 11 r.; *pl. 17, b*; note the crosier and sandals); and in the figure of the companion of the monk Bahīrah (fol. 45 v.; *pl. 17, c*). In all these miniatures the treatment of the faces and various other details is more in keeping with their having reached the illustrator of Rashīd al-Dīn's World Chronicle through a European, rather than Byzantine or East Christian, channel. It is not surprising to find such influences side by side with the more numerous Chinese ones in the work of this eclectic historiographer, to whom we owe the first Islamic compilation on the history of the Franks.⁸⁵

Not until the very end of the fourteenth century do we find among the surviving illustrated MSS. at our disposal a clear and un-

mistakable group of iconographic borrowings from a Western source in the pages of the Bodleian astrological miscellany (Bodl. Or. 133), falsely attributed to Abū Ma'shar. In addition to the pictures of the Four Seasons and the figure of the Italian gentleman in one of the miniatures representing the Seven Climes described above (pp. 5-12), there are other miniatures in this work in which traces of European influences can be recognized and I hope to return to them on another occasion.

There are historical reasons why the Western influences which we have examined should have been particularly active between the middle of the thirteenth century and the end of the fourteenth, nor is it surprising that they should have found their most fertile ground in western Persia.

The Mongol invasions, striking deep into Europe and reaching the shore of the Adriatic in 1242, brought home to the Western Powers the need to conciliate so fearsome an enemy.⁸⁶ This led to a number of diplomatic contacts. The first embassy of Pope Innocent IV to the Great Khan was entrusted to a Franciscan, Francesco di Plan' Carpini, in 1245. From then onward repeated attempts were made by the Popes, and by Louis IX in particular, to reach an understanding with the Mongols against their common foe, the Mamluks of Egypt and Syria. These efforts were coupled with missionary activities throughout the second half of the thirteenth century.⁸⁷

A major role in these relations between East and West was played by the Christian communities in western Persia and by the European merchants who had settled there.

⁸⁶ Cf. V. Barthold, *La découverte de l'Asie*, tr. by B. Nikitine, Paris, 1947, p. 89 ff.

⁸⁷ For a recent summary of the relations between the Western Powers and the Mongols and the relevant literature on the subject see B. Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*, Leipzig, 1939, pp. 224-245.

⁸³ For the shape of the parasol in fig. 22 compare a similar sunshade on the thirteenth-century mosaic in the Baptistery of Florence. For a reproduction of this detail see P. Fracchetti, *Ombrello*. *Enciclopedia Italiana*, vol. 25, Rome, 1935, pl. 53, d.

⁸⁴ For reproductions of the whole miniatures see Th. Arnold and A. Grohmann, *The Islamic book*, Munich, 1929, pl. 41.

⁸⁵ Now edited and translated by K. Jahn, *Die Frankengeschichte des Rashīd al-dīn*, Leiden, 1950.

Christians enjoyed complete freedom under the early Ilkhans and many rose to important positions in the Mongol administration. Despite strong Muslim opposition they were able to build new churches and restore old ones, and a number of Ilkhans (especially their wives, some of whom were Christians) protected them. Side by side with the Eastern Christian communities were Catholic missions from the West.⁸⁸

The power of the Christians declined somewhat at the beginning of the fourteenth century when Ghāzān Khān made Islam the official state religion, but their influence still remained considerable.

With the destruction of Baghdad in A.D. 1258 and the advent of the Ilkhans, the center of trade had been removed from Iraq to Azerbaijan. Though they never completely renounced their nomadic way of life, the Ilkhans resided most of the time first at Marāgheh, then at Tabriz and ultimately, under Öljaytu (A.D. 1313), at Sulṭāniyeh.⁸⁹ Tabriz in particular developed into a flourishing trading center and was well known as such in Europe. It is to Tabriz that the European (chiefly north-Italian) merchants brought their goods and where some of them settled permanently. The earliest Italian resident of Tabriz of whom we have knowledge (his name is recorded in a will drawn up in 1264) is a Venetian, Pietro Viglioni (Vioni). Shortly afterward we hear of another Italian, a Pisan, Jolus or Ozolus, who wrote two letters to Pope Nicholas IV in 1289 and 1291.⁹⁰ It is during the latter year, under the rule of

Arghūn Khān (who was most favorably disposed toward the Christians), that Marco Polo and his brothers passed through Tabriz, which they described as a prosperous and cosmopolitan city.⁹¹

A well-established land route led from Tabriz via Khoy to Trebizond and Erzerum, and through Siwās to Ayās in Lesser Armenia, where the travelers could embark for Cyprus and European ports. The land route lay within territories either governed by the Ilkhans or recognizing their suzerainty.⁹²

Under the later Ilkhans, Öljaytu and Abū Sa'id, the Venetians and Genoese secured special treaty privileges and the Genoese took part in the navigation of the Caspian sea.

After the death of Abū Sa'id in 1336, the territory of the Ilkhans was split into small warring principalities. Persia's relations with the West naturally suffered a serious setback, for the Italian merchants were not prepared to face the risks and hazards of brigand-infested roads.

The Jelairids, who emerged as the successors of the Ilkhans in western Persia and Iraq, fully conscious of the benefits of a lucrative trade with the West, made successive attempts to restore it. The Jelairid sultan Uwais (1356-1374)⁹³ invited the Venetians to return to Tabriz and promised to ensure their safety and to reduce the toll dues.⁹⁴ The Genoese were also granted exceptional privileges by the same sultan. But the peaceful and

⁹¹ H. Yule, *The book of Ser Marco Polo*, London, 1875, vol. 1, p. 76; A. C. Moule and P. Pelliot, *Marco Polo*, London, 1938, vol. 1, p. 104.

⁹² For a map of this route see H. Kiepert, *Pegolotti's vorderasiatisches Itinerar*, Monatsberichte der k. preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, 1881, pp. 901-913; also Pegolotti, *La pratica della mercatura*, ed. A. Evans, Cambridge Mass., 1936, esp. pp. 389-391.

⁹³ Cf. V. Minorsky, *Uwais*, Encyclopaedia of Islām, vol. 4, pp. 1061-1062.

⁹⁴ Cf. Heyd, *op. cit.*, pp. 129-130.

⁸⁸ Cf. U. Monneret de Villard, *Il libro della perigrinazione nelle parti d'oriente di Frate Rinaldo da Montecroce*, Rome, 1948, pp. 38-39.

⁸⁹ For a chronological list of the Ilkhan capitals see Spuler, *op. cit.*, pp. 205-224. Cf. also V. Minorsky's articles, *Tabriz* and *Sulṭāniya*, in the Encyclopaedia of Islām, vol. 4, pp. 583 ff. and 544.

⁹⁰ Cf. W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant*, Leipzig, 1923, vol. 2, pp. 110-111.

prosperous conditions of the *pax mongolica* could never quite be re-established and the turbulent campaigns of Timur, in which the Jelairids were engulfed and their cities devastated, almost put an end to the fruitful relations of western Persia with the Italian Republics.

Enough has been said in the brief foregoing notes on the relations of western Europe with the Ilkhans and Jelairids to explain why circumstances were particularly favorable in the latter half of the thirteenth century and throughout most of the fourteenth for the transmission of artistic influences.⁹⁵ Ambassa-

⁹⁵ When I wrote this article I was, unfortunately, unaware of the remarkable study by Prof. Sirapie DerNersessian entitled *Western iconographic themes in Armenian manuscripts* (Gazette des Beaux Arts, 86th year, vol. 26, 1944, Melanges Henri Focillon, pp. 71-94), in which further historical evidence is

dors, missionaries and merchants—not to mention craftsmen who were often deported by the conquering Mongols or attracted by their patronage—certainly brought with them small objects, of metal, ivory, or wood, and illuminated MSS. It is not surprising that some of them attracted the attention of Islamic artists or their patrons and that the former tried to render the objects in their own artistic styles and mediums. Nor is it strange that the majority of the iconographic influences examined above should have come from northern Italy, whose merchants and missionaries were mainly responsible for this long and fruitful contact between East and West.

provided to explain the transmission of Western themes to Persia and Armenia. I am greatly indebted to R. Ettinghausen for calling my attention to this important contribution.

EARLY ISLAMIC BOOKBINDINGS AND THEIR COPTIC RELATIONS

BY THEODORE C. PETERSEN

WHILE THE BELIEF WIDELY PREVAILS THAT Islamic bookbinding owed much of its early artistic inspiration and technical skill to Coptic, Sasanian, and Hellenistic sources, a full demonstration of such indebtedness could not be undertaken so long as few or no bookbindings of the early days of Islamic history were known to have survived. Now, thanks to a fortunate recent discovery and the patient and painstaking study of the findings by Georges Marçais and Louis Poinssot, the long-delayed demonstration has been attempted and is presented in the first fascicle of an imposing work, *Objets Kairouanais, IX^e au XIII^e Siècle*, published by the "Direction des Antiquités et Arts," Tunis, 1948.

This first fascicle (364 pages of text with 67 drawings by L. Gaillard and P. Carrère, and 54 plates) deals exclusively with "Reliures de Kairouan." Under 156 numbers, some 179 ancient bookbindings and remnants of bookbindings are minutely described. While none of these bindings dates from the earliest period of Islamic history, 58 of them are assigned to the ninth century, 19 to the tenth, 71 to the eleventh, and 31 to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. All the 77 bindings dating from the ninth and tenth centuries and 58 or 59 of those dating from the eleventh are of the "format à l'italienne" (wider than high). The smallest of them (No. 10) measures 105 x 52 mm. The two largest (Nos. 22 and 23) measure 368 x 274 mm. and 370 x 270 mm., respectively. Twelve or 13 of the bindings assigned to the eleventh century and all the bindings assigned to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries are of the "format à la française" (higher than wide). The smallest of the latter group (No. 113) measures about

100 x 122 mm., the largest (No. 116) measures 344 x 405 mm.

The greater portion of these bindings, including all those of the ninth and tenth centuries, was discovered a few years ago by L. Poinssot in one of the storerooms flanking the north side of the court of the Grand Mosque of Kairouan. The room had been used for many years as a pigeon house and its floor was covered high with bird manure, but some forty or more years earlier someone had deposited here the discarded debris of the library of the Grand Mosque. This debris, regarded, most likely, as too venerable to be destroyed, consisted of some badly damaged leaves from early manuscripts of the Koran and a large number of torn-off old book covers, most of them broken and worm-eaten. When found, these book covers lay scattered pell-mell over the floor and were partly covered with manure. As their age and character were immediately recognized, they were taken to the Museum of Bardo, where they were carefully cleaned and prepared for permanent preservation.

Since these bindings were no longer attached to the books for which they were made, they could reveal little about the methods by which their several quires of leaves had been sewn into gathered books (*figs. 1-4*) and about the methods by which the gathered books had been attached to the covers.¹ But

¹ The lower cover of the ninth-century binding, No. 5, still holds the remnants of a quire of parchment leaves attached to it. The sewing of this quire was done in three stitches. The sewing holes of the longer middle stitch lie flush with the two holes found in the hinging edge of the wooden board, i.e., the holes into which the sewing threads of the book were laced in commencing and terminating the sewing op-

they reveal that most of the oldest book covers were made of wooden boards which were covered with brown leather showing elaborate patterns of interlaced decoration done in blind-tooling and stamping.²

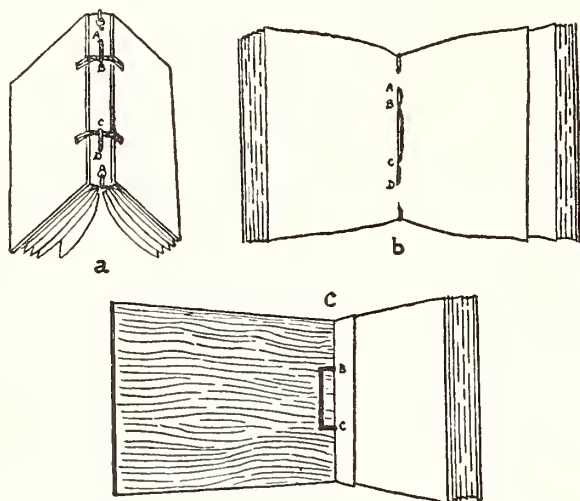


FIG. 1—SEWING OF KAIROUAN BINDING NO. 5
(97 x 142 MM.), A CODEX SEWN IN
SINGLE QUIRE
(After Gaillard.)

The inner sides of the boards had in most instances been lined with parchment sheets. Some of the latter were recognizable as being

eration. The hinging edges of a smaller number of the Kairouan boards lack those lacing holes, thus indicating that they were fastened to their gathered books not by lacing but only by means of glued strips of cloth, i.e., by a technique at variance with the general Coptic practice. That the latter practice of gluing books into "cased covers" was not unknown in Coptic Egypt, is shown, however, by such early evidence as the two detached wooden covers (Beatty early book covers I and II) with bone or ivory inlay, from Egypt, probably of the fourth century A.D. which had been hinged to their manuscript contents only with glued strips of linen and which came to the Chester Beatty Library together with the famous group of fourth-century Biblical Papyri, discovered in 1931.

² Four of these boards have been identified as being of Aleppo pine, four others of fig, three of white poplar, one each of black poplar, laurel, and tamarisk.

the unwritten first leaves of the first quires, or last leaves of the last quires, of the manuscripts bound within those boards. The gluing of these end leaves onto the inner faces of the boards was possibly intended to give added strength to the hinging of the covers. Another fact observable in these bindings was that most of them (perhaps all those having wooden boards) had been provided with clasps consisting of looped thongs and staples, i.e., of loops of thong fastened in the edge of the lower (left) cover and being just long enough to be clasped tightly to the head of a peg or staple driven into the rim of the upper (right) cover.³

A good number of the bindings dating from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, of the "format à la française," show that they were provided with pentagonal flaps extending from the fore edge of the lower left covers and being wide enough, after having been folded over the fore edge of the book, to be tucked under the upper covers down to half their widths, similar to the flaps still used in modern Islamic bindings.

Most of the older Kairouan bindings, however (chiefly those of the "format à l'italienne"), were provided with what in their present broken condition appear to be narrow leather flaps attached to the head, tail, and fore edges of the lower covers. While most of these flaps are partly or wholly broken off and lost, those which remain are of a width no greater than needed to cover the fore edges of the respective books for which they were made. Only in three instances is the leather of these flaps seen to be of single thickness,⁴ while in all other instances it is of double thick-

³ Metal staples were used in 25 of the Kairouan bindings, the numbers of staples used in any single binding varying from two to six. In two bindings the staples are of silver, in nine, of bronze, in the others, of iron.

⁴ In bindings 104 A and 106 A and D (not Nos. 116 A and D, as misprinted on p. 17, note 1).

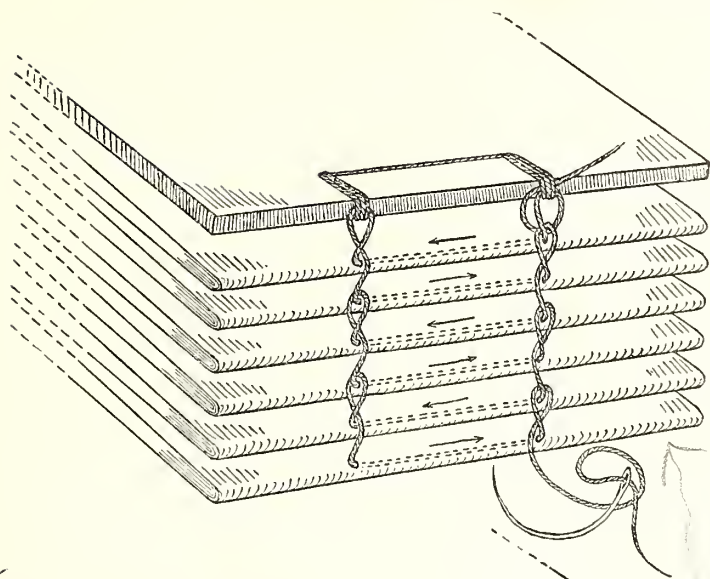


FIG. 3—RECONSTRUCTED SEWING OF KAIROUAN BINDING NO. 5 AFTER MARÇAIS' DESCRIPTION AS A MULTIPLE-QUIRE CODEX SEWN WITH THREE STITCHES

As the thread at the outermost sewing holes was not hinged to the covers, the drawing omits the usual interquire, chain-stitch linking at these two sewing holes. One should expect the codex to be sewn with four chain-stitch linkings, even though the covers were attached only to the second and third of the chain-stitch bands.

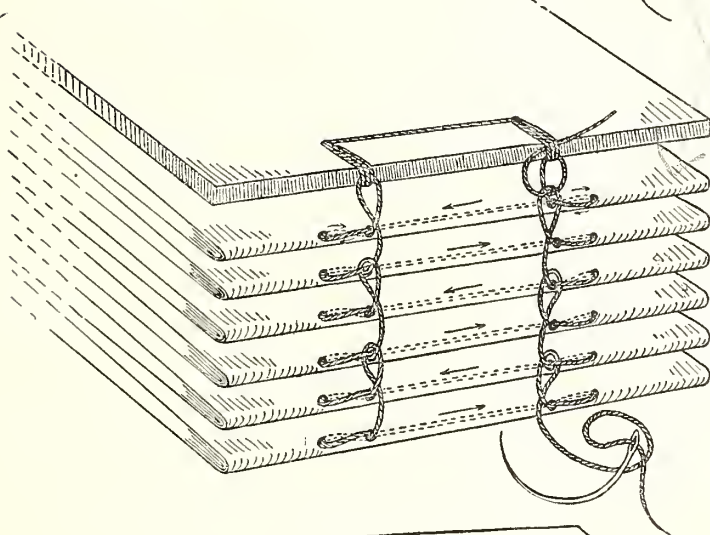


FIG. 2—SEWING OF THE MAGHREB PARCHMENT *Koran* MANUSCRIPT W 556 (146 x 160 MM.), TWELFTH TO THIRTEENTH CENTURY. BALTIMORE, WALTERS ART GALLERY

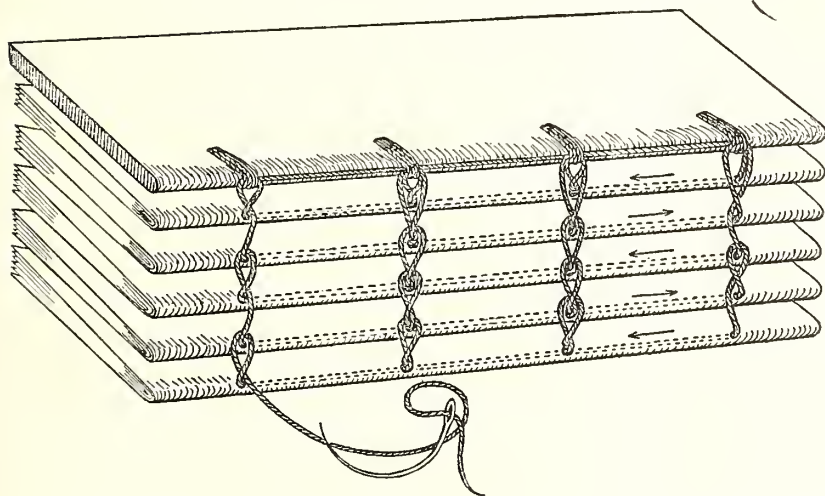


FIG. 4—SEWING OF COPTIC *Lectionary*, MS. MORGAN NO. 634 (320 x 270 MM.), NINTH CENTURY

ness, the leather having been folded over against itself, flesh side to flesh side, and then tightly glued together so as to make a stiff and solid flange. In many instances both sides of this flange are seen to be ornamented, gener-

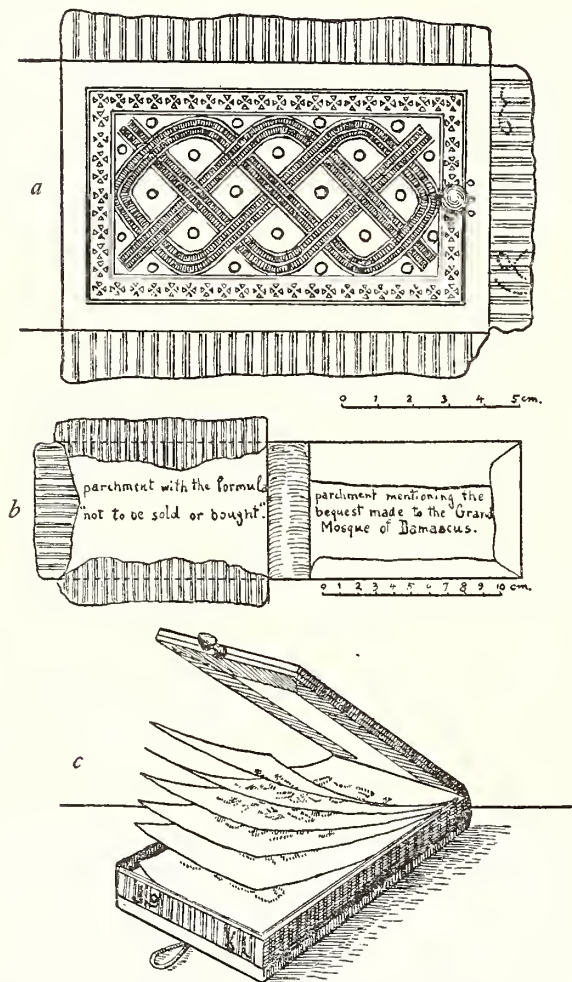


FIG. 5—BINDING OF *Koran* MS. MAṢĀḤIF NO. 188. CAIRO, NATIONAL LIBRARY

a. Decoration on lower cover; b. inner faces of the detached covers; c. reconstruction of a boxed binding.

ally with fillets, the ornamenting having been done before the flange was folded and glued. Three of the bindings⁵ are cited by the authors as offering sufficient proof to support the state-

⁵ Bindings Nos. 41, 54, and 94 bis.

ment that these fore-edge extensions were attached to the lower covers, not as three separate flanges but as one continuous length of leather which was glued at right angles, i.e., in an erect position upon the inside margins or "squares" of the three outer edges of the covers—the attaching being done by the lower edge of the leather, which had been bent sideways. This piece of leather, thus fastened vertically upon the lower left book cover, would constitute three upright sides of a rigid box, the fourth side being formed by the flexible

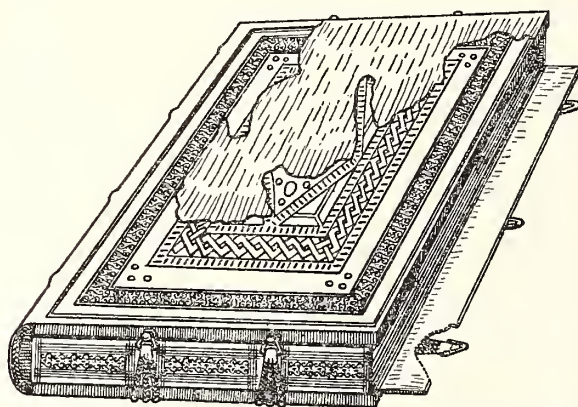


FIG. 6—RECONSTRUCTION OF IBSCHER'S COPTIC BINDING (CA. 440 x 330 MM.), EIGHTH TO TENTH CENTURY. OFFENBACH, LEDER-MUSEUM

Only the lower cover (here shown facing upward) is extant and only one of its three flaps, the one of the tail edge of the book, remains in its place.

back of the codex, and the lid of the box being formed by the book's upper cover. Though it might seem that this type of boxed-in binding would not lend itself to easy turning of the pages, the authors state that some 125 of the Kairouan bindings were thus constructed. Since most of the Kairouan evidence for the suggested reconstruction is fragmentary,⁶ the authors adduce as confirming evidence the binding of a ninth-century Koran manuscript (Ma-

⁶ Binding 54 as pictured in plate 14 (*fig. 14*) shows a flange continuing unbroken around the lower corner of the cover.

ṣāḥif No. 188) of the Cairo Library, described in T. W. Arnold and A. Grohmann, *The Islamic Book*, p. 45 (fig. 5) and a Coptic bookbinding (also cited by T. W. Arnold), the property of Hugo Ibscher (fig. 6). It is only fair, however, to state that the published

clasps were provided, the flaps would be held securely in place as soon as the clasps were fastened. The Kairouan bindings 64 and 77, being of this construction, were provided with three clasps, binding No. 94 *bis* with four clasps, binding 94-A with six clasps, and the

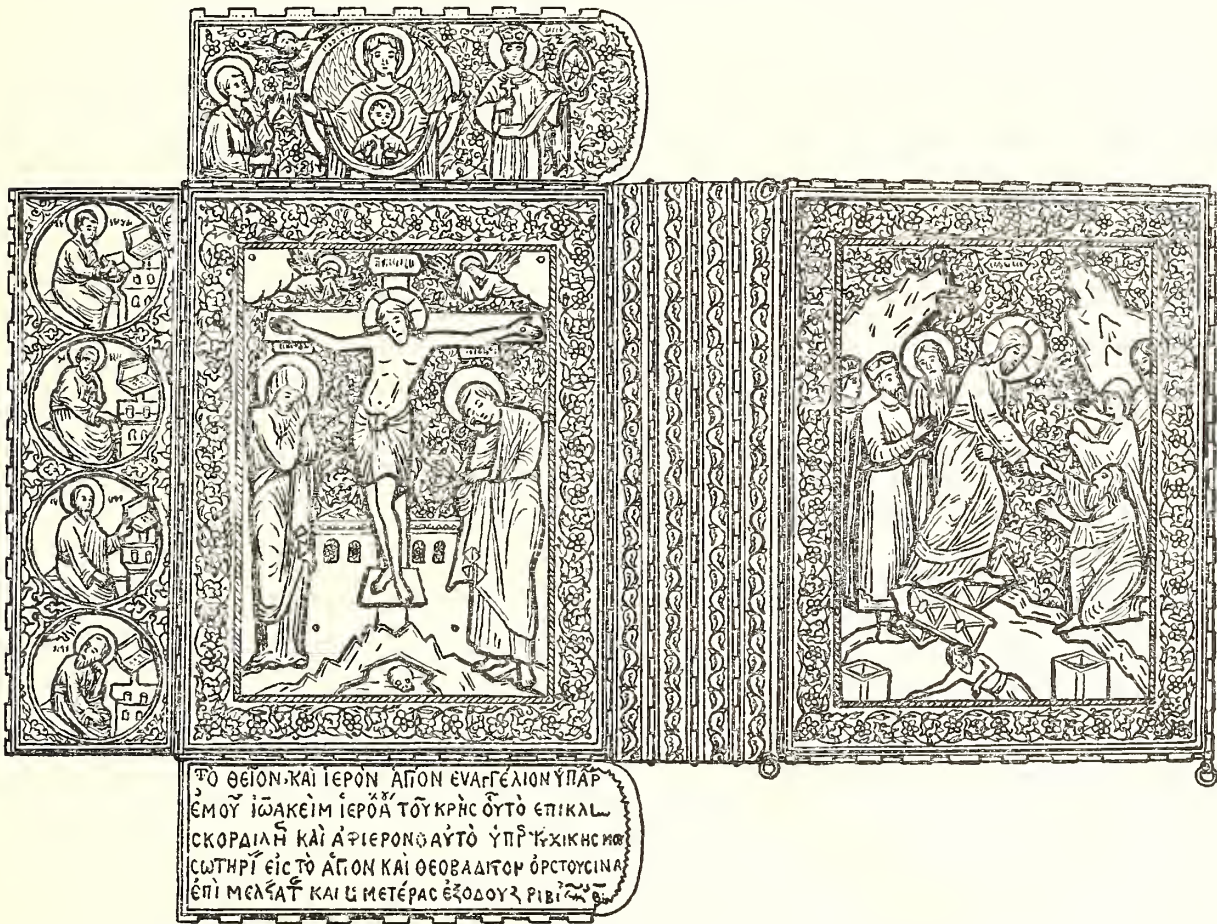


FIG. 7—METAL COVERS OF AN *Evangelion* MS. MOUNT SINAI 207 (305 x 240 MM.), TWELFTH CENTURY

The covers with the three metal fore-edge flaps are not as old as the manuscript (traced from Library of Congress photographs).

descriptions of these two bindings speak of the added leather strips not as the upright sides of a box but as "fore-edge flaps," which conceivably would fold outward when the book was opened and fold up against the fore edge when the book was closed.⁷ Where book

⁷ Flaps of this latter type were often used in

Byzantine bindings with metal-encrusted covers. For a fine specimen, compare with the silver binding of the *Evangelion* MS. Mt. Sinai 207 (fig. 7). A sixteenth-century Spanish *Book of hours*, MS. 31 of the Pierpont Morgan Library, has a red leather binding of this type. Its three flaps are attached to the lower cover and when folded up are held in place by two silver clasps at the fore edge and by one clasp each at the ends.

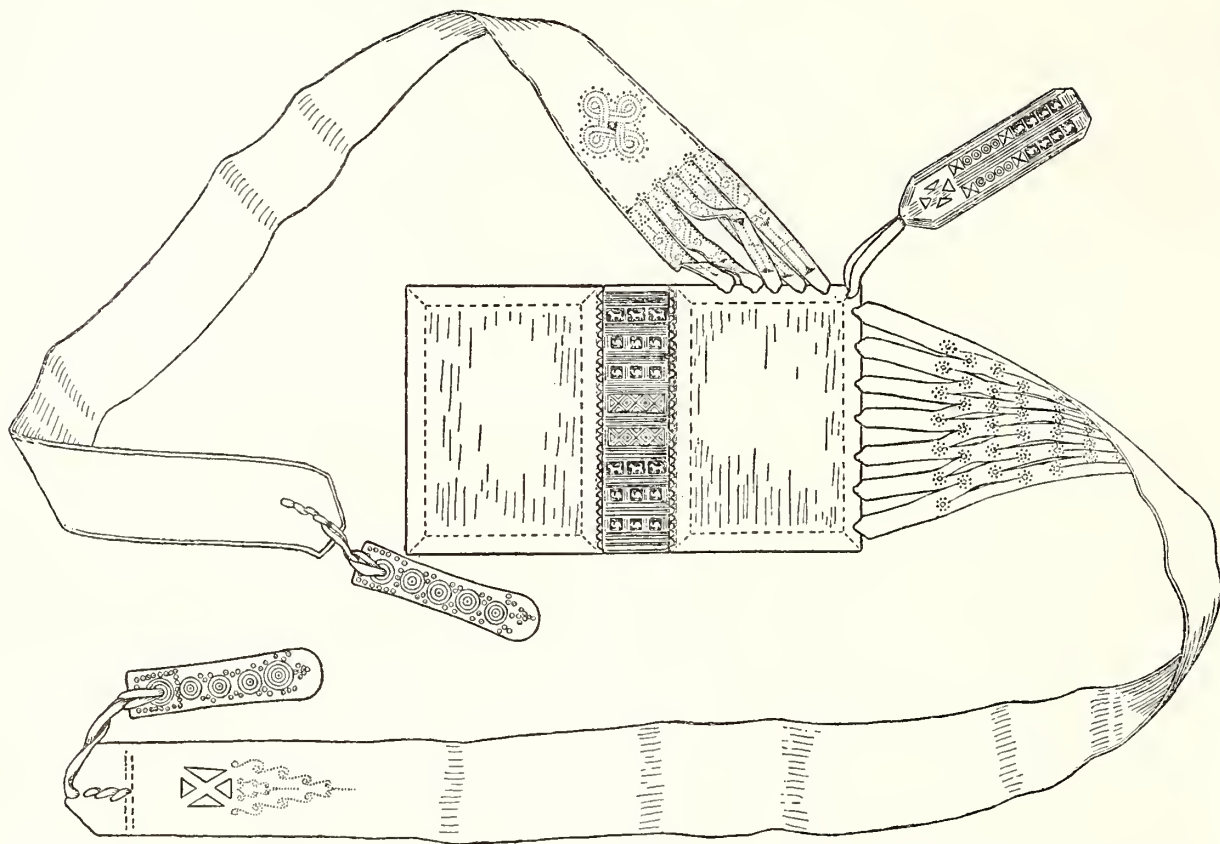


FIG. 8—C. T. LAMACRAFT'S RECONSTRUCTION OF THE BINDING OF MS. CHESTER BEATTY COPTIC B, *Acts and St. John* (120 x 102 mm.), CA. A.D. 600 OR EARLIER

(Drawn from photograph of a facsimile in the Library of the University of Michigan.)

Ibscher Coptic binding, cited above, with seven or nine clasps.⁸

⁸ A more detailed description of the Ibscher binding (since 1931 in the possession of the Leder-Museum in Offenbach) is found in the eighth instalment of Paul Adam's article *Die Griechische Einbandkunst und das früh-christliche Buch*, *Archiv für Buchbinderei*, vol. 24, Heft 9 (Sept. 1924), p. 81. There is evidence of the use of three flaps, but only the flap attached to the tail is preserved. The clasps in this binding had been seven in number: three along the fore edge, two each at head and tail, and besides these there is evidence at the outer corners of the lower cover of additional triple-platted thongs which, as Ibscher thought, may have been used as corner clasps, but which could also have served for the attaching of book markers such as are seen in the

It is clear, however, that the ancient Cairo binding, Maṣāḥif No. 188, and most of the Kairouan bindings resembling it were fastened with only a single clasp across the short fore edge and may, therefore, have deserved the special style of "boxed-in" fore-edge protection seen in so many of the Kairouan bindings.

What will, no doubt, most interest the student of early Islamic bookbinding in the old Kairouan bindings is the richness and variety of the very specialized style of tooled and stamped ornamentation found in their leather coverings. The many different decorative ele-

Chester Beatty sixth-century bindings Coptic A and B (fig. 8).

ments produced here in blind-tooling—the various types of braid, twisted rope, “chenille” garland, basketweave, ringlet, and flagstone patterns, interlacings, combinations of several of these elements, and a host of intricate panel tracteries—all these have been carefully classified, minutely analyzed, described, and pictured in line drawings. Then the large number of varied dies or stamps, some 240 of them, used for enlivening the tooled designs—roundels (concave and convex), annules, squares, lozenges, stars, fleurons, rosettes, heart-shaped dies and others with figures or inscriptions, cut in intaglio—have likewise been classified, analyzed, described, and pictured. And what may at times seem like a labor of supererogation, the origin, diffusion, and uses of some of these decorative elements have been traced through many lands and many centuries down to the Middle Ages. The “torsade” or twisted rope is documented (pp. 290–95) as having been used from the fourth and third millenniums B.C., in Susa, in Lower Mesopotamia, by the Sumerians, the Elamites, and later by the Syrians, Phoenicians, Greeks, Romans, and Gauls. The “tresse à quatre brins” or four-banded braid and various types of interlacing are likewise shown to be not Islamic inventions but heirlooms passed down from very ancient times and cultivated in more recent times by Syrian and Coptic artists. Here a number of patterns found in wall decorations in the Coptic monastery of Bawit are cited and presented in illustrations to show that they are not only similar to, but nearly identical with, those used by the book decorators of Kairouan (*fig. 9*).⁹

The general plan of the Kairouan tooled

⁹ Other such parallels could be found in Coptic manuscript illuminations and also in Coptic bookbindings. The border pattern of the Kairouan binding (*fig. 15*) can be matched with the open-work frieze pattern on the upper cover of the Coptic binding, Vienna Inv. No. 34 (*fig. 28*), and the platted-band design of Kairouan binding 98 (*fig. 17*) with

decorations always consisted of a panel framed by borders. In most of the bindings the panels as well as the borders were filled with “twisted rope” ornament. Within the panel areas the “twisted rope” was often arranged in elaborate, interlaced patterns, including circular, triangular, quadrangular, hexagonal, and octagonal motifs (*figs. 10–19*). Among the exceptions to this more common plan of ornamentation were some of the earliest covers,

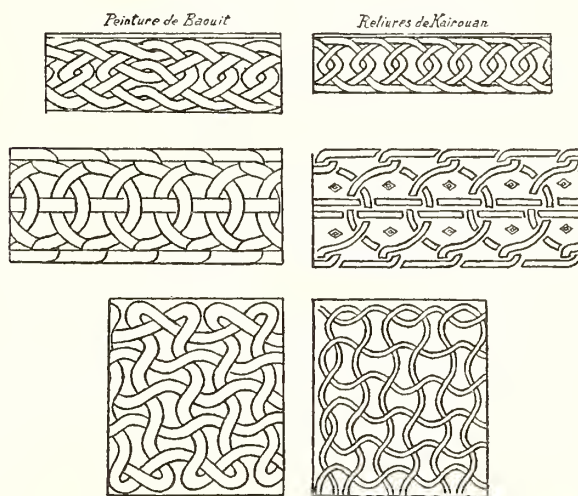


FIG. 9—DECORATIVE PATTERNS IN THE SIXTH (?) -CENTURY MURAL PAINTINGS OF THE COPTIC MONASTERY OF BAWIT AND SIMILAR PATTERNS IN THE NINTH-CENTURY BOOKBINDINGS OF KAIROUAN.

including two with panels that are bare of all ornament, one with a panel containing only two insignificant garlands, five with panels showing no other tooled ornamentation than short eulogies in large Kufic characters. These read: ما شاء الله on the upper cover (*fig. 10*) and الله on the lower cover—meaning together “what God wills,” or بسم الله on the upper and الله on the lower cover, that is, “in the name of God.” There are also fifteen eleventh-century bindings showing within their panels only the inked ornamentation of the binding of the Beatty MS. Coptic C (*fig. 23*).

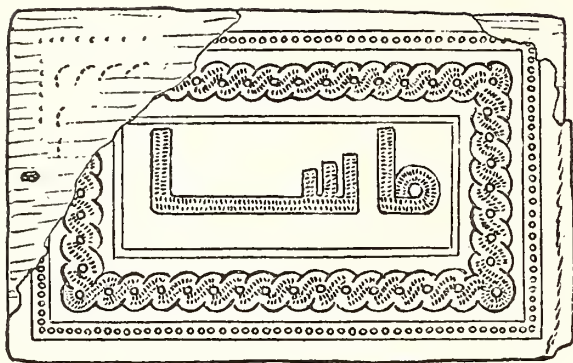


FIG. 10—KAIROUAN BINDING No. 1a
(83 x 130 MM.), NINTH CENTURY

Only the upper cover with first part of Kufic inscription is shown.

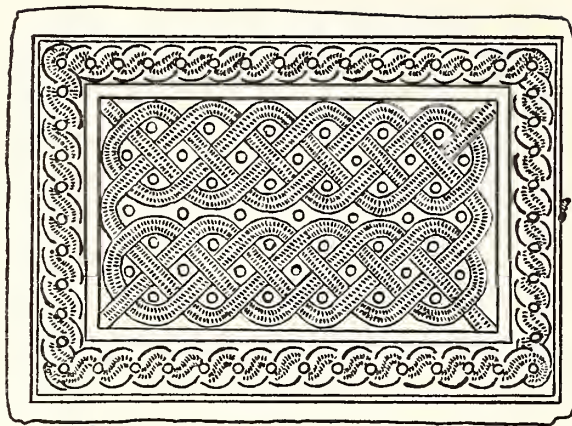


FIG. 12—KAIROUAN BINDING No. 16
(156 x 219 MM.), NINTH CENTURY

Lower cover only is extant.

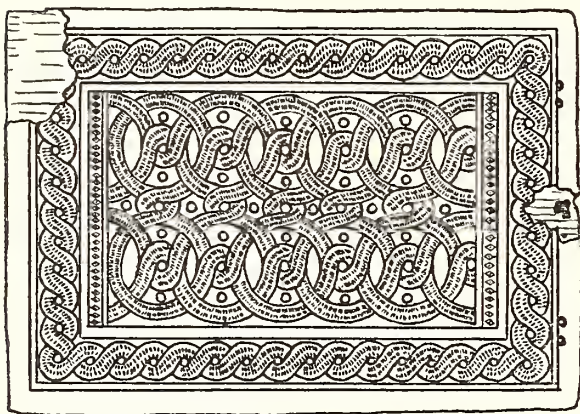


FIG. 11—KAIROUAN BINDING No. 14
(152 x 217 MM.), NINTH CENTURY

Lower cover only is extant.

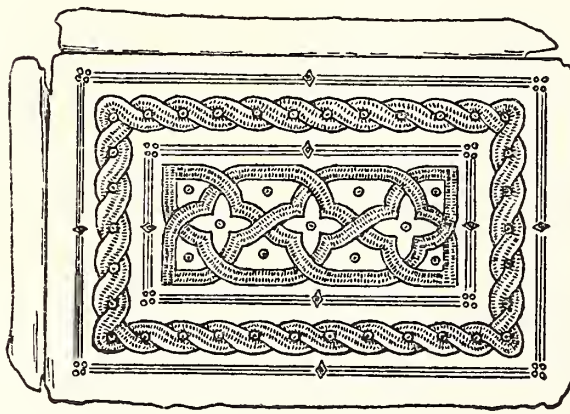


FIG. 13—KAIROUAN BINDING No. 41
(116 x 174 MM.), NINTH CENTURY

Lower cover only is extant.

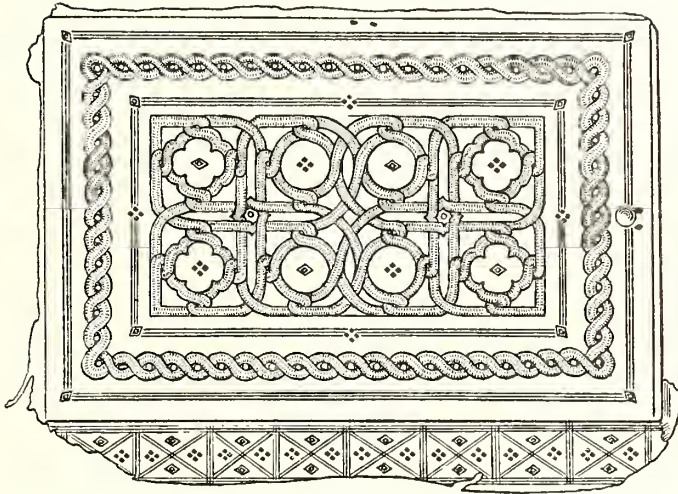


FIG. 14—KAIROUAN BINDING No. 54 (157 x 236 MM.),
NINTH CENTURY

Lower cover only is extant.

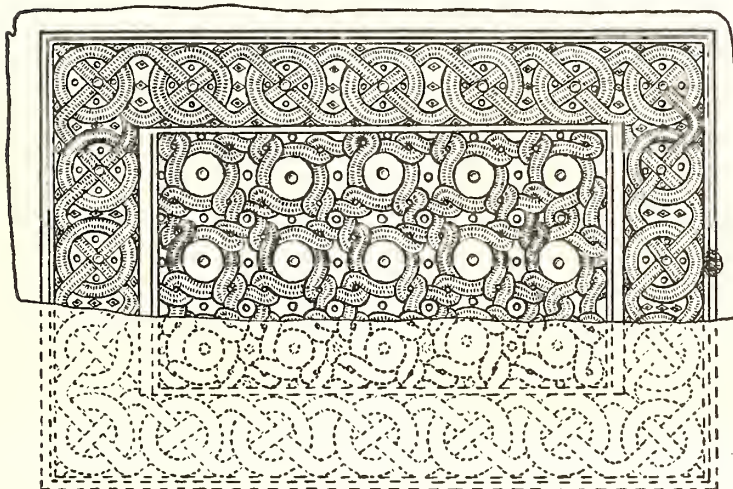


FIG. 15—KAIROUAN BINDING No. 28 (ORIGINALLY CA.
190 x 276 MM.), NINTH CENTURY

Lower cover only is extant.

The round stamps of this binding show traces of gilding. It is the only instance of the use of gilding found in all of the Kairouan bindings.

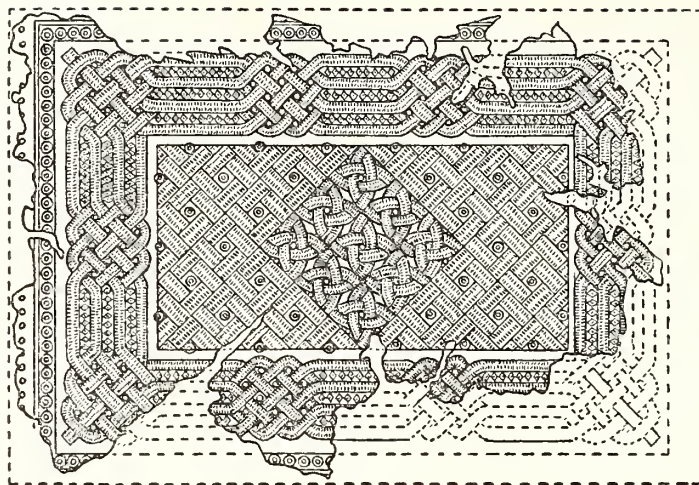


FIG. 16—KAIROUAN BINDING NO. 72 (ORIGINALLY CA.
215 x 300 MM.), TENTH CENTURY

Upper cover only is extant.

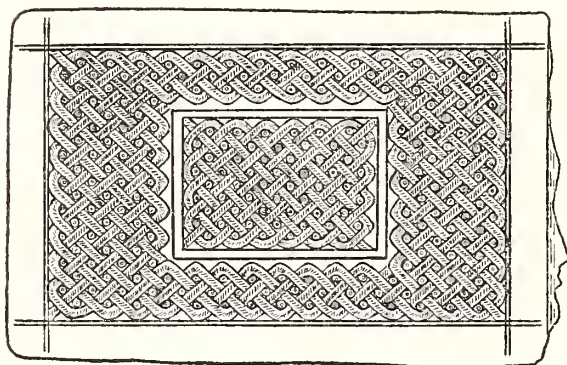


FIG. 17—KAIROUAN BINDING NO. 98 (113 x
176 MM.), ELEVENTH CENTURY

Upper cover only is extant.

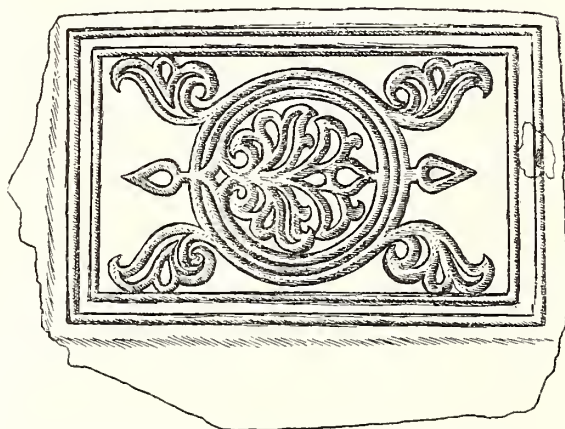


FIG. 18—KAIROUAN BINDING NO. 119a (115 x
176 MM.), ELEVENTH CENTURY

Lower cover only is extant.

small central ornamentations of circular, diamond, or star-shaped contours.

Another deviation from the general plan of decoration is found in a group of nine eleventh-century bindings (Nos. 118 to 126) which show embossed ornamentation. The decorative designs of these bindings, after having been outlined on the wooden boards, were

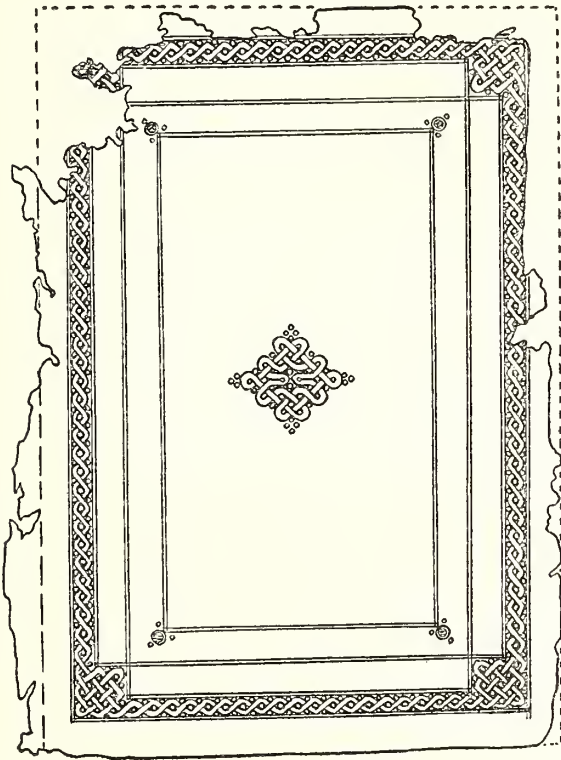


FIG. 19—KAIROUAN BINDING NO. 144 (255 x 180 MM.), THIRTEENTH CENTURY

Both covers are extant. The lower cover shows a different tooling of plain fillets without the "twisted rope" pattern.

made to appear in relief by the device of re-tracing and overlaying them, line by line, with pieces of cord (3 mm. thick) heavily soaked with glue. After the glued-down cords were sufficiently dried and hardened, the leather covering was glued and firmly pressed over them. Then as the pattern of the underlying cords appeared on the face of the leather as a

design of gentle ridges, it was further accentuated by running a tooled line close to either side of the ridges, thereby bringing these into stronger relief.¹⁰

While in four of these latter bindings (Nos. 123–126) the decoration of the borders was confined to straight lines and that of the centers of the panels to circular lines, binding No. 118 was given a "twisted rope" pattern in its border and a circular shield in its panel. Bindings Nos. 119 to 122 were given palmette designs in the panels (*fig. 18*) and, in addition, Nos. 121 and 122 were given floral ornaments in the corners of the borders.

A further enlivening of the line-tooling was accomplished in the greater portion of the bindings by the free use of stamp impressions placed either singly within the meshes of the "platted band" decorations or used in continuous rows to supply frieze decoration to the borders. (Samples of some of these stamps are shown in *fig. 20*, A, *a–k*, and most of the stamps were used in identical forms in early Coptic leather bindings.)

In any comparison of the Kairouan bindings with earlier leather bindings of Christian Egypt it should be remembered that prac-

¹⁰ A good-sized specimen of Egyptian leather of the late thirteenth or fourteenth century (perhaps part of a saddle) decorated in this technique, in the collection of R. Ettinghausen, clearly reveals ends of the modeling cords protruding from the embossed design, where the leather has suffered from abrasion. While this type of embossed ornament is not found on any of the early Coptic book covers extant, it was part of the Coptic leatherworker's stock-in-trade. It would be of great interest to know if the famous binding of the seventh-century St. Cuthbert codex at Stonyhurst College, England, which, according to Berthe van Regemorter's description in her article *La reliure des manuscrits de S. Cuthbert et de S. Boniface*, *Scriptorium*, vol. 3 (1949), p. 46, shows other resemblances to early Coptic bookbinding, also had its embossed ornament executed in a technique familiar to early Coptic leatherworkers and, somewhat later, to the bookbinders of Kairouan.

tically all the 120 or more ancient Coptic bindings available for a comparison were found, not in the ruins of large populous cities such as Kairouan in Tunis, or Alexandria, Memphis, and Cairo in Egypt, where professional scribes and bookbinders would be conversant with the latest trends of artistic book production and eager to excel in inventiveness and quality of workmanship, but in the ruins of

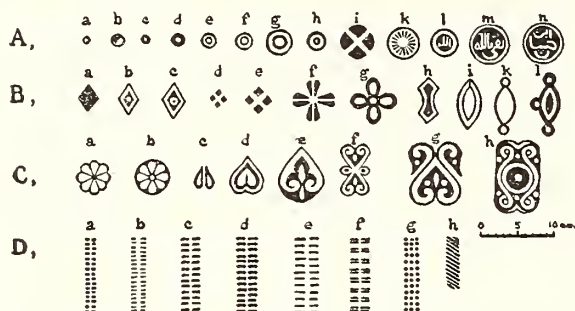


FIG. 20—DECORATIVE STAMPS USED BY THE KAIROUAN BOOKBINDERS

The inscription *دائماً بالله*: "Duration is to God—God is Eternal," of stamp A *m*, is used on bindings Nos. 75, 113, and 127a. The binder's name *ابن حسان*, Son of Ḥassān, of stamp A *n*, is used on binding 144 (fig. 19). Of the 50 or more "chenille" stampings cited and pictured by Marçais, 8 are given here; and of these D *a* was used in binding No. 41 (fig. 13); D *b* in binding No. 54 (fig. 14); D *c* in binding No. 1a (fig. 10); D *d* in binding No. 72 (fig. 16), D *f* in binding No. 28 (fig. 15); D *h* in binding No. 98 (fig. 17). Marçais holds that the "chenille" stamps had their origin in the Coptic use of narrow strips of parchment which were threaded through rows of closely repeated slits made in the band ornaments of the leather covering, to enliven and emphasize these bands within the scheme of decoration (figs. 27, 28, 33).

monasteries along the edge of the deserts of Upper Egypt and the Fayum, where the copying and binding of books was done for the most part within convent walls and where the ornamenting of book covers would consist not so much in the inventing and perfecting of new designs as in the copying of tested older patterns of an established Hellenistic tradition.

The format of early Coptic codices, as well as of early Greek, Latin, and Syriac books, was uniformly vertical—oblong, with only a few

exceptions which approach the square form, the Berlin manuscript Or. oct. 987 of the *Proverbs of Solomon*, Achmimic (13 x 14.5 cm.) being one of these.

The basic operations executed by Coptic monastic bookbinders at the time of the Islamic invasion were the same as those that had been used in Egypt certainly since the fourth century. Where multiple-quire codices were to be bound, the written sheets, arranged in gatherings usually of four sheets, were sewn with from two to five stitches, their number depending upon the size of the book. If the book was very small one stitch might suffice. The sewing proceeded lengthwise along the fold of the gathering, and at every thread hole, where the sewing cord was drawn out toward the back of the gathering, it would be linked or chain-stitched tightly to the sewing of the preceding gathering before it was drawn back again to form another stitch inside the fold of either the same or the next gathering (figs. 3 and 4). When all the gatherings had been tightly sewn into book form, the chain-stitch linkings would appear as so many braids fastened across the back of the book. When the sewing also was to include the attaching of the covers, the thread would first be laced to the upper cover in the form of a number of hinging loops, to which the book sewing would then be linked. The places of the holes through which the hinging loops were laced were near the back edge of the cover opposite each of the several thread holes made by the sewing of the first gathering. When the sewing of all the gatherings of a book was completed, the thread would then be laced through the series of holes along the hinging edge of the lower cover, but on having been looped through each one of these holes the thread would be tightly linked by a separate stitch to the respective chain-stitch sewing of the adjoining last gathering, thereby hinging the cover to the book.

The use of wooden boards for book covers

by Coptic bookbinders can be documented from the fourth century down to the Middle Ages,¹¹ although the greater number of the extant early Coptic bindings are seen to be constructed with boards that were built up of waste papyrus material.

After the book was sewn to its covers, a piece of heavy linen was glued over the back of the book, and this linen was made wide enough for the flanges on either side to be glued a width of an inch or more over the hinging edges of the two covers. After this was done, the sewing of the headbands was undertaken. The sewing thread, once it was firmly laced onto the corner of the hinging edge of the upper cover, was made to pass, by short single stitches, from the head of the

sewn book into the inner fold of each successive gathering; and when, after each of these stitches, it was returned through the linen-covered back to the head of the book, it was linked or chain-stitched around the chain-stitch mesh protruding from the head of the preceding gathering in such a way that the whole series of chain-stitches, beginning at the hinging edge of the upper cover and terminating at the hinging edge of the lower cover, would form a braid similar to the chain-stitch band formed by the sewing of the gatherings into book form (*fig. 22*). This form of headband lacing, with some inevitable slight modifications in the loopings of the braid and with the occasional use of colored threads, served in early times as the normal headband sewing, though as time went on more elaborate techniques of braiding, with several guide threads serving as warp and two or three sewing threads of different colors serving as weft, were used for more pretentious bindings.¹²

The use of leather for covering the boards of codices can be documented by Coptic bookbindings as far back as the fourth century.¹³

The cutting of the leather coverings to proper size, allowing for the turn-ins on inner margins, and for the caps at head and tail of the back of the books has remained to the present day what it was in Egypt during the early centuries of the Christian era. The

¹¹ The following early wooden book covers from Egypt can be cited: Those of a fourth-century Manichaean papyrus codex of the *Kephalaia* in Coptic, now in Berlin; those of the fifth-century parchment codex of the *Gospels*, in Greek, with covers bearing the painted figures of the Four Evangelists, now in the Freer Gallery in Washington; the sixth-century parchment codex of the books of *Ecclesiasticus* and *Wisdom of Solomon*, in Coptic, now in Turin; the two sixth-century parchment codices containing (1) the *Epistles of St. Paul*, (2) the *Acts of the Apostles and Gospel of St. John*, in Coptic, now in the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin (*fig. 8*); a sixth- or seventh-century codex of *Theological questions and answers*, in Coptic, now in the Philipps Library in Cheltenham; also four detached covers, perhaps third- or fourth-century, which came to the Chester Beatty Library together with the twelve early *Biblical* papyrus codices, in Greek, discovered in 1930; the large covers with beautifully tooled and stamped leather, which contain a seventh-century Syriac *Biblical* manuscript now in Milan (Ambros. C 313 inf., *fig. 21*), but which at an earlier time, according to the tooled inscription on the two covers, contained the first tome of a manuscript of the *Old and New Testaments*, in Greek. This binding came from the Syrian Monastery in the Wādī al-Naṭrūn, Egypt. The Keep of the chapel of al-'Adhrā, in the St. Macarius monastery in the Wādī al-Naṭrūn also preserves a large detached old book cover of acacia wood, lined with untooled black leather, of undetermined age.

¹² P. Adam, *Über türkisch-arabisch-persische Manuskripte und deren Einbände*, Archiv für Buchbinderei, vol. 4 (Jan. 1905), p. 149.

¹³ Some of the oldest extant Coptic leather-covered bindings are: The one covering the fourth-century papyrus codex containing *Deuteronomy*, *Jonah*, and the *Acts of the Apostles* (Brit. Mus. Or. 7594) in plain kidskin, varnished; that which covered the fourth-century papyrus book containing *The first letter of Clement* (Berlin Or. fol. 3065), with tooled decorations; and that which covered the fourth- or fifth-century papyrus book containing *The Martyrdoms of St. Peter and St. Paul* (now in the Moscow Museum of Fine Arts).

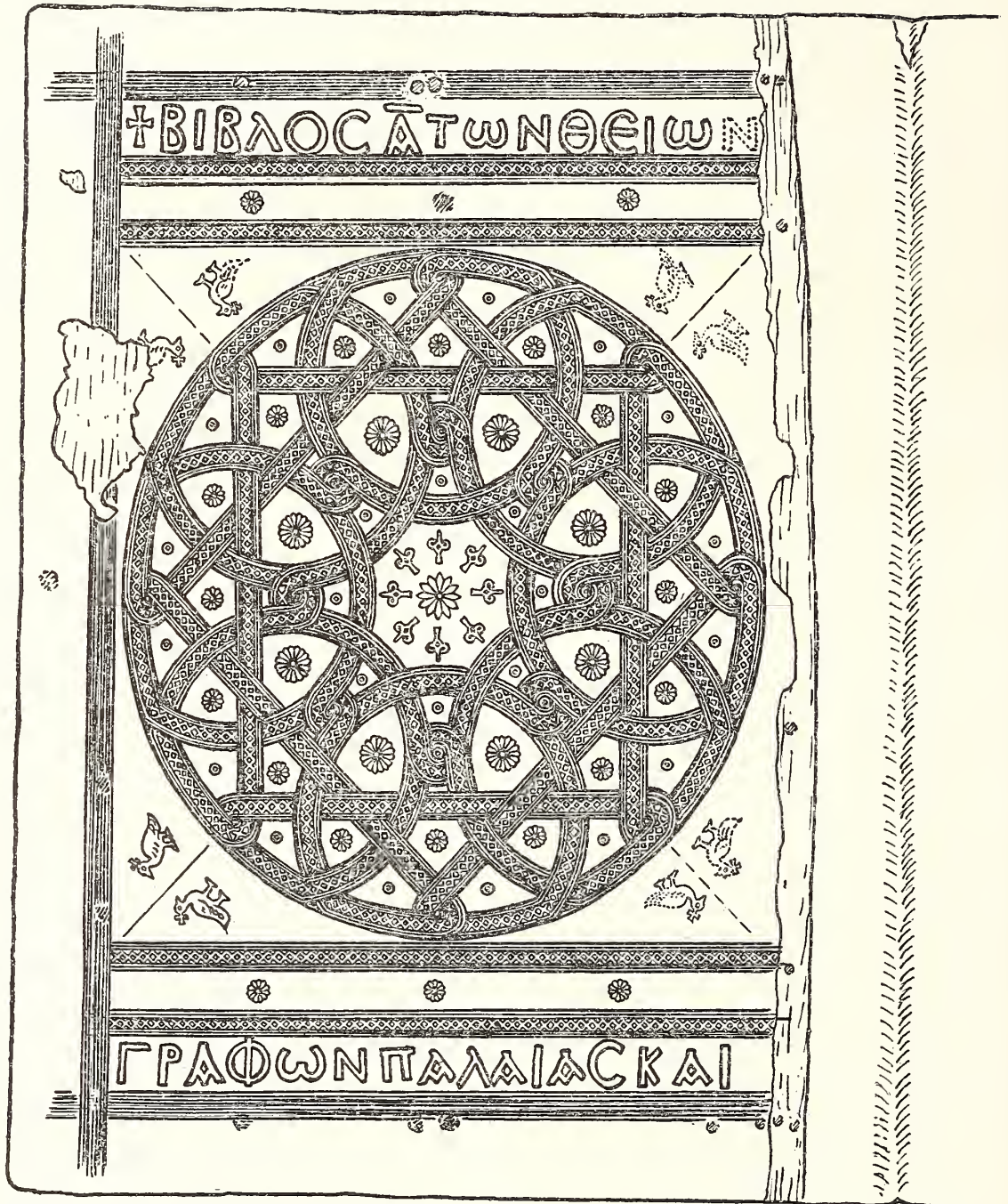


FIG. 21—LOWER COVER OF THE BINDING OF MS. SYR. C 313 FOL. (CA. 340 x 270 MM.), SIXTH-SEVENTH(?) CENTURY. MILAN, AMBROSIAN LIBRARY

gluing-down of the leather covering over the back of the book and over the outer faces and inner margins of the boards has likewise remained the same. The turn-ins on the inner margins were not mitered but cut off at right

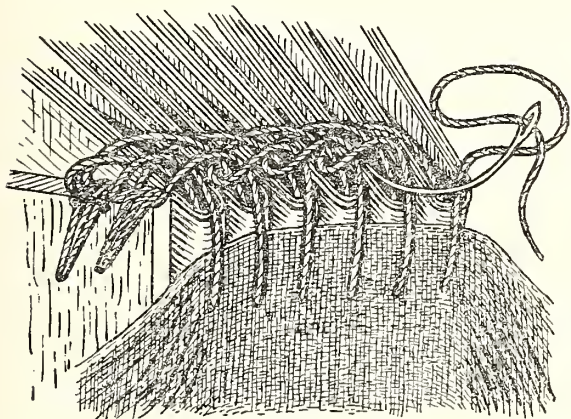


FIG. 22—DRAWING OF THE USUAL PLAIN COPTIC HEADBAND SEWING

When the threads were pulled tight they would appear as shown in the headband of the Ibscher binding (*fig. 6*).

angles at the corners of the board and then glued one over the other, the turn-in along the fore edge being placed uppermost.

In many old Coptic codices extra flyleaves are seen to have been "guarded" around the front of the first and the rear of the last gathering. These were generally unwritten leaves or leaves from which old writing had been washed off, and they were intended to be pasted down on the inner faces of the book covers after the book clasps had finally been rooted in the edges of the covers and the binding had thus been completed.

The earliest method of decorating the leather coverings of books was probably that of blind-tooling and blind-stamping, although the decorating with inked and painted ornament¹⁴ and with cut-out openwork backed with

¹⁴ Inked ornamenting is found on the red leather bindings of the sixth-century *Psalter* codex, Chester Beatty Coptic C (*fig. 23*) and the eighth-century

pieces of painted or gilded parchment may also have been tried very early, since these techniques of ornamenting were known in Egypt long before books were bound in codex form.¹⁵

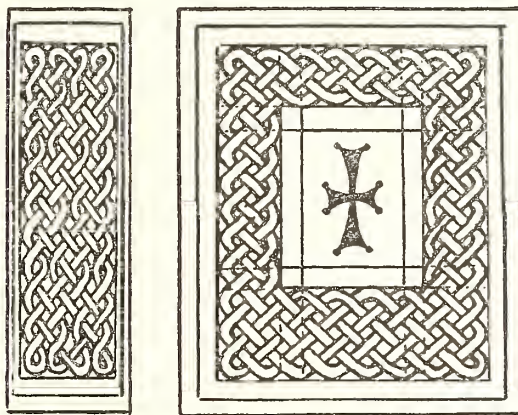


FIG. 23—BINDING OF MS. BEATTY COPTIC C CONTAINING *Psalms 1-50* (105 x 85 MM.) CA. A.D. 600 OR EARLIER

The design is inked on red leather.

Whenever the decorating was to consist of openwork with parchment backing it had to be done before the leather covering, already

Greek *Poll-tax Book*, Brit. Mus. Papyrus Inv. 1442 (*fig. 24*). Painted ornamenting is found on the tenth-century binding of MS. Morgan 601 (*fig. 25*), and painted and inked ornamenting on the eighth(?) century detached binding Berlin P. 1416 (*fig. 26*). The painting of the covers of the Freer *Gospels* was done not on leather coverings but on the wooden boards.

¹⁵ Cf. H. Frauberger, *Antike und frühmittelalterliche Fussbekleidungen aus Achmim-Panopolis*, Düsseldorf, n.d., pls. 7-9, 18, 20-21. The three finest extant specimens of this "openwork" type of Coptic book ornamentation are seen in the binding of the *Gospels*, Morgan MS. (*fig. 27*), and the two detached bindings: Vienna Erzherzog Rainer Inv. No. 34 (*fig. 28*) and Berlin Mus. Papyrus 14018. Two leather coverings, each with a large cut-out in the form of a potent cross backed with parchment, on which a twisted rope pattern in red and yellow colors is painted, are extant in Morgan Coptic binding 670 bis (*fig. 29*).

cut to size, was glued to the boards. When the decorating was to be done by tooling and stamping, it likewise had to be done before the leather was glued to the boards, whenever these latter were not wooden boards but

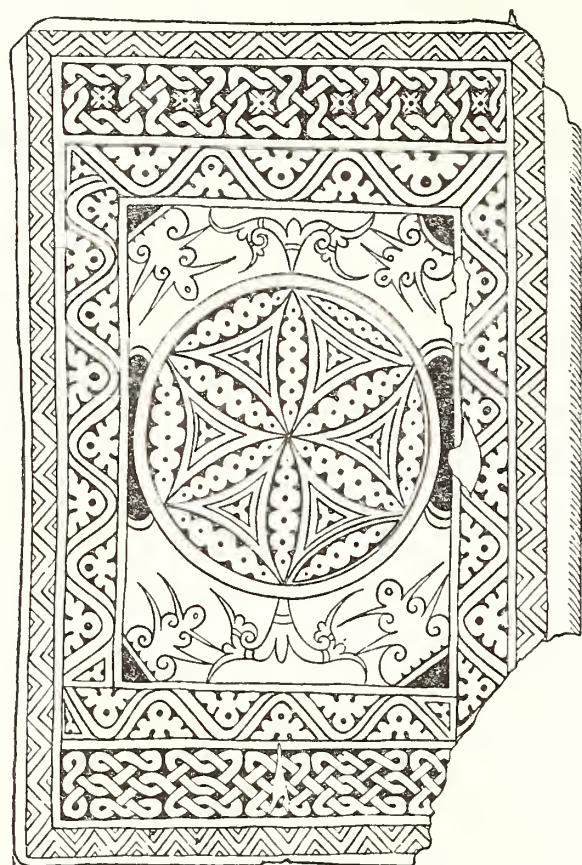


FIG. 24—BINDING, BRIT. MUS. INV. NO. 1442, OF A PAPYRUS *Poll-Tax Book*, GREEK, FROM APHRODITO, EGYPT (340 x 295 MM.), FIRST HALF OF EIGHTH CENTURY

The design is inked on reddish leather. There is also a fore-edge flap 7 cm. wide.

boards built up of fragile papyrus material that could not withstand the pressure of tooling and hammering. The tooling was done with unheated irons and on moistened leather, according to the expert judgment of P. Adam and H. Ibscher, who closely examined and described the Coptic bindings in the Berlin Mu-

seum. Since the Kairouan bookbinders were using wooden boards, they did their tooling and stamping only after the coverings had been glued in place. The imprint of their stamping can still be seen in places where the leather has been torn from the boards.

The last important step in the bookbinding process was that of providing clasps which

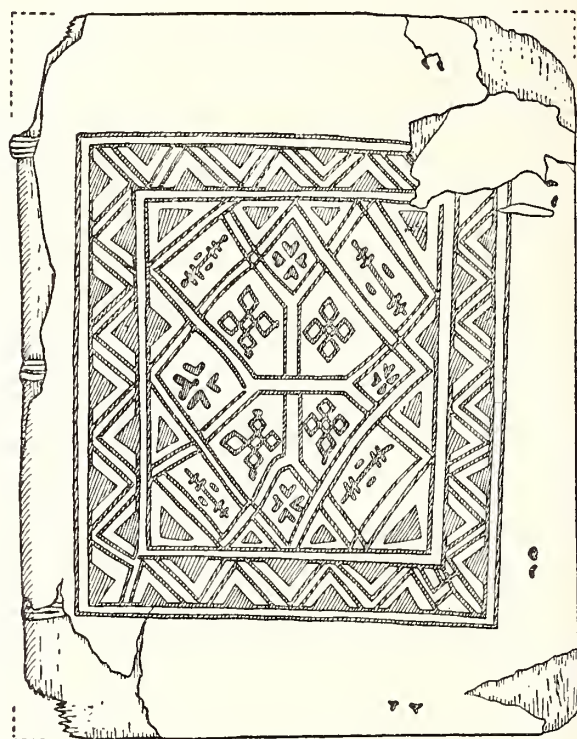


FIG. 25—BINDING OF MS. MORGAN 601, *Catholic Epistles*, COPTIC (330 x 260 MM.), NINTH TO TENTH CENTURY

The design is crudely painted with yellow on brown leather.

would hold the book firmly together when it was closed. Some of the earlier Coptic books were provided with leather thongs long enough to be tied around the books.¹⁶

¹⁶ Eleven Gnostic third- and fourth-century papyrus books, found in 1946 at the site of ancient Chenoboskion in Upper Egypt (now in the Coptic Museum in Cairo), are bound in flexible leather covers and

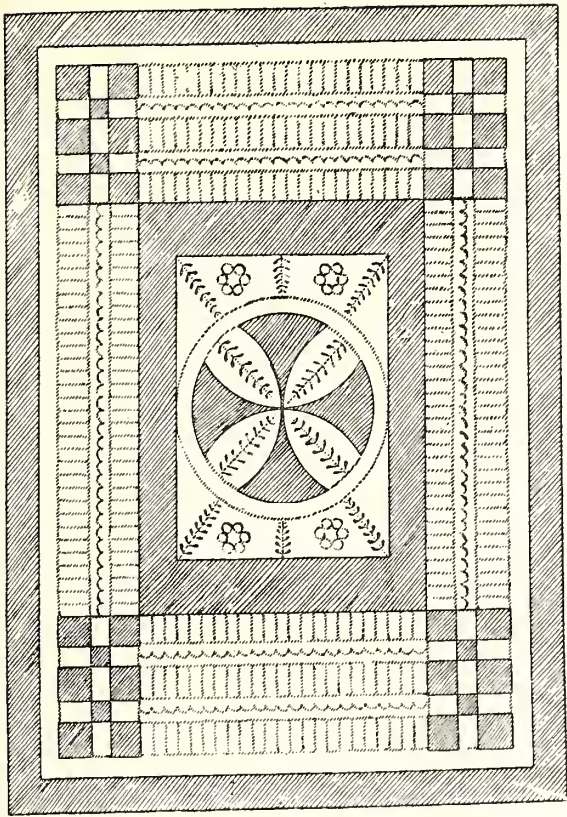


FIG. 26—RECONSTRUCTION BY HUGO IBSCHER OF A FRAGMENTARY COPTIC BINDING, BERLIN MUS. P. 14016 (CA. 310 x 225 MM.), EIGHTH TO TENTH CENTURY

The design is painted or inked in black on reddish-brown leather.

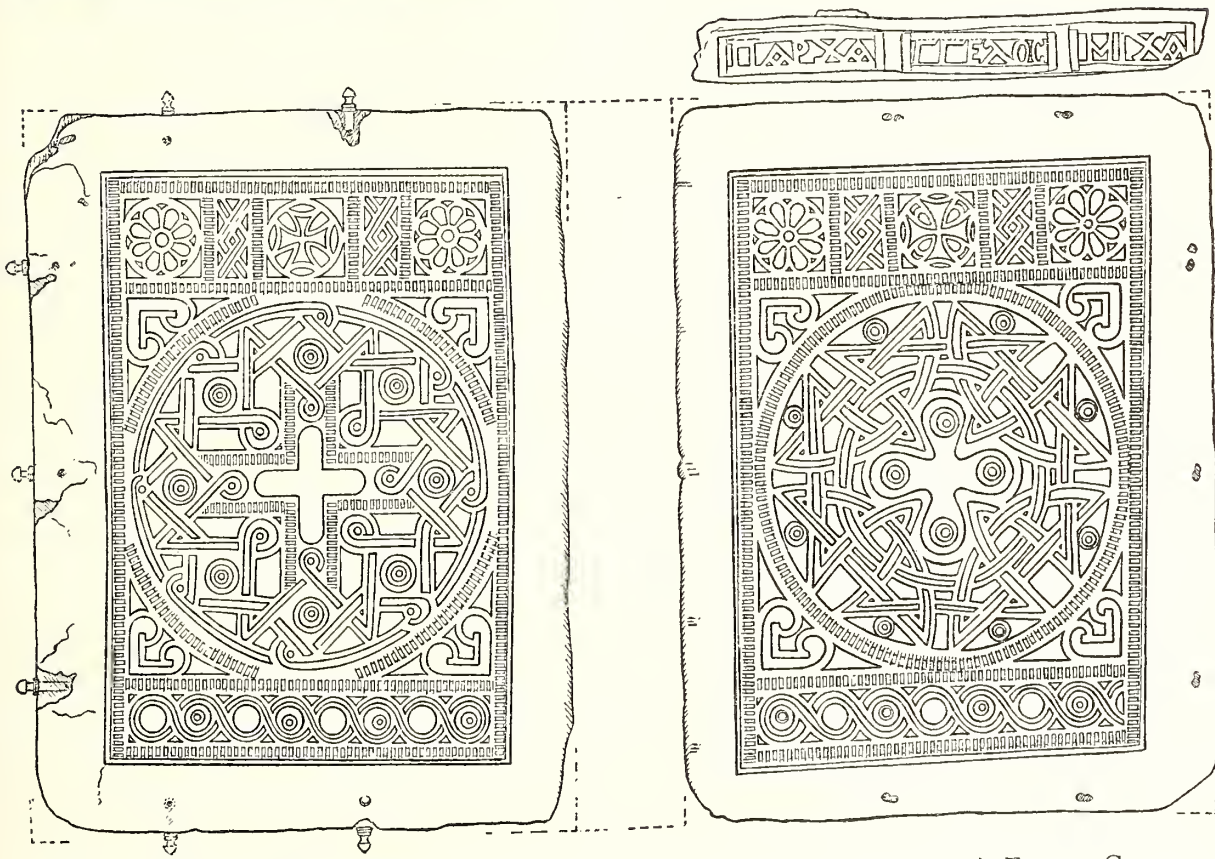


FIG. 27—BINDING OF MS. MORGAN 569, *The Four Gospels*, COPTIC (385 x 295 MM.), EIGHTH CENTURY

The decoration is of openwork in red leather, over a gilt parchment base. The framework of the design is made by threading narrow ribbons of parchment through rows of closely cut slits, thus producing lanes of alternating patches of red leather and white parchment.

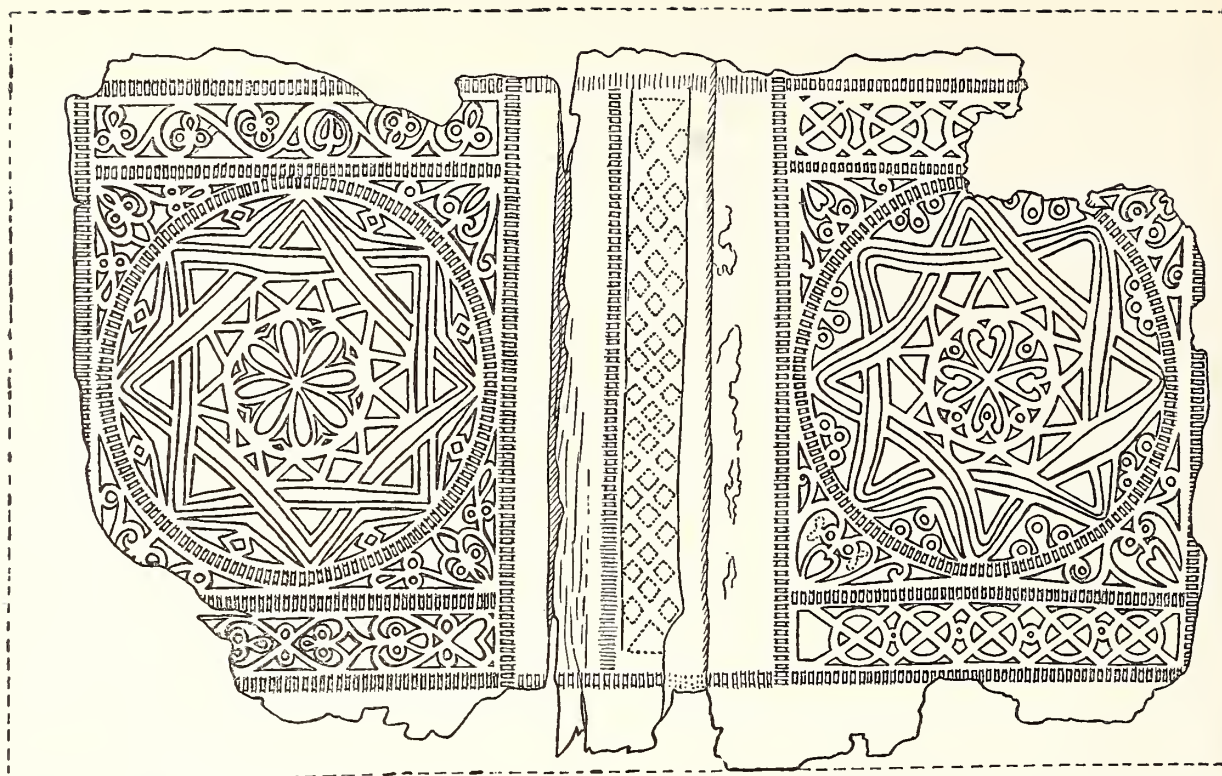


FIG. 28—DETACHED BINDING, VIENNA INV. NO. 34 (370 x 270 MM.), FROM ARSINOE IN THE FAYUM, SEVENTH (?) CENTURY. THE DECORATION IS THE SAME IN ITS TECHNIQUE AS MS. MORGAN 569

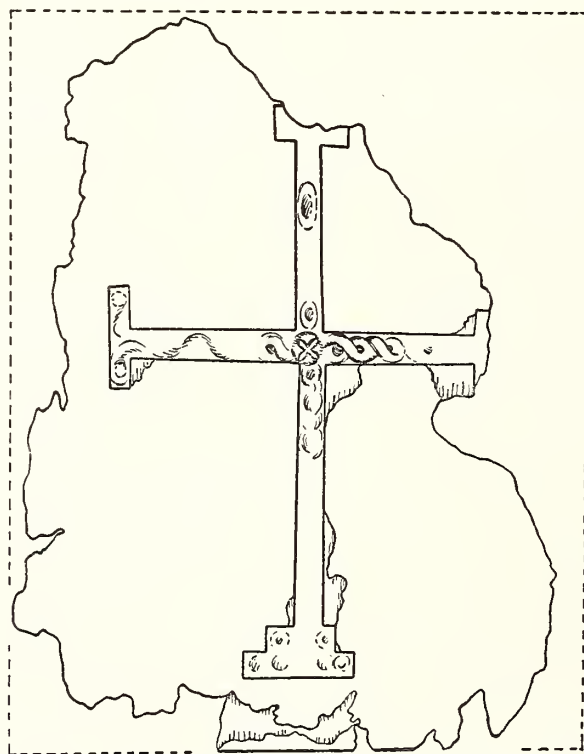


FIG. 29—DETACHED BINDING WITH A POTENTED CROSS CUT OUT OF REDDISH-BROWN LEATHER AND UNDERLAID WITH PAINTED PARCHMENT. MORGAN 670 BIS ⁴ (320 x 225 MM.), NINTH CENTURY

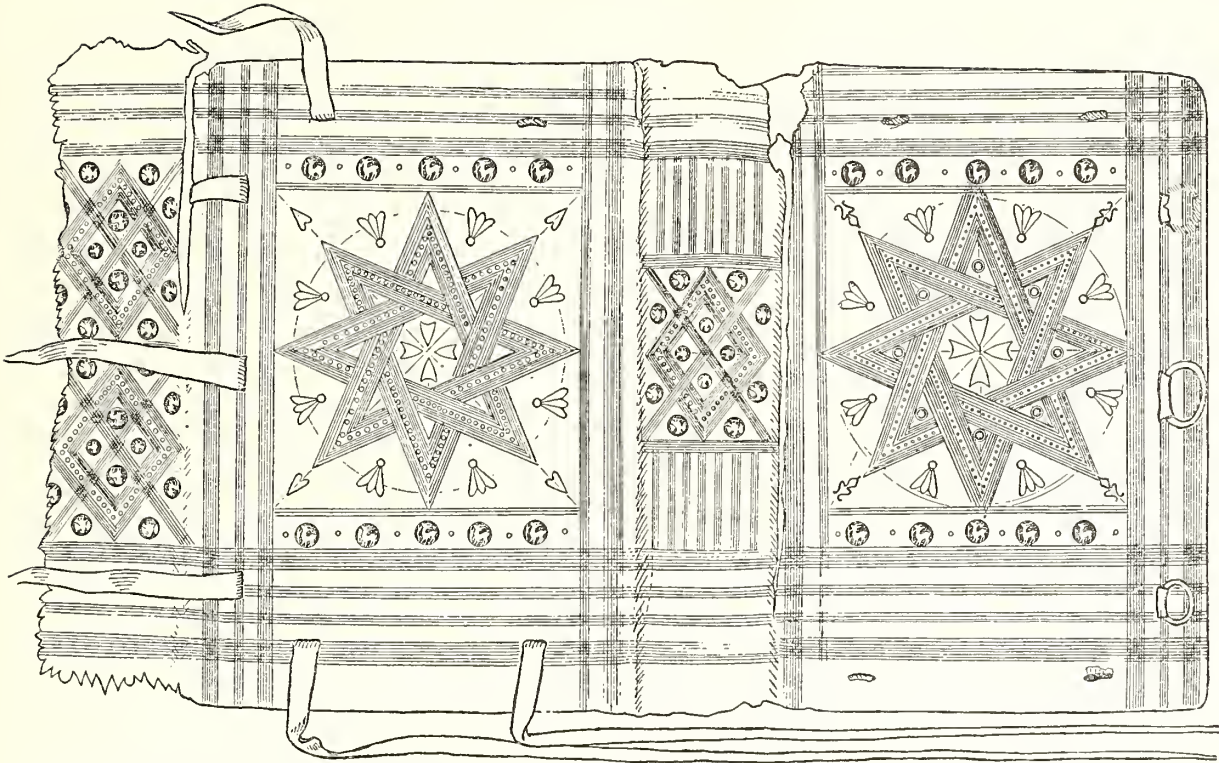


FIG. 30—BINDING OF MS. BRIT. MUS. OR. 5000, *Psalter* COPTIC (298 x 215 MM.), SIXTH-SEVENTH CENTURY

But most extant Coptic bindings are seen to have been furnished with clasps which, reaching only across the fore edge of the book, hook the front cover to the rear cover. The standard form of this type of clasp consisted

have long, narrow leather straps fastened to the pentagonal flaps which extend from the fore edge of their lower covers. Some of these books had similar long straps fastened also near the top edge of the lower covers. The straps were provided for the purpose of having them tied vertically and horizontally around the books when the latter were not in use. Similar thongs are to be seen on the elaborately decorated binding of a large sixth- or seventh-century papyrus book of the *Psalter* in Coptic (Brit. Mus. Or. 5000) (*fig. 30*). This binding also has a flap extending from the lower cover. The straps fastened along the fore edge of the lower cover are three in number, while two straps are placed along both the head and tail edges of the same cover. Metal rings, into which

of a loop of braided thong which was rooted near the edge of the upper cover and was long enough to reach the lower cover and to be slipped over the head of a metal or bone peg

these straps could be tied, are provided in the respective places near the edges of the upper cover.

A wider type of wrapping bands was provided for the sixth-century Chester Beatty Coptic Codices A and B (*fig. 8*) and also for the painted covers of the fifth- or sixth-century Freer *Gospels*. These bands had their attached ends slit for a short distance into a series of parallel thongs which then had been spread apart to be rooted and glued into a series of holes made in the fore edge and top edge of the upper cover. The extant portions of the bands which belong to the Beatty Coptic codices show that each of the bands was long enough to be wrapped twice around the binding and that the bone slips attached to the free ends of the bands served to pull the bands tight and to fasten them.

that was rooted and riveted in the edge of the lower cover.¹⁷

Another form of Coptic clasp consisted of plain, single leather thongs fastened in the upper cover and terminating at their free ends in knotted knobs which, reaching over the edge

and fastened in the lower cover about an inch away from its edge.¹⁸

It is more than likely that at the time when Islam came to power the above-mentioned basic operations of the bookbinding technique of Coptic Egypt were being used through-

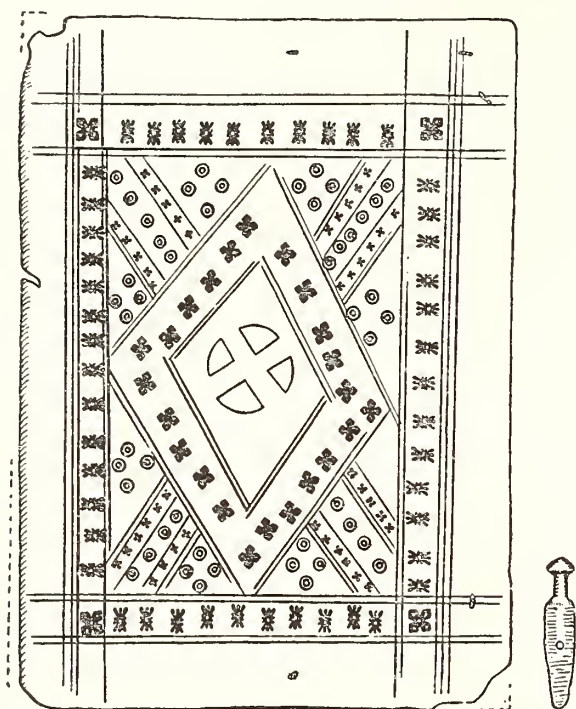


FIG. 31—BINDING OF MS. BRIT. MUS. OR. 6801, *Lectionary* FOR THE FEAST OF ST. MERCURIUS, COPTIC (279 x 215 MM.), ABOUT A.D. 1000

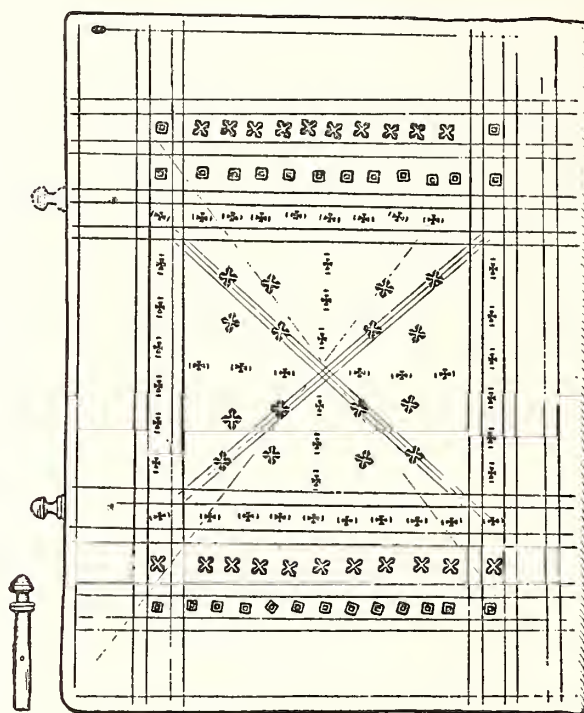


FIG. 32—BINDING OF MS. BRIT. MUS. OR. 7597, *Lectionary*, COPTIC (292 x 222 MM.), SECOND HALF OF TENTH CENTURY

of the lower cover, could be buttoned into short clasp loops or "eyes" made of leather

¹⁷ In the binding of the large *Gospel* codex, MS. Morgan 569 (*fig. 27*), seven clasps with seven bronze pegs were provided. The binding of the book of *The martyrdom of St. Mercurius*, Brit. Mus. Or. 6801, was fitted with four clasps and four iron pegs (*fig. 31*). The binding of a book of *Discourses*, Brit. Mus. Or. 7597 (*fig. 32*) was fitted with two clasps and two bone pegs, and at least nine of the ninth-century Coptic codices of the Pierpont Morgan Library were fitted with four or five clasps and four or five bone pegs.

out the Greco-Roman world and the provinces of the Near East. It would seem almost

¹⁸ Four clasps of this form were used in the fifth (?) - century Leyden codex, Anastasy 9 (*fig. 33*). From four to seven of these clasps were used in fifteen or more of the ninth-century Coptic bindings in the Pierpont Morgan Library, also in several of the ninth- and tenth-century Coptic bindings preserved in the British Museum, London, and the Coptic Museum, Cairo. The small thirteenth-century Bohairic *Prayer book*, Morgan 671(1) had only one such clasp (*fig. 34*). This form of clasp has been used in Coptic bindings down to the past century (*fig. 35*).

inevitable, therefore, that the Islamic conquerors, insofar as they were not already acquainted with classical and Hellenistic methods of bookbinding, should speedily have learned of them and adopted them for their own use. There would likewise be little doubt that the Islamic invaders, on having become

But when they had begun to use their writing as a feature of architectural decoration and had fashioned it into the monumental forms of the Kufic script, they began to use this latter script also in the copying of their Korans and thereupon to change the traditional format of their books to a more suitable horizontal oblong. For this change they had no Western

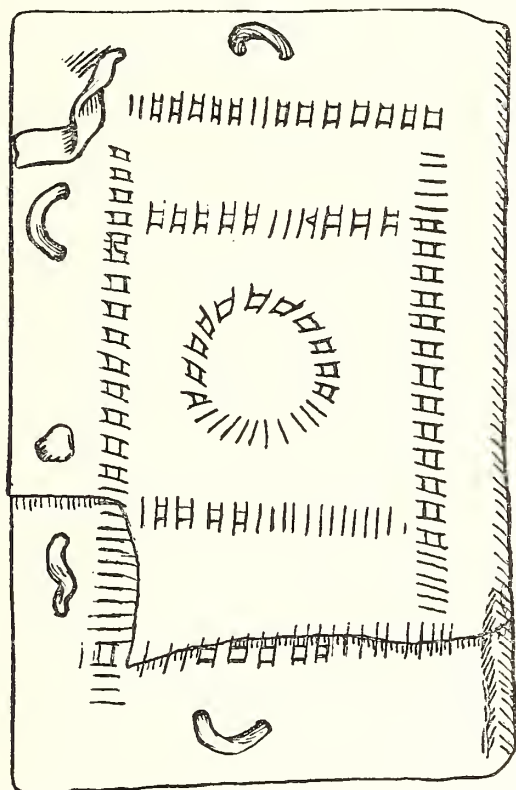


FIG. 33—BINDING OF MS. LEYDEN, ANASTASY 9, *Prayers and Exorcism*, COPTIC (217 x 140 MM.), FIFTH CENTURY

experienced masters in their own right, would remember their native patrimony of artistic resources and begin to modify and change to their own taste and fancy much of what they took and used out of the abundance of their newly gained Hellenistic, Coptic, and Sasanian heritage.

They retained their fine, flowing Arabic script and their way of writing from right to left throughout the book and across each page.

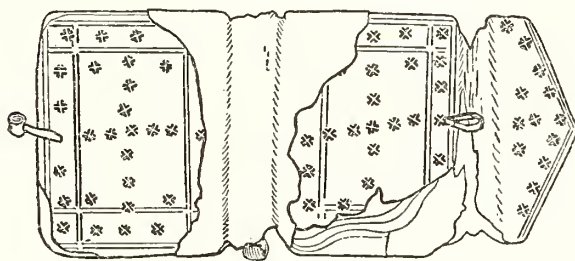


FIG. 34—BINDING OF MS. MORGAN 671 (I), *COPTIC Prayer Book* (105 x 80 MM.), THIRTEENTH (?) CENTURY

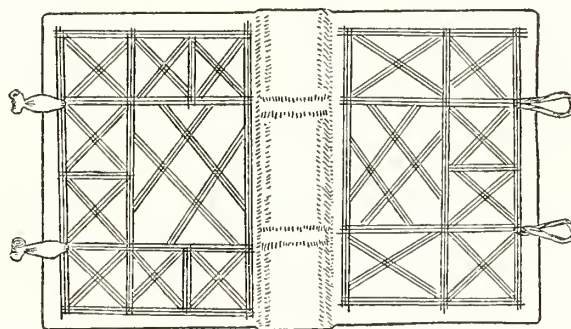


FIG. 35—BINDING OF A COPTIC *Prayer Book* (168 x 120 MM.), EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

precedent. Nor does it seem likely that they imitated the palm-leaf form of book which was used in India, and in Persia to some extent by the Manichaeans. The change was original with the Islamic artists.¹⁹

¹⁹ R. Ettinghausen suggested that "since many of the manuscript decorations in the Kufic Qur'ans have a definite architectural character, such as arcades and patterns which seem to copy mosaic pavements, it is perhaps justifiable to assume that these Qur'ans [of the horizontal oblong format] may have imitated the horizontal Qur'anic inscription panels in the mosques

In designing their tooled ornamentations the Islamic bookbinders proved themselves likewise to be masters and not mere copyists. They turned away from the Coptic and Greco-Roman tradition of preferably drawing square

plan of single oblong panels filled with twisted, platted, and intertwined, all-over band ornament, and they freely used twisted-rope patterns also on the borders (*figs. 10-14*). In this also they were most likely innovators, for

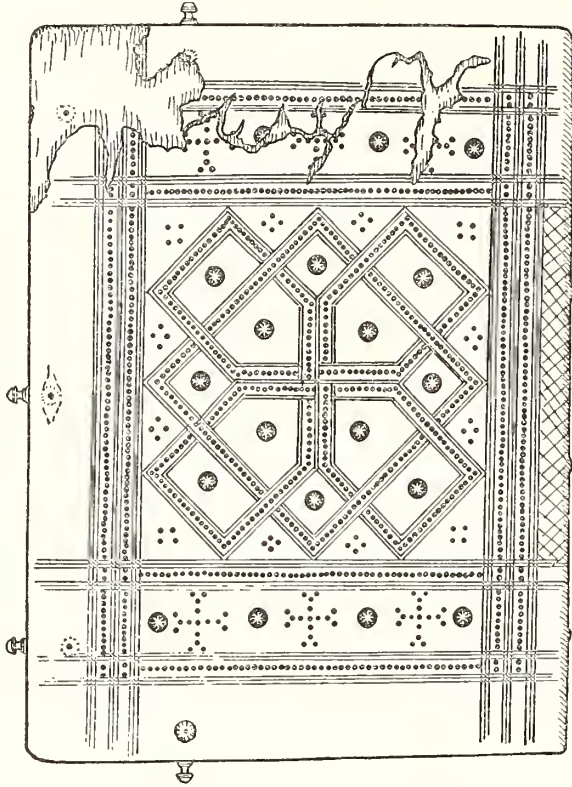


FIG. 36—BINDING OF MS. MORGAN 597, *Discourses*, COPTIC (350 x 268 MM.), A.D. 914

central panels with geometrical ornament and narrow frieze panels above and below these (*figs. 36-38*).²⁰ They cultivated instead the

which are described by several Arab writers." (*Manuscript illumination* in A. U. Pope's, *A survey of Persian art*, London-New York, vol. 3, p. 1942.)

²⁰ There are at least two Kairouan bindings, Nos. 64 and 65, which show square central panels with the rosette or star decorations found so commonly in Coptic bindings; and there are at least three other bindings, Nos. 14, 15, and 28, in each of which an oblong central panel is flanked at either short end, inside the decorative border, not by the customary Coptic frieze panels but by narrow bands ornamented

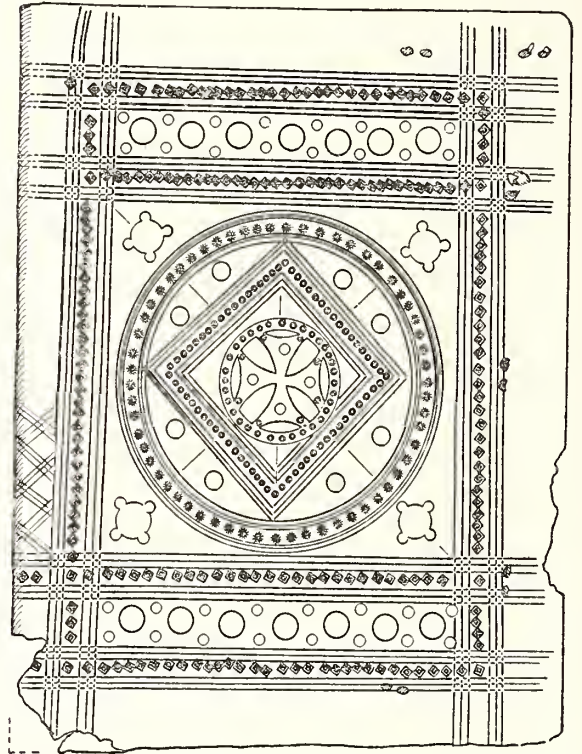


FIG. 37—BINDING HAMOULI 1A IN COPTIC MUSEUM, CAIRO (BELONGING TO MS. MORGAN 568, *Isaias*, COPTIC) 355 x 276 MM., NOT LATER THAN A.D. 850

there are no early Coptic book covers in existence that show similarly tooled ornament

with stampings. M. Marçais, *op. cit.*, p. 82, n. 2, states it as his belief that these bands are due to a faulty composition of the panel decoration. A look, however, at binding No. 14 (*fig. 11*) should make it clear that by omitting the two narrow flanking bands the bookbinder would have been able to complete his intertwined panel design so as to make it symmetrical. May it not be that the binder in introducing the narrow flanking bands sought to retain something of the esthetic effect which he felt to have its source in the traditional Coptic panel arrangement?

from which the Kairouan patterns could have been copied. If it should be true that the bookbinders of Lower Egypt used such patterns at the time of the Islamic conquest, it is regret-

It is true that some of the ornamental title frames and decorative headpieces and tail-

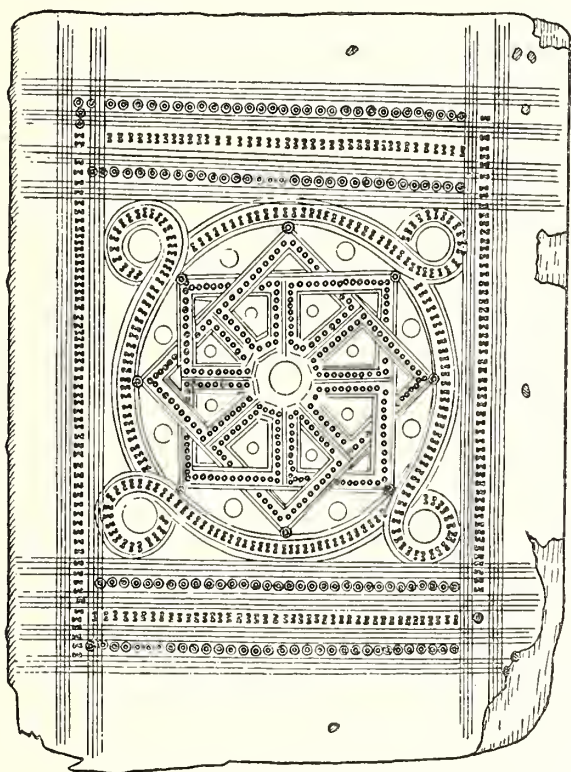


FIG. 38—BINDING OF MS. MORGAN 590, *Lectinary* FOR THE FEAST OF ST. MENAS, COPTIC (352 x 269 MM.), A.D. 893

table that none of their bindings (and for that matter none of the manuscripts written in the Bohairic dialect of Lower Egypt, older than the ninth century) have been preserved for us.²¹

²¹ Here it should be noted that possible future discoveries, like those made at Kairouan, may throw further light upon the early bookbinders' art in Lower (Northern) Egypt. The vaulted hall of the tower of the Syrian Monastery in the Wādi al-Naṭrūn was reported to contain many early elaborately tooled torn-off book covers; but while all the loose manuscript leaves found with them were salvaged and their texts published, the bookbindings were left to their

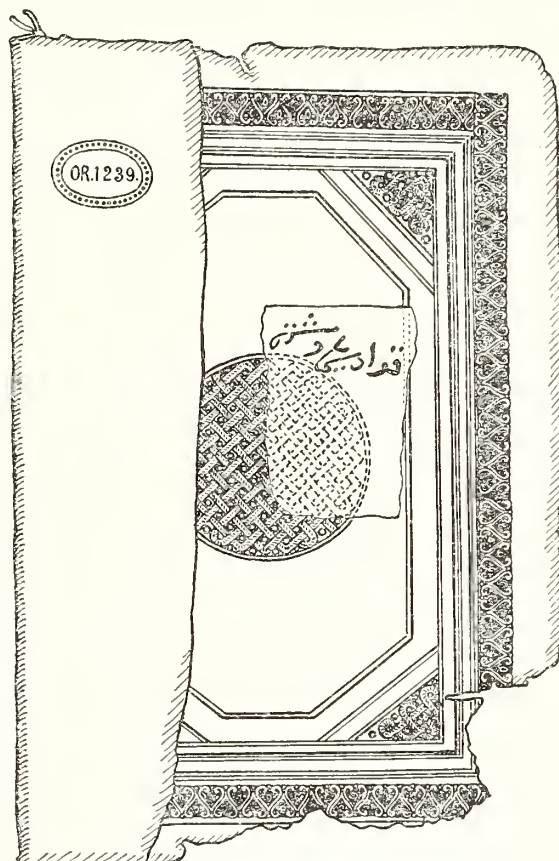


FIG. 39—BINDING OF MS. BRIT. MUS. OR. 1239, *Anaphoras*, COPTIC (BOHAIRIC), (222 x 140 MM.), THIRTEENTH CENTURY

The central circular ornament, very indistinct in the photograph, is given here as a simple plating, while the original has a more complicated interlacing.

pieces found in Coptic manuscripts resemble the platted-band ornament fancied by the

fate and no description of them was given other than to suggest that they resembled the bindings figured in Budge's *Miscellaneous Coptic texts*, London, 1915, and that they could once have belonged to the early Syriac manuscripts which during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were taken to the Vatican and the British Museum. Cf. Hugh G. Evelyn White, *The monasteries of the Wadi n'Natrun*, Part I, New York, 1926, p. XLVII, note 4.

bookbinders of Kairouan. It is true also that extant Bohairic book covers of the later Middle Ages (*fig. 39*) resemble those made by Islamic bookbinders of their time, and it is true that even in older bookbindings from Central Egypt (as in that of the sixth- to seventh-century manuscript, Chester Beatty Coptic C, and that of the early eighth-century manuscript, Brit. Mus. Inv. No. 1442 (*figs. 23 and 24*), platted-band decorations inked upon the leather coverings suggest a relationship to the patterns of the Kairouan bookbinders. An equally close relationship, however, can easily be discovered also in the interlaced-band ornament of the carved panels of the teakwood minbar which was made for the Mosque of Kairouan at Baghdad in 863, on orders of the Aghlabid Emir Abū Ibrāhīm. From whatever source the inspirations may have come, it was most likely the calligrapher and the illuminator of manuscripts who seized and recorded the inspirations and furnished a draft of them to the binder for his tooled ornamentation of the book covers.

It has been said that "the art of the book is the basis of all oriental art. The illuminators of manuscripts exercised their skill in many other realms of artistic production, just as in Italy during the Renaissance and it was they, the illuminators, who furnished the plans for most of the creations of oriental art."²²

²² F. R. Martin, *Miniaturen und Buchkunst*, Die Ausstellung von Meisterwerken Muhammedanischer Kunst in München 1910, ed. by F. Sarre and F. R. Martin, München, 1912, vol. 1, p. III.

Not all the Kairouan bindings demanded the intervention of artists. None of them compare in excellence of workmanship and general sumptuousness with the magnificent books produced in the Islamic East during the Mamluk period, but they are invaluable in showing the continuity of technical knowledge and proficiency in the bookbinders' craft as they were handed down from the Greco-Roman-Coptic world to the Islamic world.

Early Islamic bookbinding in Kairouan in nearly all its technical particulars resembled Coptic bookbinding of the eighth and ninth centuries. Where it deviated from the Coptic technical tradition, as in the choice of a horizontal format (which deviation was not so much that of the bookbinders as of the calligraphers) and in the adoption of the boxed-in type of bookbinding described by Messrs. Marçais and Poinssot (*fig. 5, c*), it made eventual amends by abandoning these innovations again in favor of the formats of the older tradition. But where the Islamic binders deviated from the traditional Coptic patterns of book-cover decoration and chose to replace these with weavings of their own taste and fancy, they had struck out on a new path and a new adventure which, though at first it led them only a few steps away from the Coptic heritage, was eventually to lead them to heights of inventiveness, elegance, and sumptuousness which has never been excelled before or after by anything in "bookbinding art" the world has ever seen.

AN UNKNOWN FRAGMENT OF THE "JĀMI' AL-TAWĀRIKH" IN THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL BY BASIL GRAY

IT IS NOT SURPRISING THAT THE MONGOLS had a bad press, particularly in Persia. In western Europe persistent stories of their believed inclination to Christianity predisposed men to a more favorable view. But this hardly survived the eye-witness accounts of John of Plano Carpini (1246) and Friar William of Rubruck (1253-54). Marco Polo, on the other hand, was a devoted servant of Qūbilāy Khān (d. 1293), who was, however, completely Sinicized. China has a habit of imposing its ideas.

There is, however, no lack of accounts of the Mongols, from their own *Secret History* (partly edited from the Mongol by Pelliot), in Chinese, Persian, and Latin; but contemporary pictures of them are far rarer. Although the Chin Tartars figure in many Chinese paintings, these are not documents of history, but rather romanticized. The position in Persia is, as we shall see, rather different but not very much better. Only from Japan have we a really contemporary pictorial record, in the two famous scroll paintings in the Japanese Imperial Collection dated 1293, depicting the two attempted Mongol invasions of Japan in 1274 and 1281, and thus almost contemporary. But, naturally, they show the Mongols only as warriors.

Of Juvayni's "Persian History" of the Mongols, *Ta'rikh-e Jahān-gushā*, completed in the third quarter of the thirteenth century (E. G. Browne says in 1260), there is, unfortunately, no illustrated manuscript earlier than 1438. As a minister of the early Īl-Khāns, he was particularly well placed to gather authentic information. So, too, was the other Persian historian of the period, Rashīd al-Dīn. However justified is criticism of him as a pla-

giarist, there is no doubt that he had available on his library staff scholars and painters from all parts of the Mongol dominions. The original copy of his "History of the Mongols," compiled for Ghāzān and handed to his successor, Ūljāytū, in 1304, must have contained a full series of illustrations.

Unfortunately, in spite of all the precautions that the author took to secure the survival of copies of this work, no complete manuscript survives today. The Royal Asiatic Society is fortunate to have among its great treasures part of an original copy of the supplementary "History of the World" by Rashīd al-Dīn, with contemporary miniatures; and a further part of another manuscript is in the Edinburgh University Library. Both are extensively illustrated and it is earnestly to be hoped that some means will be found of publishing, if possible in color, the whole of the 170 illustrations in these two volumes. Naturally, these illustrations, although nominally connected with the history of the early Caliphate and with the Patriarchs, do convey something of the contemporary picture of the Mongol period in Persia, as well as revealing the art style current there under the Īl-Khāns, with its strong admixture of Chinese influence. Similar evidence is supplied by other manuscripts of the period or a little later, such as the famous fragmentary Demotte *Shāh-nāme*, though here the existence of earlier illustrations of this cycle of stories would have influenced the compositions of the fourteenth-century painters.

So, too, the school of painting of the Injū and Muẓaffarids carried on the Mongol tradition, and Mongol equipment appears in their miniatures.

But all this does not make up for the loss of the original miniatures of the Rashīd-al-Dīn *Ta'rikh-e Ghāzān Shāh*.

When I visited Calcutta in March of 1947, with the Delegation of the Royal Academy Exhibition of Indian Art, the Asiatic Society of Bengal put out some of their choicest manuscripts for us to inspect. Among these, a manuscript was exhibited, correctly described as a portion of the *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh* of Rashīd al-Dīn in Persian, though its contents were not quite correctly indicated by the description "the portions on Qūbilāy and Hūlāgū." This manuscript, formerly in the Library of Fort William College, is mentioned in the catalogue of the Manuscripts belonging to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, by Mirza Ashraf Ali (1890, p. 19, No. D. 31), under the title *Awlād-nāme-e Chingīz Khān*, or "History of the Descendants of Chingīz Khān," which, as far as is known, is the only reference to this manuscript in print. This is not the place for a discussion of the text, though it is certainly desirable that it should be examined and collated with other manuscripts of the work. It will suffice to state here that the period covered is from about 617 H. (A.D. 1220) to 698 H. (A.D. 1298-99). The folios have been a good deal disarranged in the last binding and it is probable that some folios are missing. As it stands, the manuscript consists of 122 folios of large size (470 x 325 mm. or 390 x 255 mm. inside the margins), with 21 miniatures, several of which are almost the size of the whole page. It is probably significant that in point of size it is nearer to the manuscripts of Rashīd al-Dīn's works produced in his lifetime, than to the well-known Paris MS. sup. pers. 1113, which measures only 320 x 230 mm. The text is, however, written in a *nasta'liq*, which Mr. Minovi (to whom I am much indebted for help with the identification of the subjects of the miniatures) is of the opinion should not be much earlier than A.D. 1430. It

must, however, be said that this question still seems open. Both M. Massé and M. Blochet accept the Bibliothèque Nationale '*Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt*' manuscript¹ as being of the date in the colophon, 1388, and yet in typical *nasta'liq* script; and it is generally agreed that the famous Mīr 'Alī only brought to perfection a style already in the course of formation. As is usually the case with manuscripts of the *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh*, gaps have been left in the text and there are also pages left blank for miniatures, and although the folios are marginated throughout in gold, there are no illuminated headings. The writing is rather careless and the paper is thinner and weaker than in the Il-Khāni MSS. which survive.

For us the main interest of the manuscript lies in the miniatures, which are unique.² Not so Chinese as the painting in the famous manuscripts of the Royal Asiatic Society in London and the University of Edinburgh, with their almost purely linear style and restrained coloring, they still differ from the typical Persian style of the early Timurid period.

The closest parallels are, in regard to the foliage treatment and *mise-en-page*, the well-known manuscript of the '*Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt*' (sup. pers. 332) of A.D. 1388 in the Bibliothèque Nationale, which has been the subject of a special study by M. Henri Massé, and the Demotte *Shāh-nāme*, the date of which is still a matter of dispute. But it must be admitted that our miniatures are still more "like themselves" and unlike anything else, and also that they are not comparable in dramatic power to those of that great *Shāh-nāme* manuscript. They have, however, a historic truthfulness which gives them a high interest. If it is greatly to be regretted that we have no miniatures of Mongol subjects from Rashīd al-Dīn's own

¹ Henri Massé, ed., *Le livre des merveilles du monde*, Paris, 1944.

² I am much indebted to the Warburg Institute for the photographs of this manuscript.

studio, it seems clear that these 21 paintings are far nearer to those lost masterpieces than the Timurid paintings of the Bibliothèque Nationale MS. sup. pers. 1113, so completely in the idiom of their time. Yet it was these which were selected to illustrate the text of the *Jāmi' al-tawārikh* and the history of Juvaynī published by M. Blochet³ and Professor Browne in the Gibb Memorial Series; they have also appeared in all the leading books on Persian painting, and always, down to 1933,⁴ with an early fourteenth-century date attached. Though they are now regarded by all competent scholars, like M. Stchoukine,⁵ M. de Lorey,⁶ and Dr. Kühnel,⁷ as of Timurid date, the place they formerly occupied as historical material has been left empty.

If we look critically at the miniatures in the Bibliothèque Nationale MS. sup. pers. 1113 and those of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, we find numerous essential differences, not only in style but in content, especially in details of clothes, furniture, architecture, and landscapes. The costumes depicted in Bibl. Nat. sup. pers. 1113 are almost purely Timurid, with the addition of a few characteristic Mongol features such as headdress and boots.

³ Edgar Blochet, in *Les enluminures des manuscrits orientaux—turcs, arabes, persans—de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1926), page 77, writes: "L'importance des tableaux qui enluminent le texte de Rashīd al-Dīn est encore plus considérable au point de vue documentaire qu'au point de vue de l'histoire de l'art: ils reproduisent fidèlement, comme les photographies . . . une multitudes de scènes" etc.

⁴ And even more recently, e.g., Schuyler V. R. Cammann, *China's dragon robes* (New York, 1952), p. 8 ff.

⁵ *La peinture iranienne sous les derniers 'Abāsides et les Īl-Khāns* (Bruges, 1936), p. 31.

⁶ *Les arts de l'Iran, l'ancienne Perse et Bagdad*, Catalogue rédigé par H. Corbin, etc. (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, 1938), pp. 147-148.

⁷ E. Kühnel, *History of miniature painting and drawing*, Survey of Persian Art (London-New York, 1938-1939), vol. 3, p. 1839.

Thus, the very first miniature (*fig. 1*, folio 22 verso) illustrates Kabl Khān and his wife, seated, in purely Timurid costume. On folio 99^v Chingīz Khān himself⁸ is indistinguishable from a Timurid prince of Shāh Rukh's time.⁹ Folio 210^v represents¹⁰ Ghāzān Khān as a baby, with his mother and nurse, all completely Persian except for the headdress of the two ladies, which is the *bogtaq* (*fig. 2*). On folio 162^v there is a stylized family group of the nine sons of Tūlūi, seated in three rows, in a flowery landscape.¹¹ They wear Timurid costume, including a Timurid type of gold crown. But the conventional arrangement of the group evidently goes back to the Īl-Khānid original, for precisely so are the Chinese princes depicted in the Royal Asiatic Society MS.,¹² which is now deposited in the British Museum. Thrones¹³ too have acquired, in Bibl. Nat. sup. pers. 1113, the softened outline of the early Timurid period (*figs. 3 and 4*), which contrasts so strongly with the complex curves of the Chinese-style thrones depicted in the Demotte *Shāh-nāme*¹⁴ and the Calcutta Rashīd al-Dīn.¹⁵ This Timurid style of throne is found already in 1410 in the Gulbenkian Anthology.¹⁶ Where some baroque flavor is retained, as in Bibl. Nat. sup. pers. 1113,

⁸ Blochet, *loc. cit.*, pl. XXVI B.

⁹ E.g., in the great Bāysunghur *Shāh-nāme* of 1429.

¹⁰ *Les arts de l'Iran*, pl. XV (detail only).

¹¹ F. R. Martin, *Miniature painting and painters* (London, 1912), vol. 2, pl. 44; E. Blochet, *Introduction à l'histoire des Mongols de Fadl Allah Rashīd al-Dīn* (Leiden-London, 1910), pl. X facing page 213.

¹² Martin, *loc. cit.*

¹³ Folios 183 (*fig. 3*), 194 (*fig. 4*), and 203^v: Blochet, *Les peintures des manuscrits orientaux de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1920), pl. XV.

¹⁴ Doris Brian, *A reconstruction of the miniature cycle in the Demotte Shah Namah*, *Ars Islamica*, vol. 6, Pt. 2 (1939), Nos. 1 and 45.

¹⁵ Folio 53^r, No. XVIII (*fig. 21*), see below.

¹⁶ Kühnel, *op. cit.*, pl. 861A.

folios 133^v and 166^r, it is ineptly handled.¹⁷

The same point can be made by a comparison of the arms and armor, or of the architecture depicted in the Bibliothèque Nationale MS. with those shown in the Calcutta MS. In the latter, the typical Mongol tunic—a long surcoat of laminae coming down well below the knee—is the rule (cf. Nos. I, III, XV, XXI). Such armor is never depicted in the Paris MS., but the ordinary warrior's dress is a small helmet with plates covering the ears and a silk surcoat (e.g., folio 72,¹⁸ folio 187,¹⁹ and folio 221 (*fig. 5*). On folio 187 a cape of chain mail protects the shoulders, but no body armor at all is shown. So, too, in this Bibliothèque Nationale MS. architecture has a contemporary Timurid character. Even the city of Cheng-tu²⁰ is Persian in architecture and Timurid in composition and color, mauve wall and gold sky. The most elaborate double-page views of the cities of Baghdad²¹ and Tabriz²² are much more ambitious than anything in the Calcutta miniatures. On the other hand, the round towers which flank the gate of Balkh in No. I of the Calcutta miniatures (*fig. 9*) are much nearer to the Mongol style than the flimsy faience-covered structures of the Paris MS. Moreover, the more ambitious architecture of the "pavilion called Frāshī" (No. XI) (*fig. 14*) shows a knowledge of Chinese architecture that can only have been derived from a Chinese source.

Finally, the landscape of Bibliothèque Nationale sup. pers. 1113 is in the fully developed Timurid style, with its elaborate rock conven-

tion, showing the upturned, lightly colored strata, to be seen, for instance, in the Luristan mountains on the railway from Khuzistan to Tehran (e.g., folio 53 verso; see *fig. 6*). Timurid flowering trees and foliage conventions are to be seen in folios 132 verso²³ and 159 verso,²⁴ both of which also show typical Timurid tents in the background.

THE MINIATURES

I. Folio 84 recto (*fig. 9*).—The inhabitants of the city of Balkh leaving the city at the order of Chingiz, ostensibly to be enumerated, but really to be slaughtered by the Mongols on the plain outside the city.

This event took place in February 1221, shortly after Chingiz Khān first crossed the Āmū Daryā in person.²⁵ The party is led by two dervishes. They are watched by mounted Mongols in armor. This is the typical Mongol laminated armor, reaching down to or below the knees. It is shown in the contemporary Japanese scrolls and in the nearly contemporary Royal Asiatic and Edinburgh University MSS. of the *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh*, but never in the Bibliothèque Nationale sup. pers. 1113. On the other hand, horse armor is not worn. This became common in the Timurid period.

II. Folio 85 recto.—Battle between the armies of Chingiz and Jalāl al-Dīn Mingburni (or, more correctly, Mangūburti).

This fight took place on the banks of the Indus in November 1221,²⁶ when Jalāl al-Dīn, son of the Khwārazm Shāh, Muhammad, was defeated. The subject is also illustrated in Bibliothèque Nationale sup. pers. 1113, folio 72.²⁷

¹⁷ Edgar Blochet, *Introduction*, etc., pls. IV and II.

¹⁸ Blochet, *Enluminures*, pl. XXV B.

¹⁹ Blochet, *Musulman painting, XII-XVII centuries* (London, 1929), pl. LXII.

²⁰ Folio 65^v: Blochet, *Enluminures*, pl. XXV A.

²¹ Folios 180^v–181^r: Martin, *loc. cit.*, pl. 42; Blochet, *Enluminures*, pl. XXVII.

²² Folios 256–257; Blochet, *Les peintures*, etc., pl. XX.

²³ Blochet, *Musulman painting*, pl. LXI; and *Les peintures*, pl. XIV.

²⁴ Blochet, *Introduction*, etc., pl. IX.

²⁵ V. V. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion* (English trans., London, 1928), p. 438.

²⁶ Barthold, *op. cit.*, p. 445.

²⁷ Blochet, *Enluminures*, pl. XXV B.

III. Folio 86 recto (*fig. 10*).—After the battle was lost, Jalāl al-Dīn escapes by swimming his horse across the Indus to the Indian side.²⁸ He is seated on the farther bank wiping his sword, with his saddle beside him, and his bow and arrows hung on a neighboring tree, presumably to dry. Unlike the Mongols on the other bank of the river, he does not wear armor. The convention for the waves in the river, clearly visible in the upper part of the miniature, is like a plaited basket and resembles the water convention used in the Royal Asiatic Society Rashīd al-Dīn.²⁹

The paper has become extremely brittle, as a result of the extremes of the Indian climate, and a large hole has been formed toward the right side.

IV. Folio 86 verso.—All the male children of Jalāl al-Dīn are killed by order of Chingiz.

V. Folio 87 verso.—In the year 621 H. (A.D. 1224) Chingiz Khān orders a quriltāy on the shores of the Banākath River (i.e., the Angren, a tributary of the Sir Daryā, in the direction of Tashkent or Ilāq).

VI. Folio 89 recto (*fig. 11*).—The great feast of Chingiz Khān in the original lands of his tribes in the year 621 H. (A.D. 1224). This event probably really took place in 1225.³⁰

Unlike the miniatures illustrating such feasts in the Bibliothèque Nationale sup. pers. 1113, this correctly shows the feast taking place inside a great tent. In that MS., if a tent is indicated, it has lost all structural form, as for instance on folio 183, Hūlāgū on his throne (*fig. 3*), and folio 210 verso, Ghāzān Khān as

²⁸ René Grousset, *L'Empire Mongol*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1941), p. 243.

²⁹ E. Kühnel, *Miniaturmalerei im Islamischen Orient* (Berlin, 1922), pl. 23; Blochet, *Musulman painting*, pl. LI; and L. Binyon, J. V. S. Wilkinson, and Basil Gray, *Persian miniature painting* (London, 1933), pls. XVIII A and XIX A.

³⁰ Grousset, *op. cit.*, p. 262.

a baby with his mother and nurse (*fig. 2*). In both of these cases only the rolled-up tent flaps are shown with part of a canopy overhead. The situation is only intelligible if reference is made to the Calcutta miniature, where it is evident that the great Khān is seated in a beehive-shaped tent with an extension in front in which the other khāns are feasting.

There is a good variety of Mongol head-gear shown in this miniature; and a noble blue-and-white covered vessel stands on the table between a gold vase and ewer. Both shape and decoration are unusual, but the sparse decoration is suggestive of an early date if, as must be the case, this is a piece of Chinese porcelain.

VII. Folio 90 recto.—Chingiz Khān's last words of advice to his favorite sons Ogodai (Ogotāy) and Tūlūi.³¹ The rest of the Mongol court is shown waiting outside.

VIII. Folio 90 verso (*fig. 12*).—Mourning over the coffin of Chingiz Khān after his death in 624 H. (A.D. 1227) on the 18th of August. His body was carried to its secret place of burial near the sacred mount Burqān Qaldūn.³² It is related that anyone whom the funeral cortège encountered was put to death on the spot.

This subject is illustrated in folio 117 of Bibliothèque Nationale sup. pers. 1113, and other funeral scenes are also shown in this MS. (*fig. 7*). They are less Mongol than in the Calcutta No. VIII.³³ The bier on which the black coffin is placed is the shape of a Chinese throne but the decoration is Islamic in style. Is this because the source from which the illustration was taken was an outline sketch? The exaggerated gestures and expressions of grief are not found in Persian miniatures. The

³¹ See Grousset, *op. cit.*, p. 277, for an account of his last hours.

³² C. M. d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, I (Amsterdam, 1852), p. 381; Grousset, *op. cit.*, p. 281.

³³ E.g., Funeral of Chagatāy, folio 159, Blochet, *Introduction*, pl. VIII.

closest parallel is a miniature of the funeral of Isfandiyār in the Demotte *Shāh-nāmeḥ*³⁴ or of Iskandar from the same manuscript.³⁵ This is a late Mongol book.

IX. Folio 20 recto.—In the year 633 H. (A.D. 1235), Batū and his army made a night attack on some Christian tribes in the Caucasus named BWLR and Bāshgird, made their way into the camp and cut the ropes of their king's tent, which resulted in the dispersal and routing of the whole army.

X. Folio 20 verso (*fig. 13*).—The quirl-tāy of Mongol princes prior to the Russian campaign of 634 H. (A.D. 1236). No such realistic picture of a Mongol council is found in Bibliothèque Nationale sup. pers. 1113. The careful symmetry of the whole group of seven princes and the full-face representation of the principal figure are not found in Persian miniatures of the Timurid period,³⁶ nor does it occur in the Bibliothèque Nationale MS. of the *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh* (sup. pers. 1113). Its monumental character is reminiscent of the medieval wall paintings of central Asia and the Ghaznavids. The Chinese blue-and-white vase is of the same shape and decoration as that shown in No. VI, but it has no cover.

XI. Folio 21 verso (*fig. 14*).—There can be little doubt that the most interesting of the miniatures in the Calcutta manuscript is the full-page illustration of "the pavilion called Frāshī, built by order of Uktāy Qā'ān in the city of Qarāqorum with gold and silver statues made so as wine and qumīz, deposited in them, should run out of their mouths." Nothing like this miniature is known from any other manuscript of Rashīd al-Dīn, nor is there any other illustration of this famous construction, either

eastern or western, earlier than Bergeron's entirely fanciful reconstruction published in 1735 (printed in 1729).³⁷ It is indeed the only representation of Qarāqorum at the time when it was the capital of all the Mongol dominions, to supplement the descriptions given by Juwaynī and at first hand by Friar William of Rubruck.

The origin of Qarāqorum has been discussed by Paul Pelliot³⁸ on the evidence of the *Chi chêng-chi*, which is supported by the discovery of fragments of an original inscription in Chinese and Mongol at Erdeniju. While recording the construction of a five-storied stupa by Monka (Mangū) in 1256, this records that the site of Qarāqorum near the Orkhon was fixed by Chingīz himself in his fifteenth year (A.D. 1220). The town was not constructed, however, until 1235, when Okkodai (Ogö dai: Uktāy) built the town wall and the palace. This is the date attributed to the pavilion and fountain by Rashīd al-Dīn. But William of Rubruck's first-hand information is to be preferred. He arrived at Qarāqorum in April of 1254 and this construction had only been finished the previous month. It was thus not a work of Ogö dai, who died in 1241, but of Monka (or Mangū, as he is known in the West). After the conquest of China, the Mongols could draw upon Chinese craftsmanship in making their first fixed capital (*Curia*) at Qarāqorum. William of Rubruck³⁹ remarks upon the numbers of excellent Chinese artisans

³⁷ Sir Percival David, *The magic fountain in Chinese ceramic art*, Bull. Museum Far Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm, vol. 24 (1952), pp. 1-9.

³⁸ Paul Pelliot, *Note sur Karakorum*, Journ. Asiatique, vol. CCVI (1925), p. 372 ff. See also F. W. Cleaves, *The Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1346*, Harvard Journ. Asiatic Studies, vol. 15 (1952), pp. 15, 18, 27.

³⁹ William W. Rockhill, H., *The journey of William of Rubruck to the eastern parts of the world, 1253-55, as narrated by himself* (London, 1900), pp. 156 and 221.

³⁴ Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray, *op. cit.*, pl. XXVI A.

³⁵ Brian, *op. cit.*, fig. 19.

³⁶ Cf. Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray, *op. cit.*, the court scenes, pls. XXXIV B, XXXVIII, XLVII A, and XLIX.

he found there: indeed, all the Chinese quarter is said to have been occupied by artisans. Rashīd al-Dīn himself⁴⁰ mentions the transportation of a thousand families from China to make engines of war for the Mongols. It was a cosmopolitan place resorted to by Muslim and Tibetan traders, but its outward appearance was no doubt Chinese. It is indeed most probable that the palace quarter was laid out like the old Chin capital at Yenching (the old Peking) which had been destroyed in 1215. This in its turn was copied, as Professor Yetts has explained,⁴¹ from the Sung palace of K'ai-fêng, “which had originally been modelled on that of the T'ang dynasty at Loyang.” But if this Chinese pattern prescribed the ground layout at Qarāqorum, there was much detail derived from other sources, like the Byzantine gold throne made by the Ruthenian Cosmas, which John de Plano Carpini saw in the ordos of Kuyuk Khān in 1246, and the various works of western origin mentioned by William of Rubruck.

He himself met the craftsman responsible for the most spectacular of these, Guillaume Boucher, a slave from the capture of Belgrade in 1242, but a skilled silversmith of Paris.⁴²

His major work was the fountain, which is precisely the subject of our illustration. William's account runs (in Rockhill's translation)⁴³ as follows: “In the entry of this great

palace, it being unseemly to bring in these skins of milk and other drinks, Master William the Parisian had made for him a great silver tree, and at its roots are four lions of silver, each with a conduit through it, and all belching forth white milk of mares. And four conduits are led inside the tree to its tops, which are bent downwards and on each side of these is also a gilded serpent, whose tail [should be plural—‘involvunt’] twines round the tree. And from one of these pipes flows wine, from another *caracosmos* or clarified mare's milk, from another *bal*, a drink made with honey, and from another rice mead, which is called *terraccina*; and for each liquor there is a special silver bowl at the foot of the tree to receive it.” He also describes an angel on the top of the tree with a trumpet which is sounded by mechanical contrivances when the fountain provides the drink. He adds: “and there are branches of silver on the tree, and leaves and fruit.” From a further reference⁴⁴ it appears that the tree and the bowls at its base occupied a “large part of the palace” standing inside the central of the three doors arranged like a church,⁴⁵ which stood in the Khān's court, which was watered by little streams. This passage is only to be understood if it is borne in mind that all oriental palaces from Istanbul to Peking consisted of walled enclosures laid out with gardens watered by runnels, in which were arranged various pavilions, none of which was very large. The palace was only a tenth the size of the monastery of St. Denis.⁴⁶ The miniature here reproduced shows a disposition of this kind. A striking fact is that the architecture is unmistakably Chinese and not Persian. The characteristic Chinese roof line is

⁴⁰ Rashīd al-Dīn, Ṭabīb, *Histoire des Mongols de la Perse*, écrite en Persan par Raschid-Eldin, tr. en français, accompagné de notes et d'un mémoire sur la vie et les ouvrages de l'auteur, par E. Quatremère, tome 1 (Paris, 1836), p. 132.

⁴¹ Walter P. Yetts, *Writings on Chinese architecture*, Burlington Magazine, vol. 50 (March 1927), pp. 116–131.

⁴² Leonardo Olschki has extracted from William's account all the particulars and painted an attractive picture of him in his *Guillaume Boucher, a French artist at the court of the Khans*, Baltimore, 1946.

⁴³ Rockhill, *op. cit.*, p. 207. For the Latin text see *Itinerarium*, Sinica Franciscana, vol. 1, ed. Anastaas Wyngaert, Firenze, 1929, Cap. XXX, para. 2, p. 276.

⁴⁴ *Itinerarium*, Cap. XXX, para. 4 and 9; Rockhill, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

⁴⁵ “sicut ecclesia habens mediam navem et duo latera post duos ordines columnarum et ante mediam portam intra stat arbor.” (*Itinerarium*, p. 277.)

⁴⁶ *Itinerarium*, Cap. XXXII, para. 1.

not found elsewhere in any other Persian miniature. At the same time, it is neither drawn from nature (being indeed some 150 years later) nor an exact copy of a contemporary drawing. But equally it is not a fanciful reconstruction (like van den Aa's), but possesses features, like the roof line, which can only go back to an original, much nearer to the thirteenth century, available to Rashīd al-Dīn.

By his time it is most unlikely that William's fountain existed in its original form, since Qarāqorum remained the Mongol capital only until about 1260. Monka moved his capital to K'ai-fêng-fu, and in 1264 Qūbilāy established his capital at Yenching.⁴⁷ In 1277 Qūbilāy lost Qarāqorum to Qaidu and from thenceforth it ceased to be connected with the Sinicized Mongols of the Yüan Dynasty. But long before this the palace is likely to have been dismantled. Professor Yetts has noted how the Chinese a hundred years earlier dismantled much of the woodwork of the Sung palace of K'ai-fêng and embodied it in their buildings at Peking.⁴⁸ It is probable that if the fountain had been re-erected at Qūbilāy's palace it would have been noted there in 1275 by Marco Polo, yet he speaks only of a minor buffet, no more than three paces each way, though he thought it "a very large and beautiful piece of workmanship."⁴⁹

William's fountain had therefore probably ceased to exist by the date that Rashīd al-Dīn was writing, but he may well have had access to Chinese representations of it.

XII. Folio 58 verso (*fig. 15*).—Chaghatāy, son of Chingīz Khān, with his queen on the throne of Bishbāligh (the Chinese Ku-

ch'eng, in Kashgaria on the river Ilif in Uighur country).

Chaghatāy (624–39 H./A.D. 1227–42) continued to lead a truly nomadic life in central Asia. In the upper right corner of the miniature the female headdress of the Mongols, the *bogtaq*, which always so interested western travelers, is clearly seen. These still occur in the Bibliothèque Nationale sup. pers. 1113, but are less securely fastened by the head scarves than those in this miniature.

Again, on a table in this miniature is shown a blue-and-white Chinese porcelain vase with handles, between two gold flasks. This vase looks like one of the big "pilgrim-bottles," but, if so, the shape has been misunderstood, being round in plan instead of flat with the two sides parallel.

This is obviously half of a double-page composition, as is folio 229^v of Bibliothèque Nationale sup. pers. 1113.⁵⁰ The opposite page could then have included bowmen and musicians, as well as courtiers.

XIII. Folio 101 recto (*fig. 16*).—The investigation of a plot by the descendants of Ogotāy against Monka (Mangū), who had been appointed Great Khān. They were made by the general Monkāsār (or Mankasisar). These events occurred in A.D. 1251.⁵¹

This miniature shows thoroughgoing Chinese elements in the landscapes and clouds. The fantastic rocks and vegetation in the foreground only occur in early fourteenth-century Persian manuscripts.⁵² The rock conventions found in the Bibliothèque Nationale MS. sup. pers. 1113 are quite different, e.g., folio 53

⁵⁰ Blochet, *Peintures*, pl. XVII. That No. XII is only half of a double page is also indicated by caption, which stops abruptly after *ibn*.

⁵¹ See Grousset, *op. cit.*, pp. 307 (Note 3) and 309; also Blochet, *Introduction*, p. 269.

⁵² Cf. the Pierpont Morgan *Manāfi'-ye hayavān* and the Demotte *Shāh-nāmeh*; Brian, *op. cit.*, figs. 1 and 24.

⁴⁷ G. N. Kates, *A new date for the origins of the Forbidden City*, Harvard Journ. Oriental Studies, vol. 7 (1942), p. 197.

⁴⁸ Yetts, *op. cit.*

⁴⁹ Sir Henry Yule, *The book of Ser Marco Polo*, 3rd ed. (London, 1903), p. 369.

verso (*fig. 6*).⁵³ Two blue-and-white porcelain flasks, one with a handle, are shown in the miniature. They are not of a known Chinese shape.

XIV. Folio 120 recto (*fig. 17*).—Hülāgū Khān held a high feast before setting out to conquer the Ismā‘īlī castles in Khorasan in the spring of 651 H. (early A.D. 1253). There is naturally some monotony in the representatives of these feasts, but there is much more difference between this miniature and No. XVIII, below, than between the miniatures on folios 174 recto, 194 recto, and 203 verso of Bibliothèque Nationale MS. sup. pers. 1113 (*figs. 3 and 4*).⁵⁴

The steward carving a bird in the foreground, the wine skin, and the great variety of blue-and-white vessels depicted in miniature XIV give it plenty of interest. Since this is a feast for the army, no ladies are present and the young man seated beside Hülāgū is presumably his son. Although the scene is lively, it must be admitted that the perspective and detail are often careless and peculiar.

XV. Folio 55 verso (*fig. 18*).—Hülāgū and his army making the journey from Bisṭām for the capture of Ismā‘īlī castles in the year 654 H. (actually in September A.D. 1256).

In this case also we can make a direct comparison with a miniature illustrating the same scene in Bibliothèque Nationale sup. pers. 1113, folio 177 recto (*fig. 8*). And again we notice the impoverishment of the latter, which contains only seven figures in all, instead of fourteen in the Calcutta miniature.

Moreover, we see in the latter empty-handed figures who have lost the standards and spears that they should be carrying. The

⁵³ Cf. also Blochet, *Musulman painting*, pls. LXII and LXIV.

⁵⁴ Juvaynī, *Tar’rikh-i-Jahān-gushā*, ed. Mirzā Muhammad, Gibb Memorial Series, vol. 16 (3) As-sassins, p. 101; and Blochet, *Peintures*, pl. XV.

greyhound in the foreground of this miniature has no lead or keeper, and Hülāgū himself, riding under his state umbrella, is deprived of his armor.

Unfortunately, this miniature is a good deal damaged where the paint has flaked off, but a fair amount of interesting detail survives.

For an account of his expedition, see Quatremère’s translation of the *Jāmi‘ al-tawārīkh*,⁵⁵ “Hulagu-khan était à la tête de centre, que les Mongols designent par le mot de *Koul*, et avec lui un *touman* de guerriers illustrés par leurs exploits.”

XVI. Folio 105 verso (*fig. 19*).—Mourning over the coffin of Munka Qā‘ān (Mangū Khāqān), who died in China on August 11, 1259 (658 H.).

He had occupied the position of Great Khān of the Mongols for nine years since his election and enthronement in 649 H. (A.D. 1250).

It is most interesting to note that this composition is in all essentials the same as that on folio 192 of Bibliothèque Nationale MS. sup. pers. 1113, which illustrates the funeral of Hülāgū (*fig. 7*), who died in 1264. The Calcutta miniature is, however, much the richer and more lively. It contains fifteen figures as against ten; their expressions are individual and full of life. Their clothes are carefully delineated and there is far more difference between the women on the right and the men on the left. An amusing detail is that the two bowmen next to the bier of Mangū reappear in a foolish attitude beside that of Hülāgū, having lost their bows altogether! This is one of the clearest indications of the greater accuracy and nearer approach to the original prototype of the Calcutta MS. compared with the Paris MS.

In Chingiz Khān’s organization of the Mongol court the four men whose duty it was

⁵⁵ Rashīd al-Dīn, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

to carry the bows and arrows ranked first.⁵⁶ The Mongol shape of their quivers is clearly shown in the miniature, and the throne is once more of Chinese shape but Islamic in decoration.

XVII. Folio 105 recto (*fig. 20*).—Qūbilāy Qā'ān and his followers crossing the river NKMWĀRĀN (probably the Narun, a tributary of the Orkhon) over a bridge of boats. This incident must have occurred early in his rule (1257–1294), since it is on the same page as No. XVI of A.D. 1259. (It probably belongs to 1261, when Qūbilāy was maneuvering against Arik-bōgā.)⁵⁷ This is one of the most ambitious of the compositions in the Calcutta MS. and nothing like it is known elsewhere. The sky is a deep, strong blue, contrasting with the blackish-gray of the (now oxidized) silver waters of the river. The boats are not easy to distinguish until it is realized that the sharp, pointed prows have light bands above the water line. The horses are vividly drawn, especially one swimming for its life, and the leading one on the bridge, shying. The troops carry lances and wear armor of the same type as in No. XXI and in the Demotte *Shāh-nāme*,⁵⁸ but also in the Royal Asiatic Society and Edinburgh MSS. of the *Jāmi' al-tawārikh*; however, it is still found in the Cairo *Shāh-nāme* of 1393.

The extremely solid-looking cloud of knotted form cannot be exactly paralleled, but it is of the same general composition as No. XIII, but compact and less Chinese. The rocks show a development toward the Timurid convention of the Bibliothèque Nationale sup. pers. 1113, folio 212^v,⁵⁹ or folio 53 recto, and countless other miniatures, but retain internal shading

of a kind common in the Edinburgh and Royal Asiatic Society *Jāmi' al-tawārikh*.⁶⁰

XVIII. Folio 53 recto (*fig. 21*).—The feast in the presence of Qūbilāy Qā'ān in the year 662 H. (A.D. 1264), after his final victory over his brother, Arik-bōgā, and his establishment as ruler of Mongolia, that is, in July–August 1264.

In XVIII and XIX are two further versions of the court composition. In general arrangement of the figures, XVIII stands nearest to No. XIV, but in some respects it is nearer to No. VI, as for instance in showing the looped-up tent flaps and the single figure on the throne. But No. XVIII, unlike both these others, shows the two immediate assistants to the right of the throne holding bows as clearly required by the positions of their hands. On the other hand, the apparatus of the feast itself is much reduced, there being no more than a single table with three vessels on it. The throne has the most elaborate form of all those represented in this series of miniatures. Recession is rather cunningly contrived, but the upper edge of the painting is still below the horizon.

XIX. Folio 56 recto (*fig. 22*).—A prince on the throne with his lady, probably Mubārak Shāh, or Burāq. Here the composition is restricted to thirteen figures in all. A double wavy line in the sky is presumably introduced to represent cloud, but otherwise there are no innovations. Details of costume are, however, particularly clear in this miniature.

XX. Folio 56 verso (*fig. 23*).—Burāq usurps the throne of Mubārak Shāh, who was converted to Islam and recognized as the ruler of the Chaghatāy tribe in 664 H. (A.D. 1266).⁶¹ This shows a more intimate court scene with only seven figures, but their facial

⁵⁶ See Barthold, *op. cit.*, pp. 382–386.

⁵⁷ d'Ohsson, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 349.

⁵⁸ Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray, *op. cit.*, pl. XXV A; and Blochet, *Musulman painting*, pl. XLIV.

⁵⁹ Blochet, *op. cit.*, pl. LXIV.

⁶⁰ Cf. Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray, *op. cit.*, pls. XXI A and XXII.

⁶¹ See d'Ohsson, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 359.

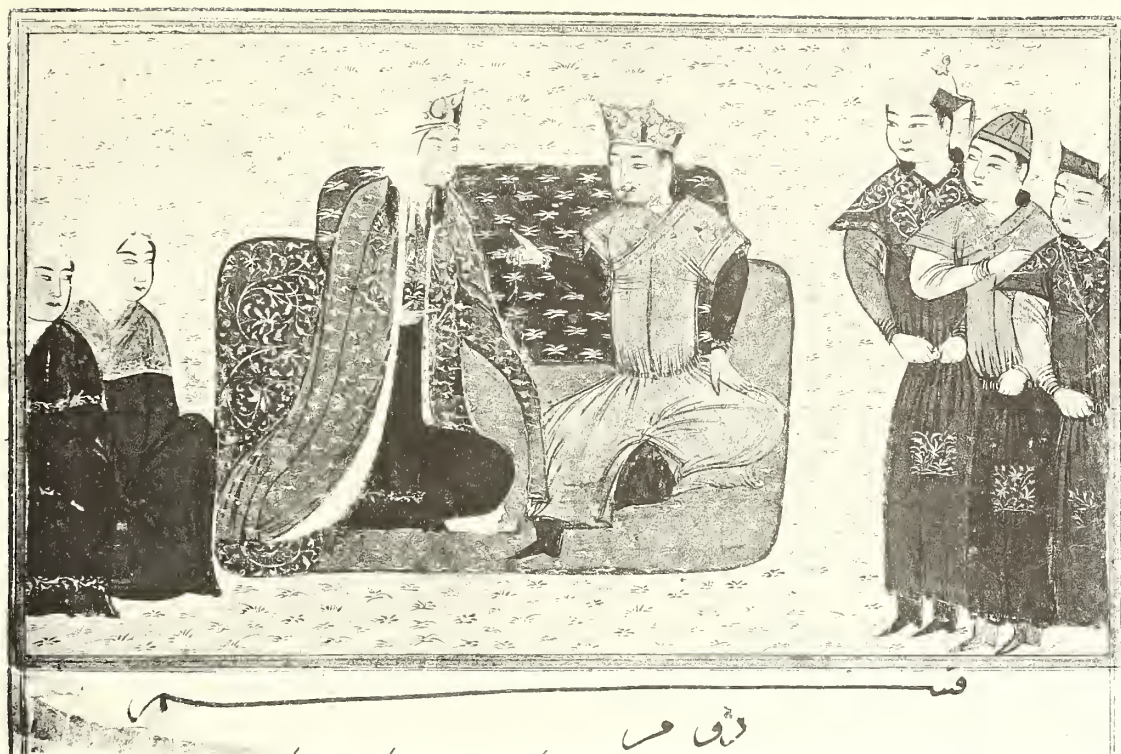
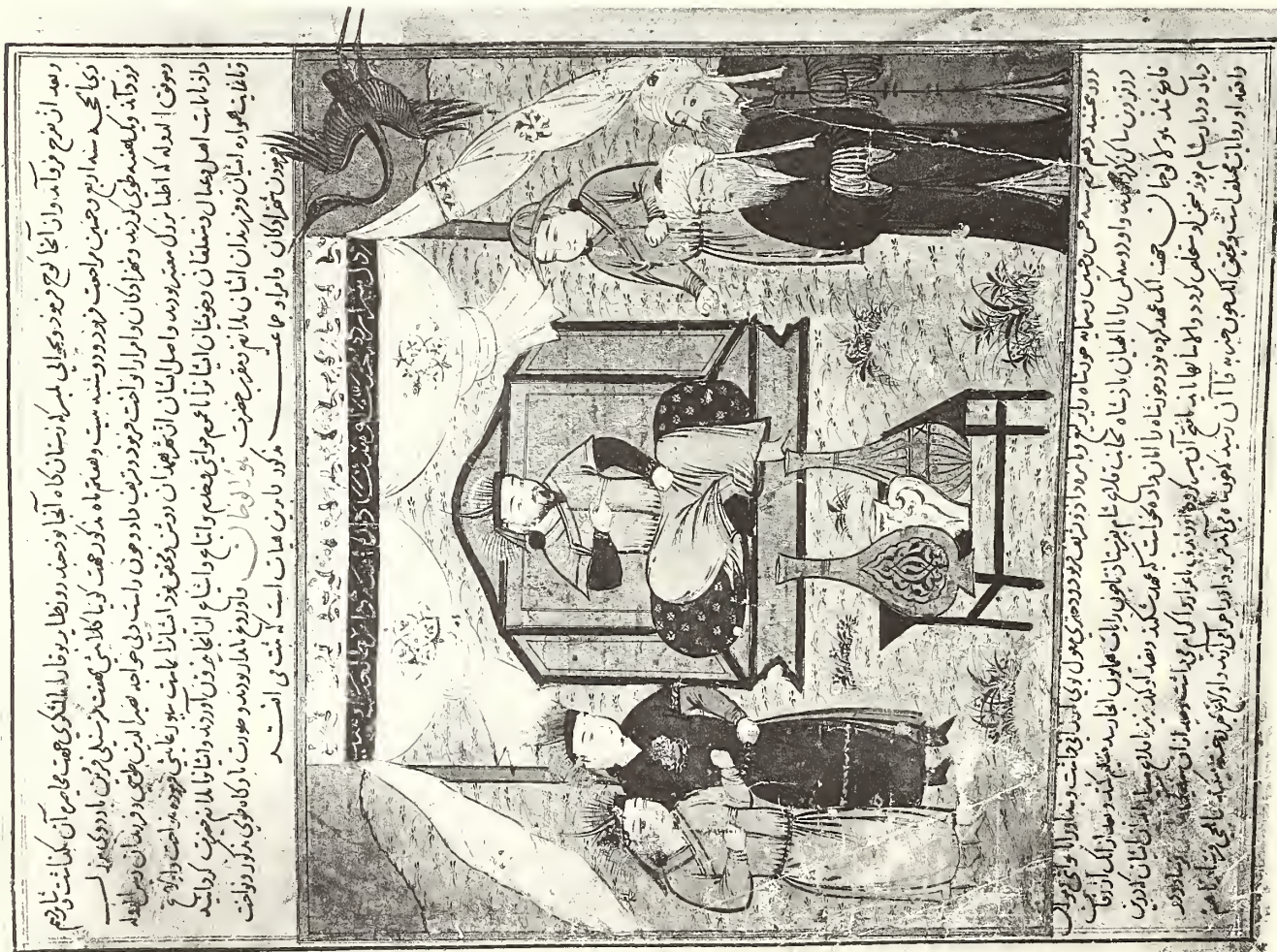


FIG. 1—FOLIO 22 VERSO: KABL KHĀN AND HIS WIFE.



FIG. 2—FOLIO 210 VERSO: GHĀZĀN KHĀN AS A BABY, WITH HIS MOTHER AND NURSE

FIG. 3—FOLIO 183 RECTO: HÜLAGÜ KHÂN ON HIS THRONE



FIGS. 3-4. Bibliothèque Nationale Ms. Sup. Pers. 1112

FIG. 4—FOLIO 194 RECTO: ABAKA KHÂN



حکایت
نسیب صاحب سهاک فرزند اباقاخان وضط امورا از شاه می کرد
اباقاخان بعد از طوبس بر سر طابین مانی می نازد از تنق و در جواهر طیار از آن به برخاستن و شکوه کان و از لرزیدن از خاندان فریاد
آن به هم ملکان بر سید از آن دانه در طوی و هفت طوبس در دیو خط و نسیب هکات و سلاطین ادب و لشکر آورد و در همدیگر از آن و نسیب

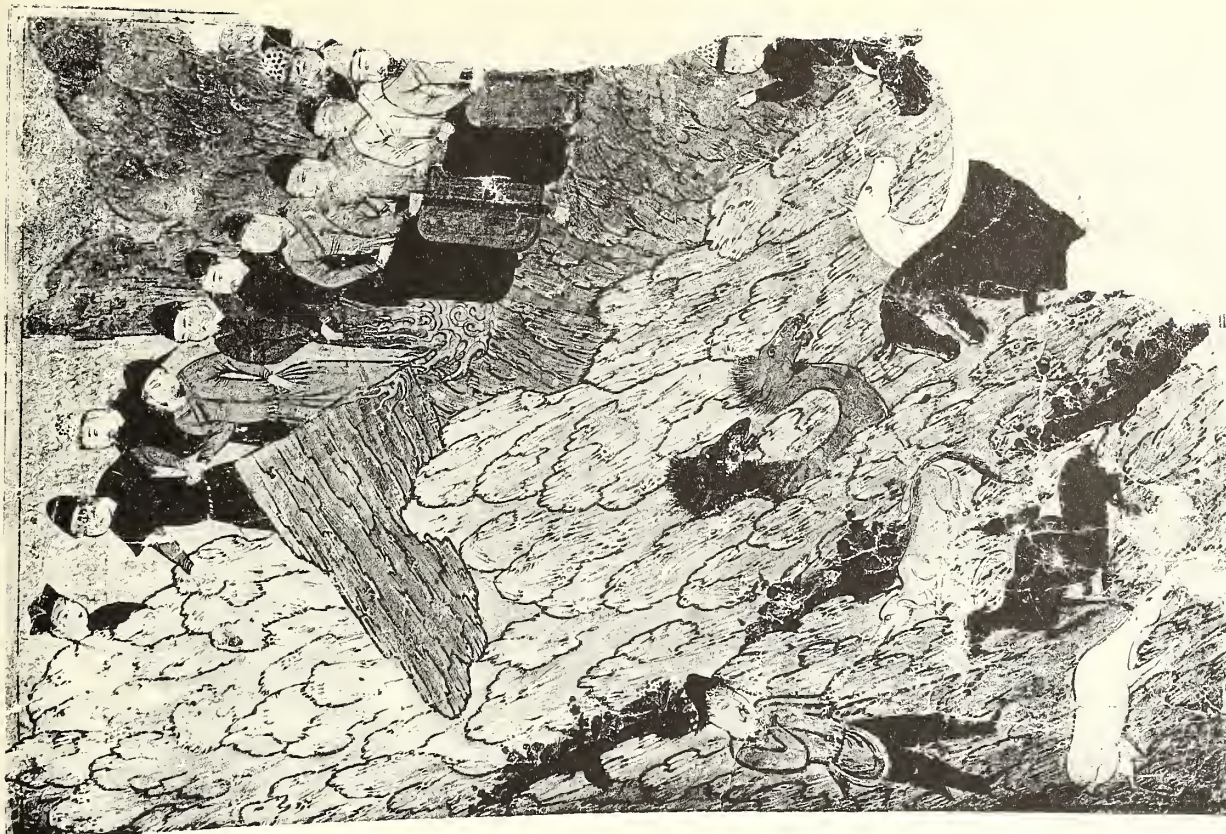


FIG. 6—FOLIO 53 VERSO: MOUNTAIN LANDSCAPE



FIG. 5—FOLIO 221: PERIOD OF GHĀZĀN

Figs. 5-6—Bibliothèque Nationale Ms. Sup. Pers. 1113



FIG. 7—FOLIO 192 RECTO: BIER OF HŪLĀGŪ KHĀN



FIG. 8—FOLIO 117 RECTO: HŪLĀGŪ KHĀN UNDER A STATE UMBRELLA



FIG. 9—FOLIO 84 RECTO: THE INHABITANTS OF BALKH LEAVING THE CITY



FIG. 10—FOLIO 86 RECTO: JALĀL AL-DĪN ON THE BANKS OF THE INDUS



FIG. 11—FOLIO 89 RECTO: CHINGİZ KHĀN, FEASTING



FIG. 12—FOLIO 90 VERSO: THE BIER OF CHINGİZ KHĀN



FIG. 13—FOLIO 20 VERSO: THE QURILTĀY OF 634 H.

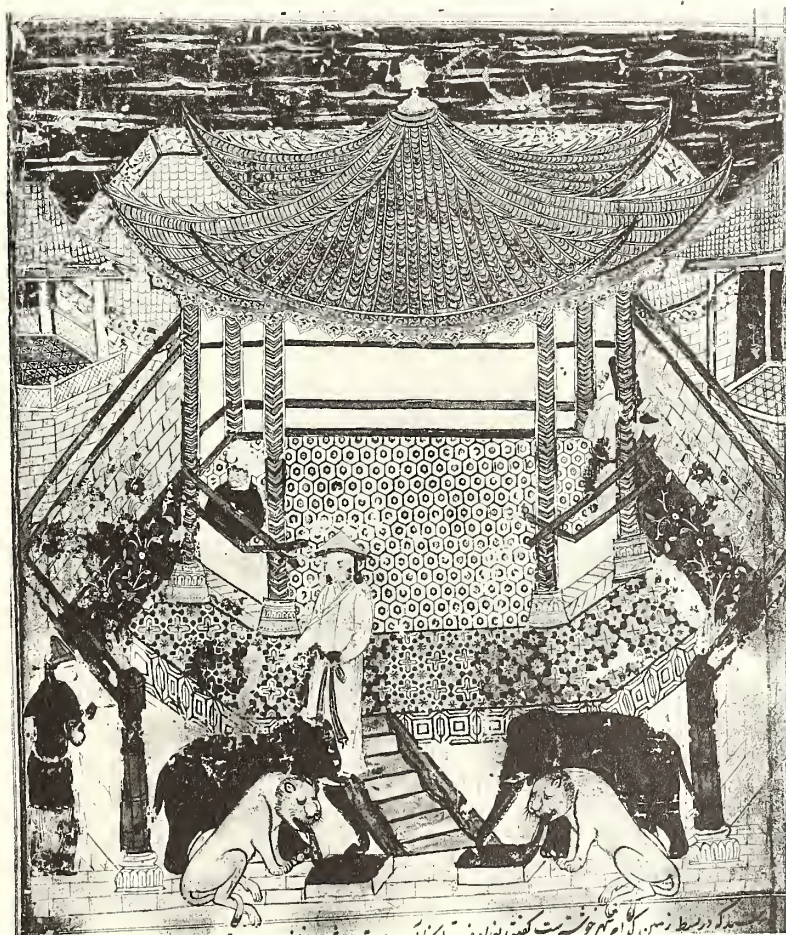


FIG. 14—FOLIO 21 VERSO: THE PAVILION CALLED FRĀSHĪ, AT QARĀQORUM

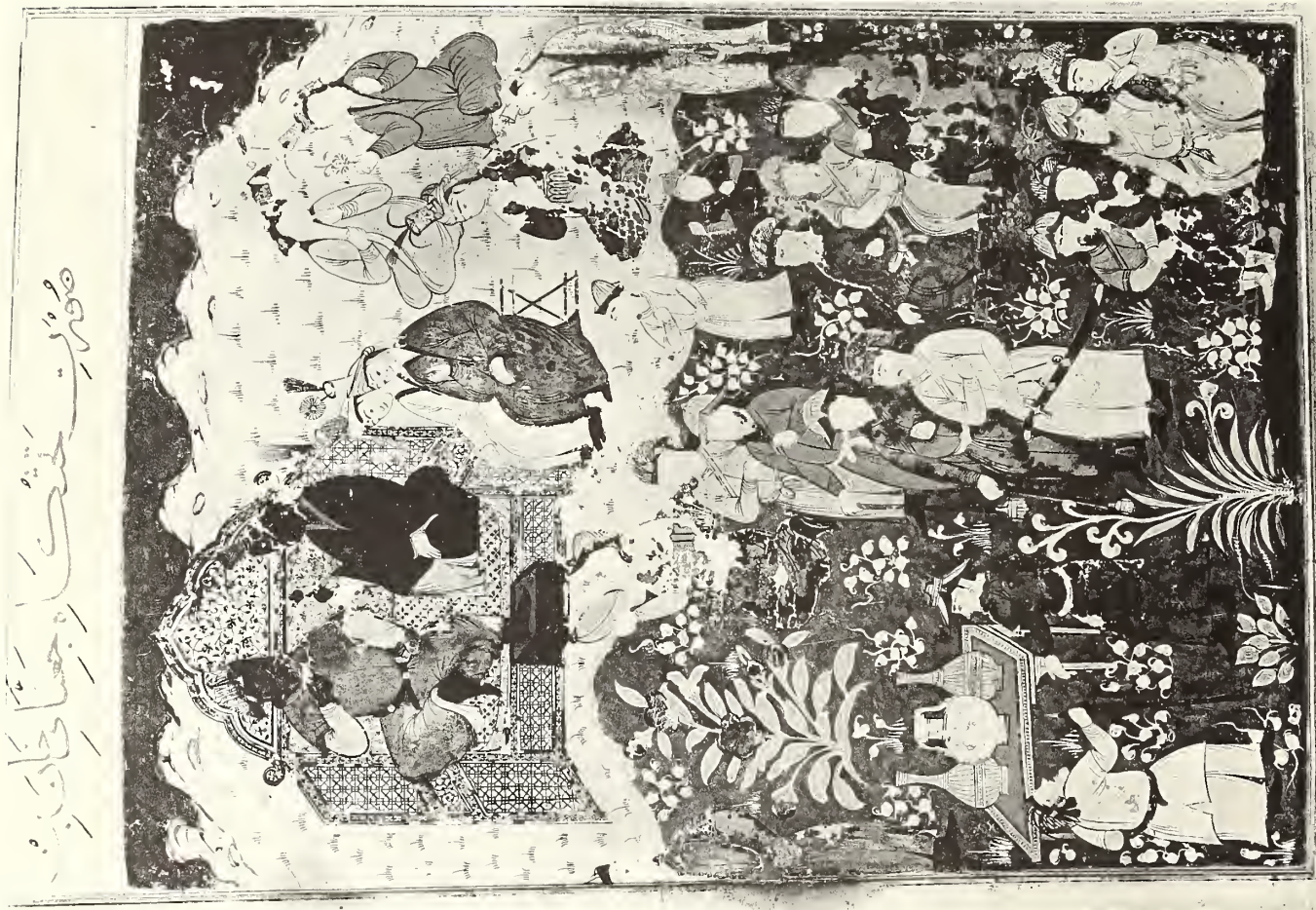


FIG. 15—Folio 58 verso: CHAGHATÂY WITH HIS QUEEN, ENTHRONED



FIG. 16—Folio 101 recto: MONKÂSÂR INVESTIGATING A PLOT AGAINST MANGÛ



FIG. 17—FOLIO 120 RECTO: THE FEAST OF HŪLĀGŪ KHĀN IN 651 H.



FIG. 18—FOLIO 55 VERSO: HŪLĀGŪ MOVING TO ATTACK THE ISMĀ'ILĪ IN 654 H.



FIG. 19—FOLIO 105 VERSO: THE BIER OF MANGŪ KHĀN



FIG. 20—FOLIO 105 RECTO: QŪBILĀY KHĀN CROSSING A RIVER ON A BRIDGE OF BOATS

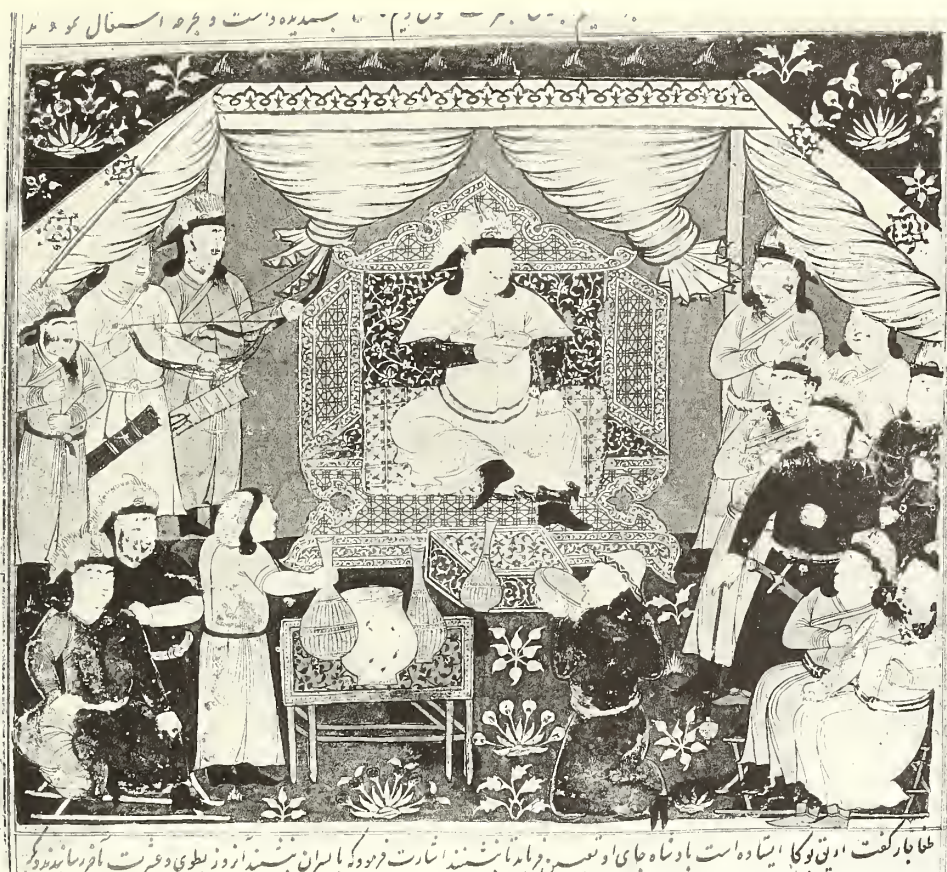


FIG. 21—FOLIO 53 RECTO: FEAST OF QŪBILĀY KHĀN IN 662 H.



FIG. 22—FOLIO 56 RECTO: MONGOL KHĀN WITH HIS WIFE, ENTHRONED



FIG. 23—FOLIO 56 VERSO: BURĀQ KHĀN RECOGNIZED AS RULER OF THE CHAGHATĀY



FIG. 24—FOLIO 44 RECTO: BATTLE BETWEEN TUQATĀY AND NŪQĀY IN 698 H.

types and costumes are particularly clearly shown.

XXI. Folio 44 recto (*fig. 24*).—The battle between the armies of Tuqatāy and Nūqāy in the year 698 H. (A.D. 1298–99) on the River Don, in which the former was defeated.⁶² Here is another vigorous composi-

⁶² For these wars see Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. 2, pp. 497–498.

tion with excellently drawn horses. The two-wheeled chariots are not known from other manuscripts and the shields are more elaborate than those depicted in Bibliothèque Nationale sup. pers. 1113.⁶³

⁶³ Kühnel, *op. cit.*, Survey of Persian Art, 1938–1939, vol. 3, pl. 850 B; Blochet, *Les Enluminures*, pl. XXV.

TÜRKISCHE MINIATURMALEREI AM HOFE MEHMET DES EROBERERS IN ISTANBUL

VON OKTAY ASLANAPA

BISHER HATTE MAN VON DER TÜRKISCHEN Miniaturmalerei in frühosmanischer Zeit, im fünfzehnten Jahrhundert, keine anschauliche Vorstellung. Man wusste wohl, dass Mehmet der Eroberer Maler aus Italien an seinen Hof berufen hatte und damit sein lebendiges Interesse für eine darstellende Kunst bezeugte, die bisher unbekannt gewesen war, aber von den zahlreichen türkischen Malern, die an seinem Hof wirkten, wusste man sehr wenig, und ihre Werke waren zum grössten Teil in den Archiven verborgen und der Aussenwelt unbekannt.¹ Die Geschichte der osmanischen Malerei begann erst mit der unter Suleiman dem Grossen wieder aufblühenden Buchmalerei, die sich jedoch zum grössten Teil auf die in *Hüner-nâmehs* und anderen illustrierten Hofchroniken vereinten Darstellungen von kriegerischen Begebenheiten und höfischen Jagden und Sportdarstellungen beschränkte² und nur noch wenig von dem ursprünglichen türkischen Stil zeigte, wie er in den hier vorgelegten Proben türkischer Malerei aus dem fünfzehnten Jahrhundert offenbar wird.

Der überraschend freie Pinselstil, der in diesen Werken zutage tritt, erklärt sich aus der Jahrhunderte alten Tradition der uigurischen Malschulen, denn es waren, wie gezeigt werden wird, vorwiegend uigurische Künstler, die diese Blätter hergestellt haben. Der turko-uigurische Einfluss war ja schon seit Jahrhun-

derten auch in der buddhistischen Malerei Chinas wirksam, wie neuerdings betont worden ist:

“Unter der T’ang Dynastie (618–906),” schreibt W. Eberhard, “ist die Malkunst besonders von der vorhergegangenen Malerei beeinflusst. Da die Götterdarstellungen nur diesen fremden Malern bekannt waren (-hier sind Türken gemeint-), kamen sie, um die Dekoration der buddhistischen Tempel zu malen, nach China. Die Chinesen waren von der Kunst und Technik dieser Maler begeistert und erlernten von ihnen die Ausübung dieser Kunst. In den Ausgrabungen in Turkestan sind sehr viele mit Wandmalereien geschmückte Höhlentempel ans Licht gekommen. Sie geben uns von den Gewändern und Typen der zentralasiatischen Völker eine anschauliche Vorstellung. Der berühmte Maler aus der T’ang Zeit Wu-Tao-tse war selbst von den zentralasiatischen Vorbildern stark beeinflusst.”³

Wir wissen ferner, dass die uigurischen Maler unter den Abbasiden und Mongolen in der Malerei eine beherrschende Stellung eingenommen haben.⁴ Später arbeiteten uigurische Maler unter Shah Rokh in Herat. Unter dem Patronat Mehmet des Eroberers kamen sie nach Istanbul. Diese Blätter sind zum Teil mitgebracht, aber der grösste Teil ist im Serail in Istanbul gemalt worden. Sie sind also die einzig erhalten gebliebenen Beispiele der alt-türkischen Malerei des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts.

Über die Maler, die unter der Seldschukendynastie in Anatolien tätig waren, besitzen wir nur sehr spärliche Nachrichten. Der als Naq-

¹ Emil Jacobs, *Mehemmed II, der Eroberer, seine Beziehungen zur Renaissance und seine Büchersammlung*. Oriens, vol. 1 (Leiden, 1949), pp. 6–30. (Vortrag, während des Deutschen Orientalistentags zu Leipzig am 2. Oktober 1921 gehalten).

² Tahsin Öz, *Hünername ve minyatürleri*. Güzel Sanatlar, vol. 1, No. 1 (Istanbul, 1939), pp. 3–17; *Hünernamé, I*. Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society, vol. 18 (1938), pp. 167–171.

³ Wolfram Eberhard, *Çin Tarihi*, Ankara, 1947, pp. 222–223.

⁴ E. Kühnel, *Miniaturmalerei im islamischen Orient*. Berlin, 1923, pp. 23–24; I. Stchoukine, *La Peinture iranienne sous les derniers ‘Abbâsides et les Il-Khâns*. Bruges, 1936, p. 22.

qāsh-e Rūmī (Maler von Anatolien) bekannte Maler 'Ayn al-Dawleh malte auf Wunsch der Prinzessin Gürji Khātūn mehrere Bildnisse des berühmten Dichters Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī.⁵ Weiter werden als bekannte Maler dieser Periode erwähnt Badr al-Dīn Tabrizī und Badr al-Dīn Yavāsh. Letzterer wurde besonders bekannt durch seine Wandmalereien in den Kiosken in Meram bei Konya.⁶

In der osmanischen Zeit finden wir als ersten Maler Naqqāsh 'Alī Pasha erwähnt, der mit Timur nach Transoxanien gezogen war und dort berühmt wurde.⁷ Er ist später nach Brussa zurückgekehrt. In der Sultansloge der Grünen Moschee in Brussa ist sein Name 'Alī ibn Ilyās 'Alī inschriftlich genannt, mit dem Datum 827 H. (1423 A.D.). Er hat die Ausschmückung der Moschee ausgeführt. Unter Murād II. (1421–1451) tritt der Dichter Şafī aus Brussa als Maler hervor. Auch ein anderer Dichter, Laṭīfī war als Maler tätig.⁸

In der Zeit Mehmet des Eroberers (1451–1481) berichten die Quellen wohl von zahlreichen Malern, geben aber nur Details über Naqqāsh Sinān.⁹ Er hat in Venedig studiert und sein Grabstein wurde von Tahsin Öz, dem früheren Direktor des Topkapi Serail Museum, in Brussa gefunden. Obwohl die Nachrichten über die Maler, die in der Zeit Mehmeds tätig waren, sehr spärlich sind, besitzen wir eine grosse Zahl aufschlussreicher

Bilder von ihnen, in denen die Tradition und Technik der alttürkisch-ugurischen Malerei lebendig geblieben ist. Diese Bilder waren bisher selbst den Fachleuten unbekannt. Sie sind in vier Alben gesammelt, in denen offenbar die besten Bilder und Schriftproben jener Zeit vereinigt wurden.

Das erste Album, Inventarnummer 2153, misst 34 x 50 cm und enthält auf 199 Blättern 298 Bilder. Darin sind Bilder vor und aus der Zeit Mehmet des Eroberers, darunter auch zwei Bildnisse des Sultans und einige italienische Bilder und Zeichnungen des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts.

Das zweite Album, Inventarnummer 2152, misst 50 x 68 cm und präsentiert auf 98 Blättern ca. 123 Bilder. Darunter befinden sich auch Schriftproben von Ibrāhīm Sulṭān ibn Shāh Rukh ibn Timūr (823 H.) und Bāysunghur ibn Shāh Rukh ibn Timūr.

Das dritte Album mit der Inventarnummer 2154 und den Massen 36 x 69 cm enthält auf 148 Blättern ca. 190 Bilder, von denen einige mit den Signaturen von Behzād, Shah Quli und anderen Malern versehen sind. Die Signaturen von Behzād sind aber zweifelhaft. Dieses Album zeigt einen auffallend persischen Malstil und war nach einer Inschrift für Bahrām, den Bruder Shah Ṭahmāsp's gesammelt.

Das vierte Album endlich, Inventarnummer 2160 und 35 x 51 cm messend, hat 90 Blätter mit ca. 130 Bildern.

Unter diesen Alben sind das erste und vierte am reichsten und interessantesten. Die Miniaturen und Schriftproben stammen meistens aus dem fünfzehnten Jahrhundert, also aus der Fātiḥ Zeit. Die Bilder sind weder chronologisch noch nach Namen geordnet, so dass Werke eines und desselben Malers in verschiedenen Alben erscheinen. Wir finden hier auch Signaturen unbekannter Maler. Einige sind nachträglich hineingeschrieben, aber Z. T. sind sie vielleicht original. Diese Namen bilden ein zur Zeit noch unlösbares Rätsel. Namen

⁵ Gürji Khātūn war die Tochter von Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kay Khosrow und mit Mu'in al-Dīn Pervāneh verheiratet.

⁶ Shahabettin Uzluq, *Mevlana'nın Ressamları* (Die Maler von Mevlana). Konya, 1945, pp. 13, 14, 17ff.

⁷ Mehmet Süreyya, *Sicill-i-Osmanî*, Istanbul, 1311, vol. 3, p. 494.

⁸ Şehi, *Tezkere*, Istanbul, 1325 H. (A.D. 1907), p. 60.

⁹ Ali Mustafa, *Menakib-i Hünerveran*. Ed. Ibn al-Emin Mahmut Kemal. Istanbul, 1926, p. 68. (The *Menakib-i Hünerveran* was written in 995 H. [A.D. 1586]).

und Bezeichnungen wie Mehmet Siyāh Qalam und Baştan Qara sind ausgesprochen türkisch. Ausserdem bezeugen die uigurischen Inschriften und Bezeichnungen den türkischen Ursprung. Ein in Medaillonform gegebenes Bild eines sitzenden Fürsten trägt oben in uigurischer Schrift den Namen Cani Özbekoğlu, und stellt also einen Türken dar.

Im Winter 1930 sandte die türkische Regierung drei Alben aus dem Serai Museum nach London für die Ausstellung persischer Kunst im Burlington House.¹⁰ Damals erklärte Sir Thomas Arnold, der diese Sammlung noch kurz vor seinem Tode besichtigen konnte, dass die Geschichte der "Persischen" Malerei noch einmal geschrieben werden müsste. Sir Thomas erkannte damals, dass in der stets kurzweg "persisch" genannten Buchmalerei mehr rein Türkisches vorhanden sei, als man bisher angenommen hatte. In der Tat zeigen die hier vorgelegten Blätter, die eine kleine Auswahl aus der Masse des noch Vorhandenen bilden, rein türkische Gestalten, Kostüme und Gesichter. Noch heute sieht man solche Typen in Anatolien. In ihrer urwüchsigen Erscheinung erinnern uns diese Figuren an die Gestalten von Pieter Breughel, dem vlämischen Bauernmaler, und bezeugen so den künstlerischen Wert dieser fast unbekannten Bilder. In der persischen Malerei treten solche volkstümlichen Figuren zum ersten Mal bei Riza Abbasi (Rizā-y 'Abbāsī) auf, der anscheinend die türkische Tradition auch in seinen Pinselzeichnungen zeigte.

Die hier vorgelegten Bilder wollen wir, den

¹⁰ Anon., *A rich contribution from Turkey. . . , early miniatures*. The Illustrated London News, vol. 178, No. 4785 (January 3, 1931), p. 16. Das Album 2160 und 15 miniatures des Albums 2153 waren auch am Anfang des Jahres 1953 im Musée des Arts Décoratifs in Paris ausgestellt. B. Gray behandelt diese Miniaturen kurz in seiner Besprechung dieser Ausstellung (*Turkish art in Paris*, Burlington Magazine, vol. [1953], p. 138).

Darstellungen entsprechend in Gruppen geordnet, kurz charakterisieren.

TIERBILDER

Der Überfall eines Tigers auf einen Stier (*Abb. 1*) ist ein Beispiel für das Fortleben des im sogenannten "Tierstil" seit Jahrtausenden dargestellten Tierkampfes. Der Stier ist in schwarzer Farbe mit weissem Kopf, der Tiger mit seinen natürlichen Farben gegeben. Eine dramatisch gespannte Zuspitzung zeigt die in *Abbildung 2* wiedergegebene Umkreisung eines Stieres und Löwen als Vorspiel zum Kampf, etwa dem Verhalten zweier Boxkämpfer vergleichbar. Beiläufig sei hier bemerkt, dass der kaiserliche Tiergarten in Istanbul (Aslan Hane) den Malern reichliche Gelegenheit zum Studium der Tiere geboten hat. Der Kampf von zwei Kamelen (*Abb. 3*) um deren Bändigung sich zwei Devecis (von deve-Kamel) bemühen, ist ebenfalls mehrfarbig in feinsten Pinselzeichnung durchgeführt. Neben der äusserst geschickten Komposition der antithetisch ineinander verkraupften Leiber der beiden Wüstenläufer bewundert man die miniaturmässig feine Zeichnung der Satteldecken. Das Blatt zeigt ausserdem noch zwei männliche Figuren, einen mit einer Pantherfellmütze bedeckten Mann, der sich nach althergebrachter türkischer Art auf seinen Stock stützt und, in der anderen Ecke, einen Wolle spinnenden Negersklaven, also dem Leben abgelauschte Figuren, die der Maler in Skizzen festgehalten hat. Die in *Abbildung 4* wiedergegebene Züchtigung eines Pferdes durch einen Neger wirkt trotz der künstlerischen Qualitäten allzu krass auf den Beschauer. Die in *Abbildungen 5* und *6* wiedergegebenen mehrfarbigen Skizzenblätter endlich geben uns eine abwechslungsreiche Sammlung von allen Arten wirklicher und mythologischer Tiere in allen erdenklichen Bewegungen und Studien. Die eingestreuten menschlichen Figuren und Köpfe zeigen eine Reihe uigurisch-türkischer Physiognomien.

REITER- UND JAGDBILDER

Die Abbildungen 7–16 zeigen Pferd und Reiter in verschiedenen Stellungen und Gangarten. Zunächst den auf seinem dem Stall entgegenschreitenden Esel sitzenden Kadi mit seinem hinter ihm her schreitenden mongolischen Diener (*Abb. 7*). Dann (*Abb. 9*) einen zur Falkenjagd reitenden Krieger, der seine Schimmelstute mit dem Reitstock antreibt. Ferner einen Lanzenreiter und einen bildnismässig aufgefassten Sipahi mit gefülltem Köcher (*Abb. 8* und *10*). Ein Falkner setzt seinen bekappten Jagdvogel behutsam auf seine belebte Rechte (*Abb. 11*). Zwei Phasen eines in Arbeit begriffenen Bildes sind in Abbildungen 12 und 13 gegeben und zeigen die Methode der Ausführung. Der Reiter ist mit der Bindung des Rossschweifes beschäftigt. Künstlerisch interessant ist die ornamental gehaltene Bedeckung der vom eigentlichen Gegenstand freigelassenen Fläche mit den Ästen eines ausserhalb der Bildfläche stehend gedachten Baumes. In der Abbildung 14 sehen wir die Darstellung eines Jagdrittes im kupierten Gelände mit vier Reitern und einem Hund. Hinter Felsen verbergen sich zwei Panther. Das Bild ist links unten Mehmet Siyah Kalem signiert, doch sind die meisten Signaturen dieser Bilder wohl nachher von anderer Hand eingesetzt. Auf dem von Meister Ahmet Musa gezeichneten Jagdbild (*Abb. 16*) eröffnet sich den beiden rechts oben erscheinenden Jägern ein offener Hang mit einem (inschriftlich bezeichneten) fliehenden Bärenpaar, das jedoch die beiden nicht so sehr zu interessieren scheint wie das hinter einer Felsgruppe ruhende Hirschenpaar, auf das ihre Augen gerichtet sind. Der untere Teil dieser, die gewohnten Konventionen persischer Landschaftskulissen weit übertreffenden Gebirgslandschaft ist mit sturmerprobten, kahlen Bäumen, einigen Elstern und einem Bach belebt. Auf einem anderen Bilde (*Abb. 15*) sind in einer Hügellandschaft zwei Einzelkämpfe dargestellt, einer zwischen

Reitern, der andere zwischen Fussoldaten, beobachtet von mehreren Reitern, die hinter der Hügelreihe vorbeireiten. Der letzte der drei Reiter blickt auf einen alten Mann zurück, der links oben in der Ecke sitzt und anscheinend das Gefecht beobachtet. Offenbar handelt es sich um eine legendäre oder historische Darstellung, deren Identifizierung noch aussteht. Der Krieger mit dem Hund links unten ist als Gegenpart des rechtsseitigen Kriegers der Symmetrie halber eingesetzt. Auffallend sind in diesem Bilde die gleichzeitig erscheinenden dünnen, laublosen und grünen, dichtbelaubten Bäume. Als Ganzes bewundern wir hier ein in seiner Komposition, sowie in den Bewegungen der Einzelfiguren hervorragendes Meisterwerk.

TÄNZER

Wir eröffnen die Reihe der Tanzdarstellungen mit dem Sakraltanz zweier kostümierter Figuren vor dem hinter den Bergen auftauchenden Kriegsgott(?), der ein Beil als Attribut trägt (*Abb. 17*). Die Komposition erinnert an die in der buddhistischen Malerei in China beliebt gewesene Erscheinung des Amitäbha Buddha am nächtlichen Himmel. Auch hier muss die exakte Deutung noch offen bleiben. Die rhythmischen Bewegungen der beiden Tänzer mit den flatternden Bändern reichen an die besten chinesischen Darstellungen dieser Art heran. Etwas weitläufiger erscheint der in Abbildung 18 wiedergegebene Nationaltanz, der von einem Tänzer und einer Tänzerin zur Musikbegleitung von drei Musikantinnen ausgeführt wird. Dazu gibt es auch eine Einzelstudie des männlichen Partners (*Abb. 19*). Die Ähnlichkeit dieser Figuren mit denen der chinesischen Malerei fällt hier ebenso auf wie die in einem anderen Bild, das einen Tanzunterricht wiederzugeben scheint (*Abb. 20*). Der in die Bildfläche hereinragende Ast mit Blüten und Vögeln sichert die enge Verwandtschaft der türkischen mit der

chinesischen Malerei. Eine Bestätigung dieser Erkenntnis gibt die inschriftliche Bemerkung auf der Skizze eines beliebten Mannes im Tanzschritt: "Alle beide Khitayer Arbeiten" (Abb. 21).

VÖGEL UND BLUMEN

Der Einfluss beliebter Motive der chinesischen Malerei auf die uigurisch-türkische offenbart sich besonders in dieser Gruppe, deren Benennung wir an die gleichlautenden "Kategorien" der chinesischen Malerei, wie sie in der T'ang-und Sungzeit üblich waren, anpassen können. Der in Abbildung 23 gezeichnete Geier¹¹ ist mit einem Text in uigurischer Schrift versehen, der, wie alle anderen den Bildern angefügten Texte keinen Bezug zur Darstellung hat. Links vom Vogel jedoch zeichnet der Schreiber und Maler in uigurischer Schrift als al-'Abd Khalil. Auf dem Bilde mit den zwei Vögeln, einem Stieglitz und einem Habicht,¹² finden sich links oben in den Ecken die Bezeichnungen "kar üstad Sheykhī Naq-qāsh" (Abb. 22). Auf dem Blatt mit dem Vogelpaar (Abb. 24)¹³ findet sich die Bezeichnung "kar Dervish Mehmet." Der Fruchtast mit einer Drossel (Abb. 25)¹⁴ hat die später eingetragene Bezeichnung in verkehrter Lage: "kār Khitay." Als letztes präsentieren wir

¹¹ Mr. Herbert Deignan des Smithsonian Institution, Washington, hat diesen Vogel und die in Abbildungen 22, 24–26 wiedergegebenen freundlicherweise für diesen Artikel bestiment, wofür ich ihm meinen herzlichen Dank ausspreche. Betreffs Abbildung 21 schreibt er: "Could be any one of several species of vultures."

¹² "Upper figure: *Carduelis carduelis* (Old World goldfinch). Lower figure: An unidentifiable hawk, possibly a Goshawk (*Accipiter* sp.)."

¹³ "A Francolin (*francolinus* sp.) or a Chukar (*alectoris* sp.). I cannot match it with any definite species, and suggest that the pattern has been altered by the artist."

¹⁴ "*Garrulax* sp.: Laughing thrush (a babbler); not a true thrush."

das Blatt mit Beerenzweig und Fliegenschnäpper,¹⁵ das den Namen des Üstad Mehmet Siyah Kalem-trägt (Abb. 26).

MENSCHLICHE FIGURENGRUPPEN

Derwische scheinen ein beliebter Gegenstand der türkischen Malerei gewesen zu sein, wie die drei mit "kar Üstad Mehmet Siyah Kalem" bezeichneten Bilder (Abb. 27–29) beweisen. Dargestellt ist eine Zimmermannswerkstätte, ferner eine Gruppe von wandernden Derwischen und schliesslich drei Einzelfiguren dieser Kaste. Die Figurenkomposition in der Werkstatt zeigt wiederum eine durchaus künstlerisch durchdachte, jeder Konvention ferne, sachgemässe Behandlung. Die Wandergruppe wirkt durch ihre drastisch gepinselten Figuren karikaturistisch humorvoll. Die wie europäische Steppdecken wulstig genähten, mit Wolle gefüllten Kutten, gaben den Derwischen—wie bekannt—die Bezeichnung "Şüfi," von şüf-Wolle. In der Abbildung 30 kann der Beschauer charakteristische Szenen im Lager der in der Steppe rastenden Nomaden ablesen: Das Waschen der Leibwäsche, das Anblasen des Kochfeuers, die auf drei gekreuzten Stöcken aufgehängten Waffen und Wasserflaschen, die grasenden Pferde, zwei abgemagerte Hunde, endlich den auf seinem Sattel sitzenden Agha, der sich mit einem daneben hockenden Bettler unterhält. Auf dem folgenden Bilde (Abb. 31) drehen zwei Männer, ein Weissler und ein Neger, ein mit siebzehn Röhren versehenes Rad, das anscheinend zur Feuerwerkerei dient. Das folgende Bild (Abb. 32) zeigt einen von einer Dame begleiteten Mann, der im Begriff ist, eine ihm offerierte

¹⁵ "Head like that of a White-cheeked Bulbul (*Pycnonotus leucoglus*), but tail is that of the Paradise Flycatcher (*Terpsiphone paradisi*). I suspect the Paradise Flycatcher is intended, with color pattern changed for artistic purposes (commonly done in Chinese art)."

Ming-Schnabelkanne aus glasiertem Ton und blau-weißer Bemalung zu kaufen; er greift in seine Tasche, um das Geld zu finden. Im Hintergrund hinter den Hügeln erscheinen zwei lebhaft diskutierende Männer. Das Bild ist bezeichnet "kar Üstad Sheykhī Naqqāsh." In der Abbildung 33 sind zwei im Gespräch begriffene Männer mit aufgeschürzten Gewändern dargestellt, die auf der Brust emblematische Applikationen tragen, die je einen Löwen zeigen. Es folgt ein einfarbig gezeichneter, etwas skurril aussehender Landstreicher, der mit seinem Stock dahinzieht und sich dabei nach dem in die Bildfläche ragenden Blütenzweig umblickt. Diese Arbeit zeichnet sich durch einen bravourösen, schwungvollen Zeichenstil aus (Abb. 34). Die auf Abbildung 35 dargestellte Dame mit gesticktem Jäckchen, Handschuhen und Haarschmuck hält einen figurengeschmückten Fächer hoch und ist wohl als eine Hofdame anzusprechen. Die Miniatur ist bezeichnet "kar Khurdekī."

DÄMONENBILDER UND VERWANDTES

"Götter und Dämonen" heisst die erste Kategorie der in der Malerei der T'angzeit üblichen Darstellungsobjekte. Die Dämonen lebten auch in der türkischen Malerei weiter. Wir sehen auf Abbildung 36 eine gehörnte, mit einem Drachen kämpfende Teufelsgestalt, dem sein Diener einen Strick reicht. Als Waffen dienen beiden in Metall gefasste, an Schnüren hängende Pferdefüsse. Die Identifizierung dieser Gestalten ist bis jetzt noch nicht gelungen. Auf einem anderen Bild (Abb. 37) drehen zwei Dämonen an einem Tuch, während zwei andere ihnen zusehen. Das dritte Bild dieser Gruppe zeigt eine Art von Höllendarstellung, bestehend aus einem Knäuel von Drachen die von sechs geflügelten Engeln mit Seilen gewürgt werden (Abb. 38).

HISTORIENBILDER

Die auf der Abbildung 39A und B dargestellte Szene schildert die Verschleppung der chinesischen Dame Wên-chi zu dem Mongolenfürsten, eine in der chinesischen Malerei beliebte Darstellung.¹⁶ Die drei brennenden Fackeln und eine brennende Kerze, sowie der dunkle Himmel deuten die Nachtzeit an. Die begleitenden Wächter sind mit Äxten bewaffnet. Die Gefangene macht die Gebärde des Schmerzes, indem sie ihren Mund verhüllt. Der führende Diener und die vorausreitende Frau, vielleicht ihre Amme, suchen sie mit beruhigenden Gebärden ein wenig zu trösten. Abbildung 40 gibt eine Jagdszene in einem Wald. Ein mit einem Tigerfellpelz bekleideter Khan sitzt auf einem Pantherfell in einem ausgehöhlten Baumstamm; um ihn stehen sieben Begleitpersonen, von denen die beiden im Vordergrund sitzenden durch Mäntel aus Geparden- und Pantherfellen hervorstechen. Der Khan blickt auf die beiden links im Hintergrund herangetretenen Männer, die durch ihre Ohrringe als einem besonderen Stamm angehörend gekennzeichnet sind. Ganz vorne sitzen links drei Geparden, rechts zwei Panther. Es handelt sich

¹⁶ "Ts'ai Yen, auch Wên-chi genannt, war die Tochter des berühmten Historikers und Staatsmannes Ts'ai Yung (zweites-drittes Jahrhundert A.D.) und selbst hochgebildet. Als im Jahre 195 China von inneren Wirren und Einfällen fremder Völker zerrüttet war, wurde Wên-chi von Tartarensoldaten gefangen genommen und nach der Mongolei verschleppt, wo ein Fürst des Hsiung-nu Stammes sie zur Ehe zwang. Nach zwölf (oder nach anderen Quellen, zwanzig) Jahren, die sie in der Einsamkeit der Steppe verbrachte, wurde sie mit Gold und Jade von dem chinesischen Diktator Ts'ao Ts'ao ausgelöst, der Mitleid mit dem alten Vater Wên-chi's hatte. Sie kehrte nach China zurück und heiratete dort einen Offizier in Ts'ao's Armee." (K. Tomita, *Wên-chi's captivity in Mongolia and her return to China. Four Chinese paintings of the Sung Dynasty, 960-1279*, Bull. Museum of Fine Arts, vol. 26, June 1928, pp. 40-45.)



ABB. 1—TIERKAMPF



ABB. 2—VORSPIEL ZUM KAMPF



ABB. 3—KAMPF ZWEIER KAMELE



ABB. 4—NEGER UND PFERD



ABB. 5—TIERSTUDIEN



ABB. 6—TIERSTUDIEN, FAZL ALLAH DIVANEH ZUGESCHRIEBEN



Abb. 7—ESELREITER MIT SEINEM DIENER



Abb. 8—LANZENREITER, ÜSTAD MEHMET SİYAH KALEM ZUGESCHRIEBEN



ABB. 9—REITENDER FALKNER, ÜSTAD MEHMET SİYAH KALEM
ZUGESCHRIEBEN



ABB. 10—REITENDER SIPAHI, GLEICHE ZUSCHRIFT WIE IN ABB. 9



ABB. 11—FALKNER, SHEYKHĪ ZUGESCHRIEBEN



ABB. 12—REITER UND PFERD



ABB. 13—REITER UND PFERD



Abb. 14—Jagdritt, ÜSTAD MEHMET SİYAH KALEM ZUGESCHRIEBEN



Abb. 15—KAMPFDARSTELLUNG

Abb. 17—Sakraltanz



Abb. 16—Jagdbild, Üstad Ahmet Musa Zugeschrieben

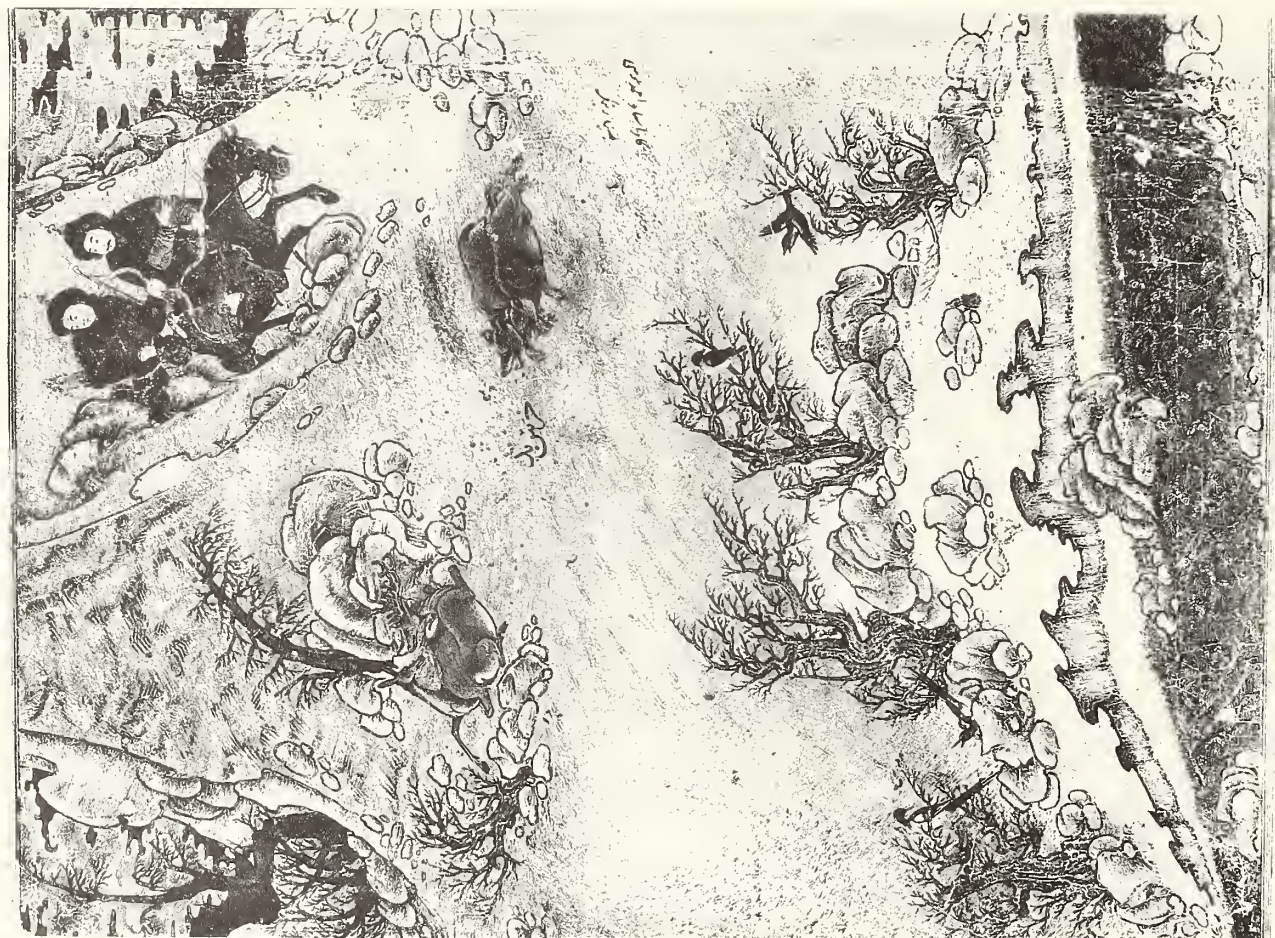




Abb. 18—NATIONALTANZ



Abb. 19—EINZELSTUDIE ZU Abb. 18



Abb. 20—TANZUNTERRICHT



Abb. 21—TANZENDER MANN



Abb. 22—STIEGLITZ UND HABICHT, BEIDE ÜSTAD SHEYKHĪ ZUGESCHRIEBEN

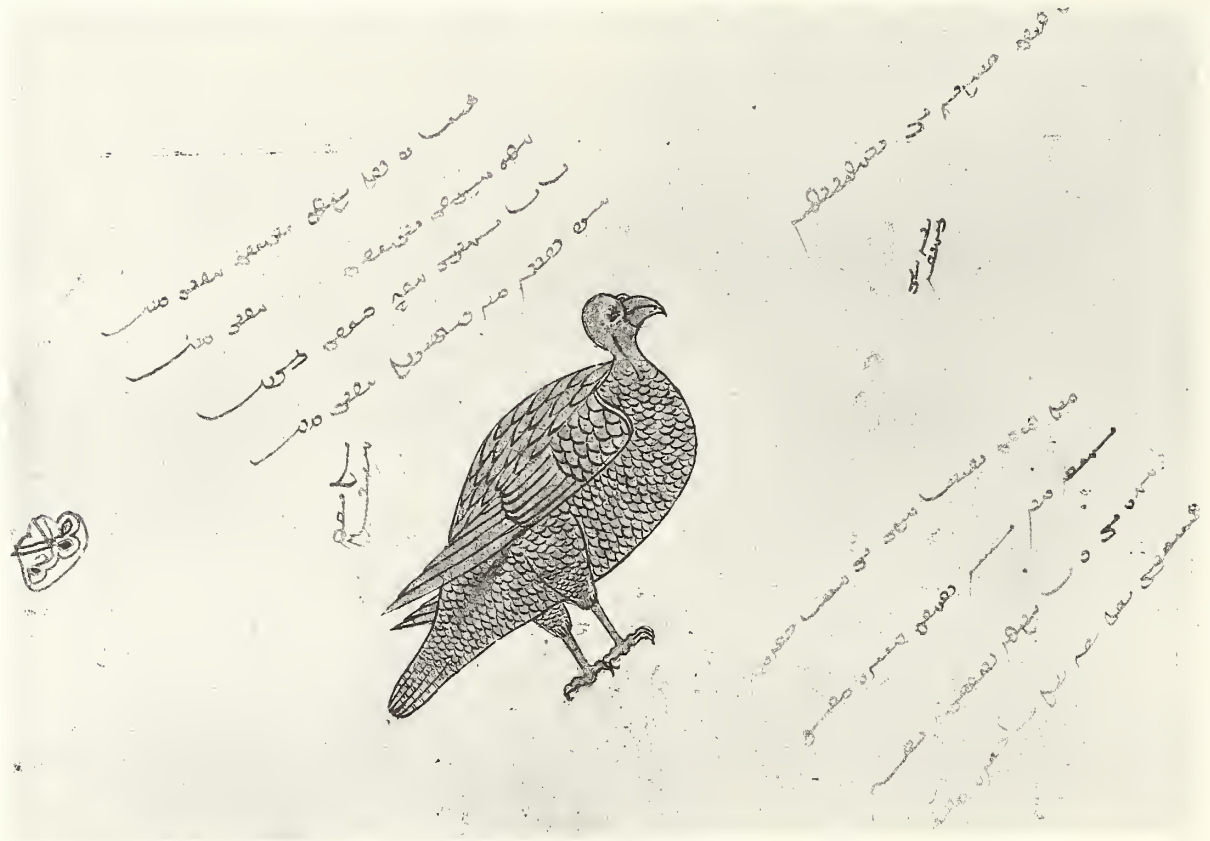


Abb. 23—GEIER, IN UIGURISCHER SCHRIFT DEM 'ABD AL-KHALĪL ZUGESCHRIEBEN



Abb. 25—FRUCHTAST MIT DROSSEL



Abb. 26—BEERENZWEIG MIT FLIEGENSCHNÄPPER, ÜSTAD MEHMET SİYAH KALEM ZUGESCHRIEBEN

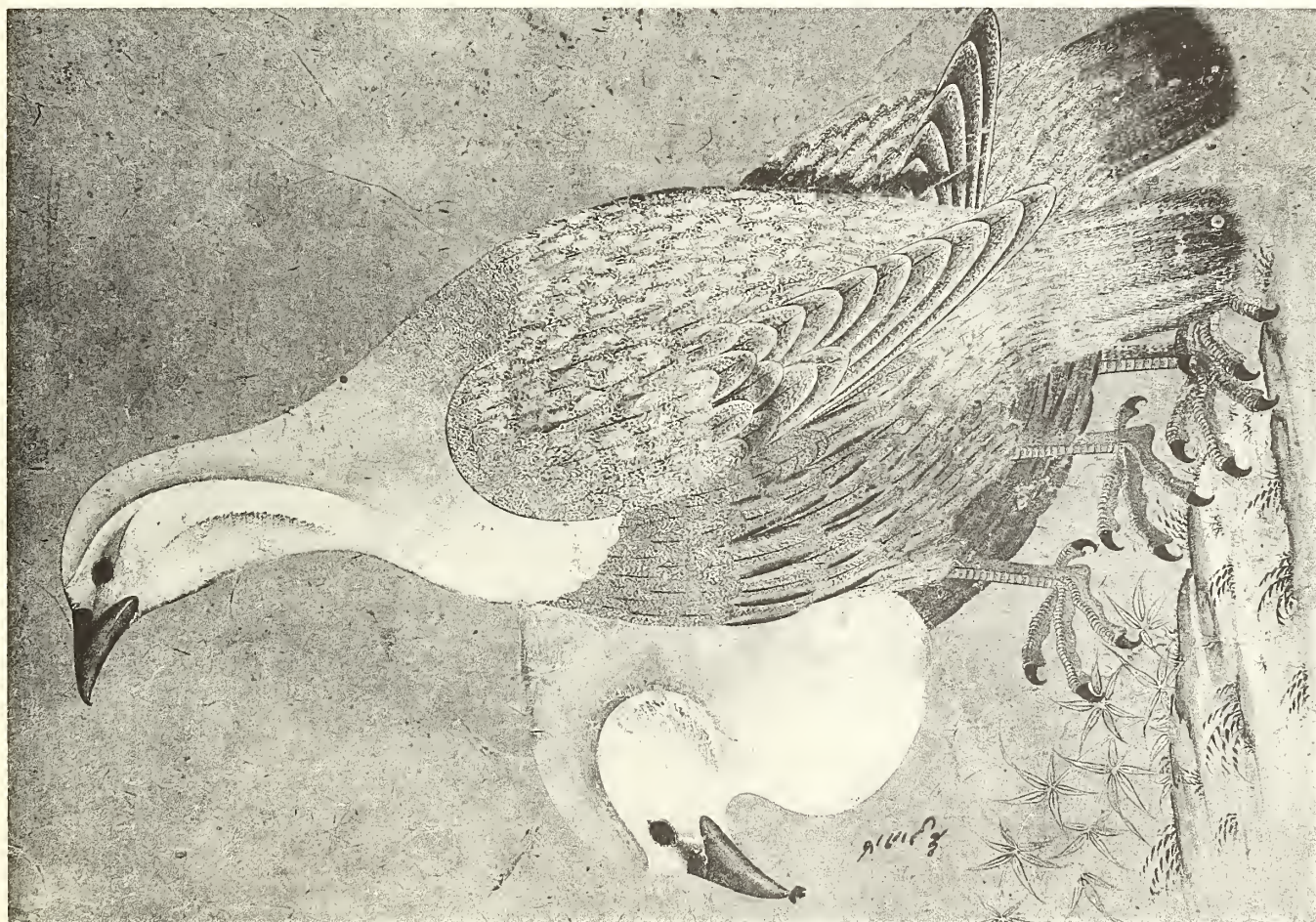


Abb. 24—VOGELPAAR, DEM DERVISH MEHMET ZUGESCHRIEBEN



ABB. 27—ZIMMERMANNswerkstätte, ÜSTAD MEHMET SİYAH KALEM ZUGESCHRIEBEN



ABB. 28—REISENDE DERWISCHGRUPPE, GLEICHE ZUSCHRIFT WIE IN ABB. 27



ABB. 29—DERWISCHGRUPPE, ÜSTAD MEHMET SIYAH KALEM ZUGESCHRIEBEN



ABB. 30—NOMADENIDYLL



ABB. 31—DAS FEUERRAD



ABB. 32—DER EINKAUF, ÜSTAD SHEYKHÎ ZUGESCHRIEBEN



Abb. 33—Zwei Männer im Gespräch



Abb. 34—Landstreicher



Abb. 35—Hofdame, Khurdeki Zugeschrieben



ABB. 36—DÄMONEN, MEHMET SIYAH KALEM ZUGESCHRIEBEN



ABB. 37—VIER DÄMONEN



ABB. 38—HÖLENDARSTELLUNG, ÜSTAD MEHMET ZUGESCHRIEBEN



ABB. 39A-B—DIE VERSCHLEPPUNG DER DAME WÊN-CHI



ABB. 40—JAGDSZENE

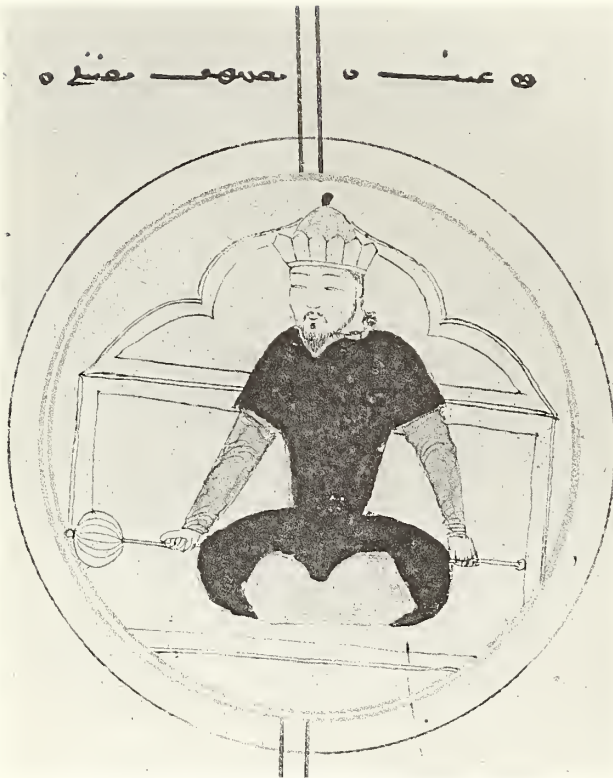


ABB. 41—BILDNIS DES CANI ÖZBEKOĞLU AUS EINEM STAMMBAUM



ABB. 42—SIEBENSCHLÄFER



Abb. 43—DREI SCHLÄFER



Abb. 44—DREI MENSCHEN



Abb. 45—BÄRENPAAR, ÜSTAD MEHMET SIYAH KALEM ZUGESCHRIEBEN



Abb. 46—SITZENDE KATZE



wohl um eine Beratung mit einheimischen Leuten über eine Jagd. Als Zwischenglied zwischen den "Historienbildern" und den "Rundbildern" der folgenden Gruppe erwähnen wir hier das Bild des Cani Özbekoğlu aus einem Stammbaum (*Abb. 41*). Es ist in uigurischer Schrift mit dem Namen des Herrschers bezeichnet.

RUNDBILDER

Eine höchst eigenartige Gruppe bilden die in Kreisform komponierten Menschen- und Tierbilder. Beginnen wir mit dem Bilde der "Siebenschläfer" (*Abb. 42*).¹⁷ Hier ist die Rundkomposition durch den Ort des Vorganges, die Höhle, in der sie schliefen, begründet. Die von einem zum anderen wechselnden Posen des Tiefschlafes, sowie die geschickte Einzwängung der Schläfer in das beengende Rund sind bewundernswert. Schwieriger ist es, die drei Schläfer mit Papagei und Tiger auf Abbildung 43 zu identifizieren. Wahrscheinlich handelt es sich um eine Reminiszenz an die in den buddhistischen Ländern sehr beliebten Darstellungen buddhistischer Arhats, die auch gerne schlafend dargestellt wurden. Ergötzlich ist die Kurvung der obersten Figur mit dem Vollmondgesicht und dem weit ausgerundeten, die beiden anderen Figuren und sogar den Tiger umfassenden Mantel. Abbildung 44

¹⁷ Wie bekannt flüchteten, nach der Legende, die Siebenschläfer von Ephesus, während einer Christenverfolgung in eine Höhle und verfielen dort in einen mehrhundertjährigen Schlaf, um eines Tages während der Regierung des Kaisers Theodosius wieder zu erwachen. Die Geschichte der *ashāb al-kahf* ist auch im Koran in den Versen 8–26 der Sure 18 wiedergegeben. Die Aufzählung ihrer aus dem Griechischen ins Arabische umgesetzten Namen gilt bis heute als ausgezeichnetes Schlafmittel. Sie lauten: Mekselina, Mislina, Yemliha, Mernush, Debernush, Sazenush, Kefetatayyush und Kitmir. Der siebente Name gehörte dem Hirten, der den sechs Jünglingen die Höhle gezeigt hatte, und der achte, Kitmir, seinem Hunde. Beide schliefen mit den Sechsen.

zeigt die gleichen Arhats im wachen Zustand in derselben Komposition, jedoch ohne Tiere, wie sie sich mit der Betrachtung einer Bildrolle belustigen. Die Darstellung des lauten Lachens durch dafür herkömmliche Linien ist infolge der fast karikaturhaften Übertreibung sehr wirkungsvoll. Die Wand des Hintergrundes ist mit Bäumen und Figuren geschmückt. Als Abschluss dieser Gruppe zeigen wir zwei Rundbilder mit einem Bärenpaar (*Abb. 45*) und einer Katze (*Abb. 46*). Das Bärenbild trägt zweimal die Bezeichnung "Üstad Mehmet Siyah Kalem (Meister Mehmet Schwarzpinsel, den wir bereits von früher besprochenen Bildern kennen). Formal sind diese Bilder durch ihre grosszügige, in Kurven und Helldunkel wirksame Durchführung ausgezeichnet. Die wenigen, hier mitgeteilten Proben dieser Bildgattung deuten auf die Fortsetzung einer alten zentralasiatischen Tradition hin, für die es in der chinesischen Malerei zahlreiche Beispiele gibt.

Diese Auswahl türkischer Malerei in der Zeit Mehmet des Eroberers eröffnet, wie eingangs bereits erwähnt wurde, sowohl in der gegenständlichen Auswahl, wie in der formalen Durchführung neue Perspektiven im Gesamtkomplex der iranischen und anatolischen Malerei des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts. Zwei völlig verschiedene Einstellungen und Schulen haben in jener Zeit bestanden: die timuridische Hofmalerei in Herat mit ihrer Fortsetzung in Täbriz und die von uigurischen Malern an den Bosphorus verpflanzte, volkstümliche türkische Malerei zentralasiatischen Ursprungs. Diese Bilder sind, von ihrer künstlerischen Bedeutung abgesehen, auch eine Fundgrube für türkische Folkloristik, deren Beispiele vielfach noch der Aufklärung harren. Der Bilderkreis umfasst alles, was dem Türken in seinem Leben lieb und wert erscheint: das Reiter- und Nomadenleben, Jagd, Musik und Tanz, die volkstüm-

lichen Legenden und Mythologisches, und schliesslich die Natur mit ihren Tieren, Bäumen, Blumen, Vögeln und Insekten. In dieser Malerei erscheint ein Reichtum von Darstellungsmotiven, wie wir ihn bisher in der vorderasiatischen Buchmalerei noch kaum gekannt haben, und es erhebt sich die Frage nach dem weiteren Schicksal dieser blühenden Kunst. Schon im sechzehnten Jahrhundert scheinen die Quellen versiegt zu sein. Die aus Zentralasien nach Istanbul verpflanzte Generation uigurischer Maler war ausgestorben und am Hofe Suleiman des Grossen wurde den Malern

die Darstellung der Herrschertaten und des Hoflebens befohlen. So entstanden die *Hüner-nâmeh* und *Sür-nâmeh* Manuskripte, deren Bilder mit der europäischen Historienmalerei zweiten und dritten Ranges in eine Reihe gestellt werden können. Die türkische Volksmalerei war im Aussterben begriffen.¹⁸

¹⁸ Zum Schluss dieser vorläufigen Besprechung einer bisher unbekannt gewesenen Periode türkischer Malerei, drängt es mich Herrn Professor Ernst Diez für seine bewährte Beratung und für seine Hilfe bei der Ausarbeitung des Textes meinen aufrichtigen Dank auszusprechen.

THE CHINESE ELEMENTS IN THE ISTANBUL MINIATURES

BY MAX LOEHR

FROM THE IMPORTANT FIFTEENTH-CENTURY albums of miniatures in the Serai in Istanbul, fifty-four specimens were chosen for reproduction in Oktay Aslanapa's article. Since the selection comprises less than one-seventh of the total number of paintings in the albums, it cannot be stated how representative of the whole collection these particular miniatures are. The question is of interest, however, because of the surprising fact that about half of the fifty-four miniatures are either influenced by, or actually are, Chinese paintings. At least eighteen of them prove to be dependent, in varying degrees, on Chinese subject matter or Chinese painting style.¹ In three cases it would seem that we have copies before us,² while six of the paintings appear to be genuinely Chinese.³ As these various categories of Chinese style and influence are not distinguished in Aslanapa's text, the present writer will append below additional remarks about individual examples, prefacing them with brief discussions of a few paintings not described in Aslanapa's article.⁴

DESCRIPTIONS OF THE PAINTINGS REPRODUCED IN FIGURES 47-54

Figure 47. *Two Ladies*.—The figure standing at the left, shown wearing an elaborate headdress, carries a hooded falcon on her right hand and a pomegranate in her left. The other figure, moving to the right, her head turned back in graceful inclination toward her companion, carries in her left hand, as though

it were a handbag, a fish suspended horizontally from a pair of chains.

The remarkable calligraphic design of the bands fluttering from the waist of the second lady, as well as that of the swirling folds of her garment, is certainly Chinese in derivation. Other details of the garments of the two ladies and the style of drawing of their hands are likewise Chinese in origin. The surprising motif of the fish belongs to a specifically Chinese theme in Buddhist art, the Kuan-yin with a fish. The object is actually a wooden drum or percussion instrument shaped like a fish, the *mu-yü* 木魚, which is used in Buddhist monasteries during the recitations of sūtras. In Chinese paintings the fish was frequently rendered with such realism as to confuse the uninitiated, such as this Persian miniature painter, who certainly had seen some Chinese original.⁵

Figure 49. *Two Ladies Seated on a Bench*.—The lady to the left reads from a book, while the other, holding a fan and seated in the position of "royal ease," listens. The faces of the women are Persian in type, but in most other details of design and handling the painting seems related to Chinese prototypes. A detail like the flowering branch with its twisted leaves (to the left of the group) can be derived only from China. An inscription in Persian states that this is the "work of master Sheykhī, the painter."⁶

⁵ The fish carried like a bag by the young Tobit was a favorite motif of Quattrocento painters such as Antonio Pollaiuolo (Turin, Pinakothek), Francesco Botticini (Florence, Uffizi), etc.

⁶ For the translation of the inscriptions in figs. 48, 49, 50, 52, and 54, the writer is indebted to Richard Ettinghausen. The writer wishes to take this opportunity also to acknowledge the great assistance of

¹ Figs. 4, 7, 12, 13, 15, 18, 19, 20, 32, 34, 35, 39a and b, 42, 43, 47, 48, 49.

² Figs. 25, 26, 50(?).

³ Figs. 33, 44, 51, 52, 53, 54.

⁴ The descriptions are based on the photographs.

Figure 50. *A Dragon among Rocks*.—The scene shown in this miniature is at once grandiose and weird. A huge snakelike dragon slides through the crevices of a fantastic assemblage of slanting rocks. On the rock mass to the right, so tilted and stylized as to seem more cloud than cliff, stands a group of men expressing with the usual gestures of astonishment their amazement at the sight of the monster. A pair of tiny mountain goats, perched on two other rocky pinnacles, by their small size serve to increase the monstrously large scale of the dragon. In the lower right corner is a legend which states: "Drawn by Maw-lānā (=our master) Vali Astarābādī (=from Astarābād)."

Very little Chinese spirit remains in this magnificent miniature, although the theme of the dragon and probably also the motif of the astounded spectators are derived from China. A comparable subject of saints watching a dragon is found in a scroll attributed to Li Kung-lin (c. 1040–1106), the title of which is "Assembly of Saints in the Ghost Mountains."⁷ (Cf. also *fig. 38*.)

Figure 48. *Youth with a Zither*.—The single standing figure represented in this painting is the work of a Persian artist, as the attribution seems to testify, but the subject and the style are borrowed from China. This sedate serving boy garbed in Chinese dress, his hair arranged in a double chignon, belongs among the stock types of Chinese figure painting. He appears in countless Chinese paintings from the Sung and later dynasties, carrying his master's *ch'in* (zither), preparing his tea, or, with inexhaustible patience, simply waiting for him to wake from meditation.

The inscription, "Work of master Sheykhī,

Mrs. Harold E. Wethey, who kindly reviewed this manuscript and helped to perfect its phrasing.

⁷ *Tōan-zō shogafu* 董齋藏書畫譜, paintings, No. 6 "Ling Shan Sheng Hui T'u" 靈山聖會圖, detail 3.

the painter," is identical with that on the painting of the two ladies seated on a bench (*fig. 49*), and the same hand is apparent in the details of facial type such as the curved and slanting eyes, the broad cheeks, and the exaggeratedly small mouth.

Figure 51. *Two Taoist Immortals*.—The attributes of these figures identify them as popular Chinese Taoist sages. Li T'iehkuai⁸ holds a crutch under his left arm while the magic vapor rises from his right hand. Liu Hsüan-ying, *vulgo* Liu Hai,⁹ carries his three-legged toad. Spirited and mannered, this painting is patently Chinese in form and execution, far too dexterous in handling to be a copy by a foreigner. Probably an early Ming work, it compares fairly well with paintings of similar subjects of Liu Chün (around 1500).¹⁰ A closer relationship exists between it and an anonymous painting of Liu Hai of the Ming period in the Palace Museum in Peking.¹¹ Compared with the famous fourteenth-century version of the same subject by Yen Hui,¹² both the Serai album leaf and the Peking Palace painting are equally lacking in restraint and profoundness.

Figure 52. *Buddhist Guardian King: Vaiśravaṇa or Kuvera*.—The warrior figure represented here is unmistakably one of the four Lokapālas. Clad in chain mail, his head covered by an elaborate helmet, he carries across his arms a heavy macelike weapon which is wound about with a banner (*dhvaja*). Surrounding his head is a glory of flames. The attribute of the mace together with the attitude of prayer (*namaḥkāra-mudrā*) identify

⁸ H. A. Giles, *A Chinese biographical dictionary*, No. 1213.

⁹ *Ibid.*, No. 1309.

¹⁰ O. Sirén, *History of later Chinese painting*, vol. 1, pl. 41; *Tōsōgemmin meiga taikan*, vol. 2, pls. 392–394.

¹¹ *Ku Kung shu hua chi*, vol. 30, No. 14.

¹² O. Sirén, *History of early Chinese painting*, vol. 2, pl. 99.

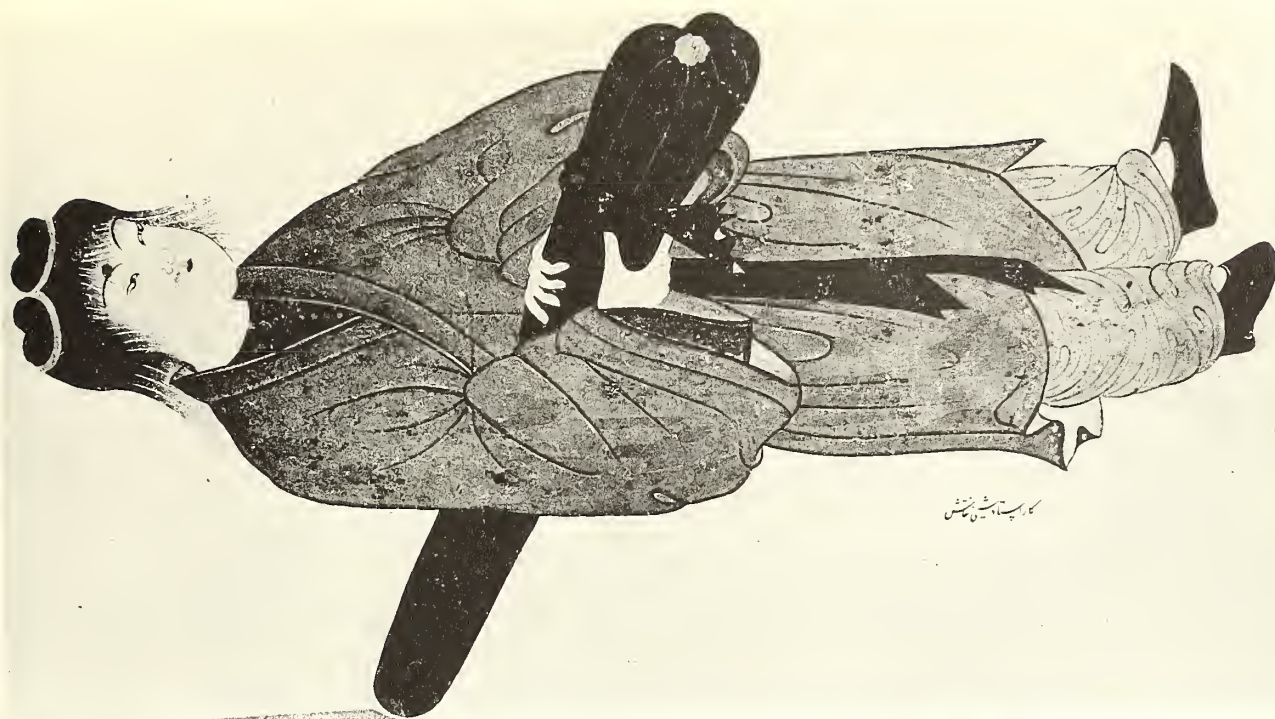


FIG. 48.—YOUTH WITH A ZITHER, ATTRIBUTED TO SHEYKHĪ



FIG. 47.—TWO LADIES



FIG. 49—TWO LADIES SEATED ON A BENCH, ATTRIBUTED TO SHEYKHĪ



FIG. 50—A DRAGON AMONG ROCKS, ATTRIBUTED TO VALĪ ASTARĀBĀDĪ



FIG. 52.—BUDDHIST GUARDIAN KING

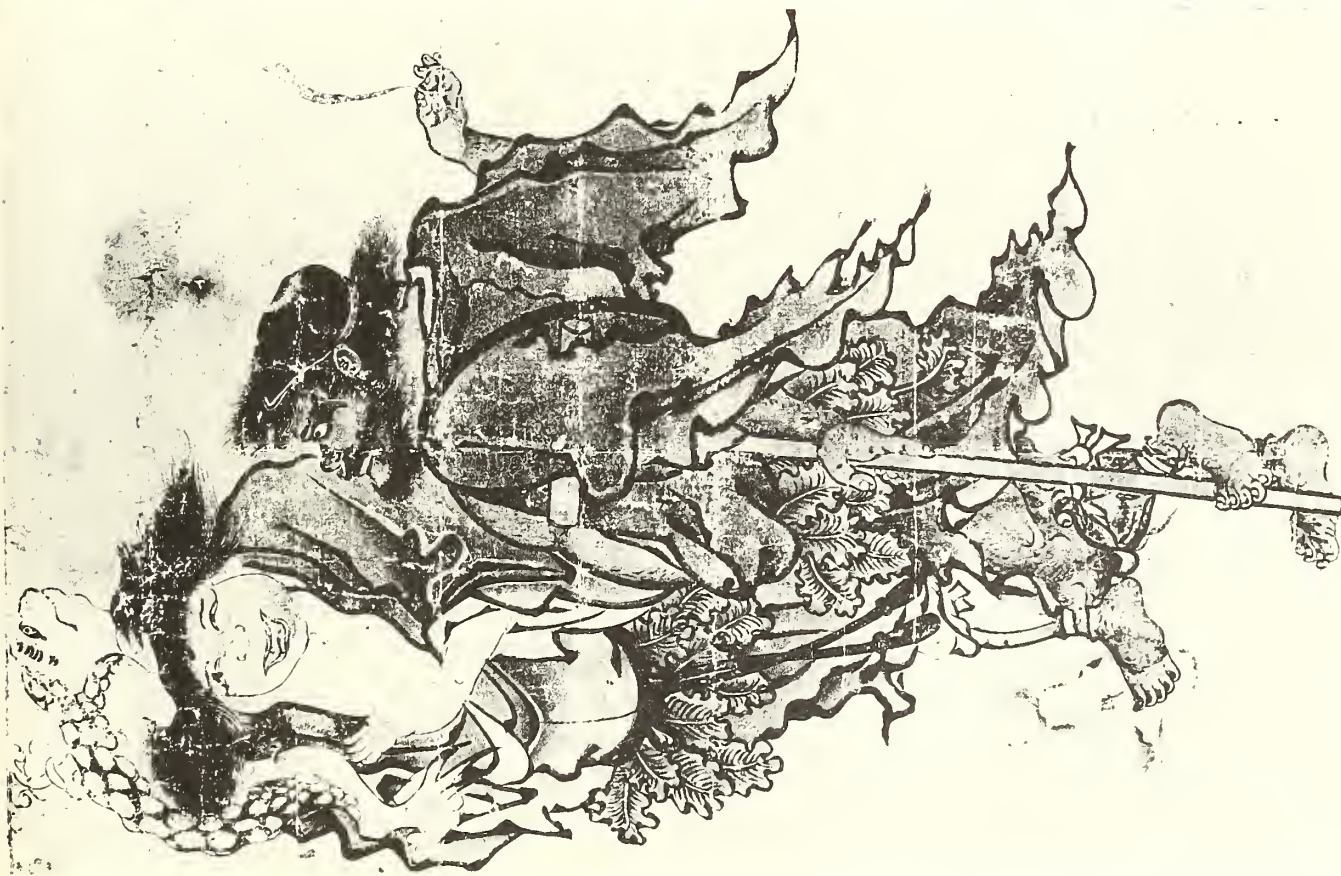


FIG. 51.—TWO TAOIST IMMORTALS



FIG. 54—BIRD ON A FLOWERING PLUM BRANCH



FIG. 53—YOUTH IN ATTITUDE OF PRAYER

the figure, in all probability, as Vaiśravaṇa or Kuvera, the celestial guardian king of the North. A fluttering shawl and flying bands of drapery complete the design, which is entirely Chinese in style and expression. The picture, no doubt, is a genuine Chinese work, presumably from a late Yüan or early Ming painter. The beautifully designed Persian inscription, in fact, says that "this is also (one) of the works of the masters of Cathay."

Figure 53. *Youth in Attitude of Prayer*.—This figure, like that of the guardian king described above (fig. 52), is, in all probability, a detail cut from a larger composition. A halo identifies the figure as a celestial youth, who is shown standing on sloping ground, with surging waves and billowy clouds in the background, his clothes fluttering about him as he raises his hands in the gesture of prayer toward some divinity, perhaps Kuan-yin. In style, the painting is very close to that of the guardian king and it may be from the hand of the same artist.

Figure 54. *Bird on a Flowering Plum Branch*.—We have here an example of a motif so common and conventional in China as to need no further argument concerning its Chinese origin. But, for all the charming details of the painting, it is a weak composition. In China, moreover, the plum tree blooms in late winter, hence the inclusion here of a massive display of large summer flowers is conspicuous. It is hardly conceivable that a native Chinese painter would have forgotten about the *Tao* of the seasons and could thus have confounded their loveliest and commonest symbols. The effect of the painting is not improved by the obvious patchwork in the lower right-hand corner, where a rectangular section, decorated with flowers of a different species, has been haphazardly introduced. But, quite apart from this, the quality of the picture is generally so poor that it can be no more than a third-rate copy of paintings in the man-

ner of Wang Yüan (Jo-shui; fourteenth century), and is, in all probability, the work of a foreigner. The handling is dry and hard, and the composition is crowded. Perhaps the weakest detail is the plumage of the bird's (flycatcher?) head. Another defect may be recognized in the presence of the small flying bird at the top of the painting which has no relation to the rest of the composition. Yet the picture was considered Chinese by the Persian owner, who added the inscription: "This is from the aggregate of the superior works of the superior masters of Cathay."

COMMENTS ON MINIATURES SHOWING CHINESE INFLUENCE

Figure 4.—The horse was a favorite theme in Chinese art from the Han Dynasty onward. The subject of this painting, a horse rolling on the ground, became current from the T'ang dynasty onward, in painting as well as in small sculptures in wood, jade, porcelain, and glass. A Chinese model must have been available to the painter of the present picture, which has an awkward and obtrusive touch. The groom does not seem to be chastising the horse, as assumed by Aslanapa, for what he brandishes menacingly appears to be a fly-whisk, rather than a whip.

Figure 7.—Although certainly executed by a non-Chinese artist, this painting is derived from China in almost all elements of subject matter and style. The peculiar traits of the little dotted shrubs and of the circular clusters of pine needles point to Chinese painting manners of the fourteenth century, while the pattern on the old gentleman's robe calls Ming mandarin squares to mind.

Figures 12, 13.—For the prototypes of these two versions of the motif of a Mongol(?) horseman we must turn to late Yüan or early Ming painting of a conventional and popular character. Chinese elements are discernible everywhere in the design, but the alien

hand is obvious in the flat and cumbersome design of the masses of foliage in figure 12.

Figure 16.—In this curious hunting scene, signed by one Aḥmad Mūsá, we see a strange blend of a Western concept of space with a rudimentary understanding of Chinese landscape conventions. The lack of integration of the picture space is startling. The crisply executed rocky river scene with bare trees at the bottom forms a spatial unit, which is most awkwardly juxtaposed to the flattened characterless terrain above; the latter provides no adequate transition to the mountain landscape at the top, with its mounted hunters, rocky heights, and cloud-flecked sky. Chinese prototypes of the Yüan or early Ming period must have been known to the painter.

Figures 18, 19, 20, 21.—This series of representations of dancers and musicians, clearly derived from Chinese models, likewise invites comparison with Yüan or early Ming painting. The handsome, stereotyped faces are Persian, as are also various details of the costumes. The male dancer in figures 18 and 19 is apparently a type with a long history in Chinese art, for comparable figures appear in a scroll attributed to Li Kung-lin (c. 1040–1106).¹³ The group of musicians to the left in figure 18—flutist, drummer, percussionist—and the flute player in figure 20 recall Chinese fashions in their attitudes, their instruments, and their attires. The male in figure 20 (a painting that makes one think of the scroll depicting the Emperor Ming Huang and Yang Kuei-fei, attributed to Ch'ien Hsüan [1235–1290]),¹⁴ wears the typical Chinese scholar's headdress, which appears also in the Chinese painting reproduced in figure 33.

Figures 25, 26.—These two paintings of birds on branches of fruit trees are very close

to late Sung and Yüan still-lives,¹⁵ but both are certainly by a non-Chinese hand. The former, a "Bird on a Peach Branch," is described by the Persian legend on it as "in the manner of Cathay." The latter, "Two Birds on a Loquat Branch" (Chin. *p'i-p'a* 枇杷, *Eriobotriya japonica*), is in more than one detail unworthy of a Chinese master. Quite un-Chinese is the overly small scale of the branch on which the lower bird is perched, and also the odd detail of the leaf between its tail feathers. The inscription gives a Persian master's name.

Figure 32.—This curious composition of quite unrelated motifs presupposes several different sources in Chinese painting. The three figures in front are reminiscent of Chinese types, while the group in the background, a man talking to a Lohan (Arhat), is certainly copied from a Chinese original. *A terminus ante quem non* is provided by the ewer carried by the lady at the left, which appears to be a piece of Chinese blue-and-white porcelain of the early fifteenth century.

Figure 33.—This representation of two Ming "Mandarins," revealed as military officers of the second degree by the lion squares on their coats,¹⁶ is certainly an original Chinese painting, executed with the meticulous detail and inimitable ease of the professional Chinese artist.

Figure 34.—The strolling "vagabond" of this boldly executed miniature, notable for its calligraphic beauty and abandon of design, and given a decided Chinese flavor by the over-size branch of leaves and flowers (in the upper right-hand corner), is certainly the crea-

¹³ E.g., *Yüan taikan* 有鄰大觀, vol. 1, pl. 48: scroll, attributed to Emperor Hui-tsung, formerly in the Ch'ien-lung collection.

¹⁴ Cf. Schuyler Cammann, *The development of the mandarin square*, Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, vol. 8 (1944–45), pp. 71–130; Helen E. Fernald, *Chinese court costumes*, Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology, Toronto, 1946, p. 51.

¹³ Sirén, *History of early Chinese painting*, vol. 2, pls. 25–26.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pl. 109.

tion of an artist who was familiar with the best of Chinese figure painting.

Figure 43.—Aslanapa's explanation of this studied circular composition of three sleeping male figures is close to the mark. The theme is one belonging to Chinese Ch'an Buddhism, popular from the time of Southern Sung, and the painting imitates some Chinese original. The figures are identifiable as Feng-kan, abbot of a Ch'an monastery in Chekiang (seventh century), with his faithful tiger and his companions, the philosopher Han-shan and the kitchen boy Shih-te.¹⁷

Figure 44.—We have here another roundel design composed of the same three Buddhist personages as described above (*fig. 43*). The abbot is again in the center, Han-shan is at the left and the serving boy, Shih-te, with his broom, is at the right. But in this case we have a Chinese original of a most mediocre kind before us, an example of early Ming folk art. Framing the roundel are unrelated fragments of very fine Persian miniature drawings pieced together in a completely haphazard manner.

SUMMARY

A wide variety of traditional Chinese motifs is represented in this comparatively short series of miniature paintings from the fifteenth-century albums in Istanbul. There are examples of birds and flowers, genre subjects such as court officers and ladies, dancers, musicians and the like, horses and horsemen, and religious figures from Buddhist and Taoist legend. In style the several genuine Chinese paintings all belong, in greatest probability, to the late Yüan or early Ming periods (fourteenth and fifteenth centuries). A single, quite

specific date may be provided by the porcelain ewer depicted in figure 32, which closely resembles a piece of Yung-lo (1403-1424) or Hsüan-te ware (1426-1435). All this agrees well with the date of Mehmet II, in whose reign (1451-1481) the paintings in these albums are said to have been brought together.

The quality of the few authentic Chinese paintings is not high. Compared with masterpieces of the same epoch, these examples represent at best the ordinary level of professional achievement and at worst little more than folk art. Not one of these Chinese paintings is artistically of sufficient importance to have been the present of a sovereign or an official gift of any sort. Rather, they are specimens such as may have come into the hands of traders while sojourning temporarily in Chinese ports and frontier cities. The curious instances of cuts, patchwork, and *montage*, as well as haphazard inscriptions by various owners, may be taken as proof that they must have passed through the hands of many people before they became part of the Sultan's collection. It may be conjectured, moreover, that paintings brought to the Levant from so far away were shown with pride to associates, who doubtless included foreigners of standing and cultivated taste, as well as foreign artists of renown.

Thus, the presence in Istanbul of these original Chinese works—possibly representing only the remnants of larger collections—indicates that at the Bosphorus and presumably also in the settlements of Italian merchants along the Eastern Mediterranean littoral, and as far inland as Tabriz, Chinese paintings could be seen and studied in the fifteenth century, and that Westerners of that period were not restricted in their knowledge of Chinese art to blue-and-white porcelain, Celadon, brocades, and playing cards.

¹⁷ Cf. W. Speiser, *Die Kunst Ostasiens*, Berlin, 1946, pp. 257-258, pl. 117.

SOME PAINTINGS IN FOUR ISTANBUL ALBUMS

BY RICHARD ETTINGHAUSEN

EVERY STUDENT OF NEAR EASTERN MINIATURES, and in particular those who are interested in the interrelationship between Far and Near Eastern painting, will appreciate that Oktay Aslanapa has now made available for further research a selection of miniatures from the celebrated albums in the Topkapı Saray Library.¹ Not that these have been unknown in the West. It will be recalled that one was shown in the great Munich Exhibition of 1910,² after which a number of Persian paintings of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and likewise some Near Eastern chinoiserie drawings from the Istanbul collections, appeared in several books dealing with the history of Islamic miniatures.³ Two albums were

¹ The inventory numbers of these albums have been changed three times, and as they are thus differently referred to in earlier publications, we give here a concordance, with the most recent number at left and the most ancient at right:

2152	1719	37083	Also referred to as album of Bāysonghor.
2153	1720	37084	Also referred to as album of Ya'qūb Beg.
2154	1721	37085	Album of Abū 'l-Faḥ Bah-rām Mirzā of 951 H./A.D. 1544.
2160	2494	47935	

² In the catalogue of the exhibition this album (No. 2152) was listed as 649; see F. Sarre-F. R. Martin, *Meisterwerke muhammedanischer Kunst*, Munich, 1912, vol. 1, pp. 13-17 (Max van Berchem), pls. 6, 8, 14, 15.

³ Sarre-Martin, *loc. cit.*; E. Kühnel, *Miniaturmalerei im islamischen Orient*, Berlin, 1923, pls. 20, 21, 28-32, 37, 41; G. Migeon, *Manuel d'art musulman*, Paris, 1927, vol. 1, fig. 72; A. Sakisian, *La miniature persane*, Paris-Bruxelles, 1929, figs. 10, 28, 65, 68-75, 191; L. Binyon, J. V. S. Wilkinson, and B. Gray, *Persian miniature painting*, London, 1933, pl. 95; E. Kühnel, *Painting and the art of the book*, Survey

displayed at the Exhibition of Persian Art in London in 1931, but then the chief effect of their travel to the West was the publication of the "Account of Past and Present Painters" by Dūst Muhammad, which forms part of No. 2154.⁴ It is true that specific descriptions of individual paintings were given by A. Sakisian in his *La miniature persane* of 1929, but he could not offer illustrations to accompany them and they were therefore of only limited usefulness. This was also the case when I. Stchoukine finally published, in 1935, a systematic survey of the more important items in three of the albums, in a gallant attempt to give some idea of the wide range of the paintings and at the same time establish historical order in the haphazard arrangement in which the many hundreds of miniatures of

of Persian Art, London-New York, 1939, vol. 5, pl. 822; etc.

⁴ Binyon, Wilkinson, Gray, *op. cit.*, pp. 183-187 (partial translation); see also p. 139. A full transcript of Dūst Muhammad's account was brought out by M. Abdullah Chaghtai (*A treatise on calligraphists and miniaturists حالات هنروران* by Dost Muhammad, the Librarian of Behram Mirza, d. 1500, Lahore, 1936). About the content of the albums see *A rich contribution from Turkey to the Persian art exhibition: Early miniatures*, The Illustrated London News, vol. 178, No. 4785 (Jan. 3, 1931), p. 16.

One chinoiserie drawing of animals of a type well represented in the Istanbul albums (cf. fig. 5, upper), but belonging to the late Arménag Sakisian, appeared also at this exhibition (*Cat.*, No. 580). This charming drawing (which is now in the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, Kansas City) has since been repeatedly illustrated: *An illustrated souvenir of the exhibition of Persian art*, London, Burlington House, 1931, pl. 40B; A. Sakisian, *La miniature à l'exposition d'art persan de Burlington House*, Syria, vol. 12 (1931), pl. 32; Kühnel, *op. cit.*, pl. 914.

these collections had been assembled.⁵ In his very valuable article Stchoukine dealt mostly with the Near Eastern paintings, Persian originals, and Turkish copies, and also discussed paintings from border countries, such as Turkestan. Now Aslanapa presents almost exclusively paintings strongly influenced by China, and illustrates every item, subdividing his selection according to subject matter.⁶ As usually happens when a sizable body of new material is introduced into historical research, this welcome addition will undoubtedly provoke animated discussion. As far as can be seen, such an exchange of ideas will deal with three aspects: 1, The date of these paintings; 2, their place of origin, which will also possibly provide clues to the nationality or at least the ethnic origin of the artists; and 3, their relationship to both Near and Far Eastern art. Certain of these questions are easier to clarify than others and in some cases the answers will remain hypothetical for at least some time.

⁵ *Notes sur les peintures persanes du Sérail de Stamboul*, Journ. Asiatique, vol. 226 (1935), pp. 117-140. The article describes albums 2152, 2153, and 2154.

⁶ Aslanapa's article was sent to the editor of *Ars Islamica* in 1950, but it reached him too late for the last volume. Because of the time needed for the organization of *Ars Orientalis*, the publication of his article was unfortunately delayed. In the meantime the Turkish Government brought out a calendar for the year 1952 in which several of the paintings here discussed were illustrated for the first time, happily even in color. Figure 12 appears as the illustration for February, 14 for April, 42 for September. July shows the picture of two women in the polychrome Chinese style, one of whom is holding a large Chinese blue-and-white ewer of the first half of the fifteenth century, belonging to the category illustrated in Aslanapa's figure 32. The pictures for the months of January, May, August, and October also illustrate Near Eastern miniatures in various styles. Figure 28 is now illustrated in Tahsin Öz, *50 Masterpieces, The Topkapı Saray Museum*, n.p., n.d., unnumbered plate.

Aslanapa has started the discussion by stating his own novel opinion in this matter: He assumes that all the paintings presented were executed at the court of Mehmet the Conqueror at Istanbul (1453-1481), and that they are the work of Uigur artists. They are therefore regarded as the last flower of a tradition of many centuries, which is said to have been superseded shortly afterward by the art of court chroniclers popular under Süleymân the Great.

In looking at Aslanapa's illustrations, one is at once struck by the great diversity of styles to be found in these 54 paintings, which seem more varied than in any Near Eastern country at a given time. In now re-examining the various groups, it is perhaps hazardous to pass judgment on a rather small selection of paintings, though they have been chosen with skill and are restricted on the whole to the non-Persian types of painting, excluding at the same time the chinoiserie already familiar to us from earlier Western publications. As this writer had the good fortune to study the various albums during a stay in Istanbul in the fall of 1951,⁷ he feels qualified to make some comments, though he wants to restrict himself as much as possible to the selection here brought together (by Dr. Aslanapa), and reserves the privilege of coming back to other aspects of this collection at a later time.

In evaluating this new material it seemed best to eliminate first what belongs to or can be connected with known schools of painting. The task of establishing the Chinese origin of certain paintings has been skillfully achieved by Max Loehr in the preceding discussion, in

⁷ The writer wishes to thank Bay Cahit Kınay, Director General, and Bay Necati Dolunay, Vice Director, of the Turkish Monuments and Museums; Bay Tahsin Öz, former Director of Topkapı Saray Müze, and Bay Kemal Çiğ, Librarian of this collection, for the permission graciously granted to study and photograph in their collections.

which he establishes that out of 54 pictures, 6 appear to be genuinely Chinese, while 3 are more or less close copies of Chinese originals. He goes even one step farther and sets apart 18 additional miniatures which "prove to be dependent in degrees on Chinese subject matter and Chinese style."

With regard to these 18 paintings, the character of the non-Chinese elements can in certain cases help to determine in which cultural milieu they were painted. In a few examples, and also in a related one in an American collection, we find certain clues. In figure 50, "A Dragon among Rocks," we notice among a group of spectators on the upper right one person who has a finger in his mouth while watching the spectacle of the writhing monster. As known from countless representations of "Khosrow Discovering the Bathing Shīrīn," this "biting" of the finger is a common Persian gesture expressing wonder and astonishment.⁸ It is also to this country that the stylization of the rock formation seems to point. A connection with Iran in an otherwise Chinese-type miniature is also provided by a painting on silk in the Boston Museum of Art showing a flowering branch with a bird,

⁸ See such Persian expressions as *angosht be-dahān*; *angosht-e khūdrā gāz gereftan*; *angosht-e ta'ajjob* (or *heyrat*) *be-dandān gazīdan*; *angosht-e heyrat bar dahan nehādan*, etc.; for an example in the Classical literature see Sa'di's *Golestān*, chapter 1, story 4: *malek dast-e tahayyor be-dandān gazīdan gereft*, ed. M. A. Forūghī, Tehran, 1312, p. 20, lines 3-4.

A fourteenth-century example of this gesture occurs in the so-called "Demotte *Shāh-nāme*" in the scene in which Bahrām Gūr beholds the treasure house of Jamshīd (D. Brian, *A reconstruction of a miniature cycle in the Demotte Shah Namah*, *Ars Islamica*, vol. 6 [1939], fig. 23), and there are many other examples among later Persian miniatures. The pictorial rendering of the gesture goes back, however, to a much earlier period, as shown by the recently discovered *Andarz-nāme*, dated 27th Jumādā 483/July 1090.

in Chinese style, but underneath it a group of seated figures painted in Persian style.⁹ It has been assumed, and it seems to this writer quite rightly so, that this painting is the work of a Timurid artist of the fifteenth century who, in the upper part of the picture, tried the newly imported Chinese style, though not fully succeeding in his effort, while in the lower part he (or one of his colleagues) used his ordinary idiom.¹⁰ With our increased knowledge and understanding of the blue-and-white wares of the Ming period, we now have additional indication that, on account of the piece of Chinese porcelain represented in this scene, this painting has a *terminus post quem* which would date it from about the middle of the fifteenth century or possibly earlier. Thus, the painting in Boston explains the non-Chinese character of the Istanbul paintings of figures 25 and 26 (and possibly of figure 54), in spite of their closeness to late Sung and Yüan still-lives. Another parallel to the mixing of the two national styles as found in the Boston painting is provided by Aslanapa's figure 35, showing a lady whose attire and general bearing is quite Far Eastern; but she is holding a fan on which a typically Persian scene of a young man and girl in the style of the second quarter of the fifteenth century is depicted (fig. 56). This is not even a unique occurrence,

⁹ This painting is illustrated in many histories of Islamic painting. For a fuller discussion see A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Les miniatures orientales de la collection Goloubew au Museum of Fine Arts de Boston* (*Ars Asiatica* 13), Paris-Bruxelles, 1929, pp. 37-40 and pl. 30. The statement in Sarre-Martin, *op cit.*, vol. 1, pl. 17, that the inscription on the back mentions that the painting was made in Herat, is apparently not correct.

¹⁰ The mixture of styles has also been explained by assuming that an original Chinese silk painting with a flowering branch and bird was brought to the Near East, where a Persian artist added the figural scene underneath the branch. But every expert of Chinese art has stated that the upper part of this painting cannot be regarded as a Chinese original.

since there is a parallel case in another painting in the same style in the Istanbul albums. Here we have two ladies, one dressed as in figure 35 but playing the lute, while her companion is attired more in the Persian manner and holding a fan decorated with Near Eastern arabesques and knot designs (*fig. 57*).¹¹ Thus, all the quasi-Chinese miniatures discussed seem to have a connection with Timurid Iran.

There is a second, smaller group of paintings which can also be eliminated from Aslanapa's selection as belonging to a known class, so that it is not necessary to assume a Uigur origin for them. To this group belongs first of all figure 40, which represents the enthroned Kayūmarth, the first king of Iran in the account of the *Shāh-nāmeh*:

.....Gaiūmart
Invented crown and throne, and was a Shāh.
.....who dwelt at first
Upon a mountain; thence his throne and fortune
Rose. He and all his troop wore leopard-skins,
And under him the arts of life began,
For food and dress were in their infancy."¹²

Stchoukine has already recognized that the miniature belongs to a manuscript very close to the "Demotte *Shāh-nāmeh*"¹³ and it may very well have been part of that celebrated manuscript with whose style it fully agrees.

¹¹ The long, unbelted coat of the lady with the fan has a typically Timurid silhouette, but I know no parallel for the closed round collar; the floral spray on her head occurs as early as the *Dīvān* MS. of Sultan Ahmed Jalā'ir in the Freer Gallery of Art (F. R. Martin, *Miniatures from the period of Timur*, Vienna, 1926, pl. 2), though it continued to be used for quite some time. The knot design of the fan appears on tooled Persian bookbindings from the end of the fourteenth century.

¹² *The Shāhnāma of Firdausi*, tr. by A. G. Warner and E. Warner, London, 1905, vol. 1, p. 118; *Le livre des rois par Abou'l Kasim Firdousi*, ed. and tr. by Jules Mohl, Paris, 1838, vol. 1, p. 28. The spelling of Kayūmarth after F. Wolff, *Glossar zu Firdosis Schahname*, Berlin, 1935, p. 681.

¹³ Stchoukine, *op. cit.*, pp. 120-121, No. 9.

The second Persian miniature is the horseman of figure 8, whose feather headgear indicates that he is a Mongol. This painting is very close to Timurid copies of Rashīd al-Dīn Ḥāfeẓ-e Abrū, and in particular to the manuscript which once belonged to the dealers Tabbagh and Parish-Watson and, in the writer's opinion, should be dated about 1425.¹⁴ The "study sheet" (*fig. 6*) is not as purely Persian as the two miniatures just mentioned, but several of the human figures and the arabesques are not too different from what one would expect of an Iranian painter of the first or second quarter of the fifteenth century.

Before we enter into a discussion about the remaining paintings, a word should be said about the names appearing on the various leaves. As Stchoukine has already pointed out, they should be treated with greatest caution. This applies to the calligraphically written designations and even more so to the carelessly appended names. An extreme case of the latter category is the "Wintry Hunting Scene" of figure 16, in which the statement: *Kār-e Ustād Aḥmad Mūsā besyār nīk* ("work of Ustād Ahmed Mūsā—very good") is placed upside down in the middle of the painting; this crude way of dealing with a painting is certainly not the manner in which a connoisseur would have made his attribution. Generally speaking, we therefore should not give too much weight to these names, which can at best be only attributions; this applies particularly to the names of artists which occur again and again, such as Mehmet (or Muhammad) Seyāh Qalam and a few others. When Stchoukine made his list he pointed out that the "faussaire" who applied the apocryphal signature of Muhammad Seyāh Qalam to the

¹⁴ Since the completion of this article the writer has dealt with this MS. and related ones in *An illuminated manuscript of Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū in Istanbul, I*, to be published in "Kunst des Orients," vol. 2 (in press).

falconer of figure 9 could not have been aware of the meaning of *Seyāh Qalam* "Black Reed Pen," since the miniature is not executed as a black-and-white drawing, but in polychrome colors with brushes.¹⁵ This is not even a unique case. If one goes through the illustrations of Aslanapa's article one notices that the name of the same artist occurs ten times; six paintings are executed with a rich palette (*figs.* 8-10, 14, 26, and 45), while in four cases we have a more limited and subdued color range, with the various colors applied as graded tinting, which also could not have been achieved with a pen (*figs.* 27-29 and 36). So, even in this second group "*Seyāh Qalam*" is not warranted. To take another instance of an obviously false attribution, there is on the same folio as the *Īl-Khān* painting of "the Murder of Daqiqi," already published,¹⁶ a drawing of a lady with a plant in her left hand; this is inscribed upside down in the lower right corner: *kār-e farang*—"work of a European," although it is entirely Chinese in style and iconography, with nothing European about it. The only instances where an attribution might possibly be on safer ground would be where we have a more unusual name which is only once, or rarely, applied, as for instance that of "*Mawlānā Valī Astarābādī*" (*fig.* 50), where, however, the addition of *Mawlānā* (our Master) clearly excludes the possibility of a signature. Perhaps an even more important example would be the drawing in figure 13 (see traces of writing on the lower edge), where an examination of the original revealed an inscription stating that "Abd al-Bāqī al-Bākū'i has drawn it"

¹⁵ Stchoukine, *op. cit.*, p. 128, No. 40. For the use of *seyāh qalam* and *qalam-e seyāhī* for black-and-white drawing in the writings on painting by *Mirzā Muhammad Haydar Dughlāt* and *Düst Muhammad*, see Binyon, Wilkinson, Gray, *op. cit.*, pp. 139, 184, 190.

¹⁶ Migeon, *op. cit.*, *fig.* 72.

(مشقه عبد الباقي الباكوني). This same inscription occurs also on another drawing (2160, fol. 45 recto), showing two seated figures whose elaborate headgears are close to those worn by Mongols (*fig.* 58). In spite of the different subject matter, we find here the same way of tinting and, what seems even more revealing, a closely related way of giving folds, by inserting long leaf- or sprout-like forms in the tinted areas; we therefore have in this instance (more than usually) good reasons to regard this as a reliable attribution and possibly even as a signature. If this is so, we would have one more bit of documentation that a painting of a Chinese subject in Chinese style could have been executed in the Near East.

Of special significance for Aslanapa's theory and the general question of the origin of these paintings, are, of course, the inscriptions of Uigur writing on some of them. Unfortunately, the two instances where Turkish texts in that script appear among the 54 illustrations (they are like all other such inscriptions to be found in album 2152) throw no further light on the other pictures. The vulture of figure 23 is rather primitively drawn and (like the writing and tughrā-like figure on the left) rendered in gold; it has no connection with any of the other paintings, which usually show a greater degree of freedom and movement. *Canī Özbekoğlu's* portrait (*fig.* 41) from a pictorial family tree is also stylized, but here it can at least be stated that the portraits (traditional or otherwise), especially those of the ladies with their *bogtaq*, are connected with miniatures of the late Mongol school and its continuation in the early Timurid period—in particular with the illustrated manuscripts of the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century of *Rashīd al-Dīn's Jāmi' al-tawārīkh*. The pedigree includes Timur and his descendants,¹⁷ which indicates its fifteenth-

¹⁷ The names of Shah Rokh, 'Omar Sheykh,

century date. Considering the interest shown by the Great Mughals in combined or individual ancestor portraits, sometimes up to Timur,¹⁸ this genealogical family tree has a certain significance for Mughal art quite apart from its historical importance.

In view of these Uigur inscriptions, one should also compare the Istanbul paintings with the only illuminated manuscript for which one might rightly claim an "Uigur" origin: the *Mi'rāj-nāmeḥ*, composed in Chaghatai Turkish and written in Mongol script in Herat, 840 H./1436 (Bibliothèque Nationale, sup. turc. 190).¹⁹ There are, however, only vague stylistic connections between the paint-

Mirānshāh, and Jahāngīr are also given in Arabic letters underneath the Mongol version. There are lines emanating from the roundels with the portraits of these princes and their fifth brother whose name is given only in Mongol letters. As far as I could ascertain in the short time in which I could study these particular folios, the genealogy includes (though without figures) Bāysonghor and Ibrāhīm, sons of 'Alā al-dawleh, and of Ali Aṣfar and Bābar, sons of Sultan Mas'ūd (2152, fol. 39 verso).

These pictures forming a family tree have already been referred to by K. Holter in the Uigur group of his list of Islamic miniatures before 1350 (*Die islamischen Miniaturhandschriften vor 1350*, Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen, vol. 54 [1937], p. 21, No. 56). His date "Erste Hälfte 14 Jahrhundert (?)" is no longer tenable, though, of course, some of these portraits may be copied from earlier prototypes.

¹⁸ See, e.g., L. Binyon, *A Persian painting of the sixteenth century, emperors and princes of the house of Timūr*. . . . London, British Museum, 1930; K. Erdmann, *Eine unbekannte Genealogie des Mogulhauses im Schloss Wilhelmshöhe*, *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, N.F. 14, Jahrgang (1938), pp. 12-51; E. Kühnel, *Eine Stammtafel der Mogul-Kaiser in Miniaturbildnissen*, *Berliner Museen*, vol. 62 (1941), pp. 30-33, figs. 1-3. See also Jahāngīr's imperial seal naming eight ancestors up to Timur (C. Stanley Clarke, *Indian drawings. Thirty Mogul paintings of the school of Jahāngīr*. . . , London, Victoria and Albert Museum, 1922, p. 4).

¹⁹ For the history of the Istanbul albums it is significant that this manuscript from Herat was found

ings of this manuscript and some of the Istanbul album pictures (though there exists a peculiar, identical detail of dress of which we shall presently speak); on the whole the paintings of 1436 are certainly closer to Timurid painting of Iran than to the Istanbul paintings. Thus, as far as this writer can see, there seems to be at this time no direct means of proving definitely that the non-Chinese and non-Persian album pictures can be connected with the Uigurs. This would not, however, exclude such a possibility in certain instances and it seems at least quite possible that many paintings were executed in a region where Turkish people abounded, such as Turkestan. This becomes evident when we try other means of figuring out where and when these paintings could have been executed.

The large group of paintings in a style strongly dependent on China and characterized by a brilliant polychrome palette has been called by Stchoukine the Transoxianian School, which he placed toward the middle of the sixteenth century.²⁰ The lack of this type of painting in Persia proper, the preponderance of Chinese elements in style and iconography,

in Constantinople and bought there by Galland in 1672. Blochet stresses the fact that the text uses an Islamized vocabulary, slightly different from Buddhist or Manichaean Uigur documents found in Central Asia. Since Uigur refers rather to the non-Muslim language, Blochet preferred to speak, in the case of this MS., of Eastern Turkish (Chaghatai) written with Mongol letters which, by the way, are here and also in figures 23 and 41 written horizontally, as in Arabic, and not vertically, as in the real Uigur texts (E. Blochet, *Les peintures des manuscrits orientaux de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1914-20, p. 273, n. 3, and pls. 21-29). The miniatures of the *Mi'rāj-nāmeḥ* are illustrated in many handbooks on Islamic miniature painting; a particularly large selection is given in E. Cerulli, *Il "Libro della scala" et la questione delle fonti arabo-spagnole della Divina Commedia*, Città del Vaticano, 1949.

²⁰ Stchoukine, *op. cit.*, pp. 125-128.

and the use of silk, all make it very likely that the region designated by Stchoukine is correct, though I think that we should also consider Eastern Khurasan and especially Herat as possible places of production. We differ, however, with Stchoukine's dating, which we think is, at least for the great bulk of the material, about 100 years too late. This is indicated first by the Chinese blue-and-white porcelain, which is from about the middle of the fifteenth century, or earlier, and thus provides a valuable clue to the date. A second piece of evidence is provided by the multiple belts worn by the two dancers in figure 17. These occur first in the *Divān* of the Khwājū Kermānī manuscript of the British Museum (Add. 18, 113) written in Baghdad in 798 H./1396,²¹ then in the miniature "Tahmineh Comes to Rostam's Bed Chamber" in the Fogg Museum, which is unfortunately detached from its *Shāh-nāmeh* manuscript and therefore without documentation as to date and place of origin;²² also in the Khwājū Kermānī manuscript in the Austrian National Library (Kod. N.F. 382), written in Herat in 831 H./1427; and finally, in the already mentioned *Mī'rāj-nāmeh* in the Bibliothèque Nationale of 840 H./1436, also written in Herat.²³ It seems that the multiple belts in all these Persian examples are not as clearly understood or rendered with as

much detail as in the Istanbul painting, and they may therefore reflect an imported feature. It also appears significant that the two last-named manuscripts, both written in Herat within nine years, have this detail of dress, pointing to a possible region of origin for the Istanbul chinoiserie paintings, besides providing us with an approximate date, which, by the way, agrees also with the painting on silk in the Boston Museum and the representation on the fan in figure 35, referred to above. There is, furthermore, a miniature in Album 2153 with a scene which Stchoukine lists as No. 41 in his catalogue; he calls it "Église" (though it might better be designated as *deyr*, i.e. monastery—) and he quite rightly attributed it to the Transoxianian school, with the additional comment "dessin du style persan, mais touché d'influence chinoise" (fig. 62). The outdoor scene on the left is rendered in the polychrome Chinese style, but the main subject is Iranian and Islamic in character, with a strong Christian flavor. This is shown by the complex tile work in Persian style, the Arabic dedication in thulth below the dome on the left, the Persian invocation in Kufic over the door on the right, and the two Persian inscriptions in large naskhi on the sides and the center of the central structure, etc.²⁴ One of the Persian

²¹ B. Gray, *Persian painting from miniatures of the XIII–XVI centuries*, New York-Toronto, 1940, pl. 4.

²² E. Schroeder, *Persian miniatures in the Fogg Museum of Art*, Cambridge, 1942, p. 54, and pls. VIII and VIIIA. Schroeder dated the miniature between 1409 and 1415 and thought it to be the work of an artist working in Shiraz or Isfahan.

²³ For the Khwājū Kermānī miniature see Emmy Wellesz, *Eine Handschrift aus der Blütezeit früh-timuridischer Kunst*, Wiener Beiträge zur Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte Asiens, vol. 10 (1936), fig. 1; for the use of the multiple belts in the *Mī'rāj-nāmeh* see E. Blochet, *op. cit.*, pl. 23; F. R. Martin, *The miniature painting and painters of Persia, India and Turkey*, London, 1912, vol. 2, pl. 56A.

²⁴ The Arabic on the left reads: السلطان الاعظم الخاقان<ن> "The most mighty Sultan, the Khāqān"; the Persian inscription on the right reads: مبارك باد "Be blessed"; the inscription on the sides of the central structure: در این دیری که مارا جام دادند زعیسی وزمریم کام دادند "In this monastery where we were given the beaker, our desires were fulfilled by Christ and Mary"; and in that in the center کتابه زمیحا براین کهن دیر است که ناامید نباشی که عاقبت خیر است "There is an inscription of the Anointed (Christ) on this old monastery 'Do not be without hope, for the end is well.'" The author thanks Professor Mojtaba Minovi for his kind help in deciphering the last two inscriptions.

Only in the case of a few of the wall paintings

elements makes the picture datable, since the structure represented has mural paintings in the style of the now scattered "*Jāmi' al-tawārīkh*" manuscript (formerly in the possession of the dealers Tabbagh and Parish-Watson), which dates from about 1425 and should be attributed to the court of Shah Rokh, whose seal it bears (*figs. 59, 60, and 61*). The same approximate date should be given to the other paintings in the same polychrome Chinese style, with richly colored figures and subdued landscape rendering (*figs. 7, 14, 15, 17, 32*); to this list should be added figures 1, 12, and 13, and the paintings already listed by Stchoukine, as belonging to this school (*figs. 9 and 39, a and b*).²⁵

shown is it possible to establish a Christian subject. The most obvious is the second from the right on the ground floor, where the bearded figure on a donkey can be identified as Christ, and the whole scene as Christ riding to his entry into Jerusalem (*fig. 60*). The panel on the left (*fig. 61*) seems to illustrate a passage of the apocryphal *Book of James* or *Protevan-gelium* (IV, 4), the meeting of Ioachim and Anna at the gate, which led to the conception of Mary (*The apocryphal New Testament*, tr. M. R. James, Oxford, 1926, p. 40). The painting to the right of this scene seems to be a usual secular subject—an enthroned ruler with courtiers, and it is therefore probably not Christian, while the one on the right is too much covered by a standing hermit to permit identification. In the next story there are no paintings, but in the one after that on the left we find an outdoor scene which might portray two stages of "Christ preaching to the Apostles" (*fig. 59*). The next painting to the right is mostly covered up, and we are left in doubt about the identity of the seated, youngish-looking figure holding a book or some writing and talking to another person; the bearded figure, partially covered by the dome in the same scene, might (by analogy with the scene to the left) be Christ. The three remaining panels show too little to allow an interpretation. The writer is greatly indebted to Professor Sirarpie Der Nersessian for the help she kindly gave for the identification of these scenes.

²⁵ Stchoukine also lists Aslanapa's figure 38 as belonging to this school (*loc. cit.*, p. 128, No. 39), but it seems to me that it might better be grouped with figure 3, on account of the drawing of the angels, and

In proposing this earlier date it will be necessary to show that it is feasible within the general historical setting. For several decades the references of 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Samarqandī to embassies between the Emperor of China and the Timurid courts of Shah Rokh and his sons have been recognized as pointing to an important medium of cultural exchange between East and West. Around 1420 there were no less than seven embassies from China which not only visited Shah Rokh residing in Herat, but called also on Ulugh Beg at Samarqand (usually on the way to or from Khorasan), and they even went to Shiraz and Khwārizm. Ambassadors were sent in return by Shah Rokh to his suzerain in China, and likewise Shah Rokh's sons and some of the provincial rulers sent emissaries, one of whom was a painter, Ghiyāth al-Dīn Naqqāsh, who was asked to keep a journal. In all such instances we have an exchange of gifts. The Timurid embassies were also accompanied by many merchants and men of various professions who likewise must have helped in the exchange of goods.²⁶ Such cordial relations with China help to explain how it came about that there were in the Near East such large collections of Far Eastern paintings and also the vogue to copy them, or to paint in the foreign manner. There were no such friendly relations between China and Iran (or Turkestan) in the mid-sixteenth century. Indeed, if they had existed in Turkestan at that time, we could assume that there would have been a strong Chinese influence in early Mughal painting, but such influence is entirely missing.

If we look once more at the "two dancers"

if so, thus connected with another style, of which I shall speak presently.

²⁶ E. Quatremère, *Notice de l'ouvrage persan qui a pour titre Maṭla-assaadein ou- Madjma-albahreïn et qui contient l'histoire des deux sultans Shah-Rokh et Abou-Saïd*, Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la bibliothèque du roi et autres bibliothèques, Paris, 1843, vol. 14, pp. 304-306, 387, 425.



FIG. 55—FETTERED DEMONS. Freer Gallery of Art, No. 37.25.



FIG. 56—DESIGN ON FAN, DETAIL OF FIGURE 35 ^{Abb} p. 151



FIG. 57—TWO LADIES



FIG. 58—TINTED DRAWING OF TWO FIGURES, ATTRIBUTED TO 'AED AL-BĀQĪ AL-BĀKŪ'.



FIG. 59



FIG. 60



FIG. 61

FIGS. 59-61—MURAL PAINTINGS. DETAILS OF FIGURE 62.



FIG. 62—MONASTERY SCENE



FIG. 63—FIGHTING CAMELS. ATTRIBUTED TO BEHZĀD. (After Binyon-Wilkinson-Gray.)

of figure 17 with a view to examining the style, we can observe several features that we find, also, either singly or combined, in other miniatures of this group. We are confronted with large-scale figures, smaller in number than we would usually encounter, for instance, in a fifteenth-century Persian miniature. The two richly garbed and brilliantly colored figures in the foreground are not only involved in a pronounced action, but the artist underlined and even exaggerated the movements connected with the action: the fluttering scarf and belt-tassels, flying coats and skirts, bobbing hat decorations; even the curves of the plants and the big tree in the background seem to express this. As to the third figure with his very un-Chinese beard and mustache, he is endowed with a curious ugliness that does not seem accidental or conditioned by his character alone, as the facial features in other miniatures likewise have a caricature-like appearance (e.g., fig. 39); also, he is too big in relation to the foreground scene and actually does not seem to belong to it. One has the feeling of two juxtaposed, not fully integrated parts, a certain disjointedness which is characteristic neither of contemporary Chinese nor Persian paintings. If we consider all these points, one wonders whether the lack of consolidation in an otherwise rich and forceful composition is to be attributed to a new school of painting which had not yet learned to coordinate all the newly borrowed foreign idioms, or, one might ask, since the artists preferred large-scale figure drawing of great dynamic force and realism to the more romantic, lyrical, and decorative aspects of Timurid painting, whether they do not reflect an altogether different artistic temperament of another ethnic group. These are questions that should be raised even if we cannot answer them with assurance at this time. Be that as it may, certain elements of this style appear suddenly and momentarily in Persian art also, owing,

probably, to an influence from this school or its Far Eastern models, because from just about this period date large-scale paintings on plain silk, with comparatively few richly colored figures in a not-too-strongly stressed landscape setting, all features that are different from the contemporary Iranian canon.²⁷

Besides the rich polychrome style in the Chinese manner, the albums contain another well-defined group of paintings which are quite different from what we usually know in the realm of Near Eastern art (figs. 4, 27-30, 36, and 37). Owing to their "Russian" look and their coarsened Far Eastern idiom, first examples of this group to become known in the West were called Kipchak by Anet²⁸ and Schulz²⁹ and dated from the end of the thirteenth to the middle of the fourteenth century, or from the fifteenth century, respectively. A little later Marteau and Vever spoke more specifically of the regions of the Khans of the Crimea and Astrakhan as the place of origin, and they dated the paintings fourteenth or fifteenth century.³⁰ Stchoukine challenged this and assumed the related paintings in the Istanbul albums also to have come from Transoxiana or Turkestan; he dated them from the second half of the sixteenth century on account of what he regarded as European influences in the iconography, the foreshortening of the figures, and modeling of garments.³¹ More

²⁷ M. S. Dimand, *A fifteenth century Persian painting on silk*, Bull. Metropolitan Museum of Art, vol. 28 (1933), p. 213; A. U. Pope, *A XVth century Persian painting on silk*, Apollo, vol. 20 (1934), p. 207.

²⁸ Claude Anet, *Exhibition of Persian miniatures at the Musée des arts décoratifs, Paris, I*, Burlington Magazine, vol. 22 (1912), p. 16, pl. 2E.

²⁹ Ph. Walter Schulz, *Die persisch-islamische Miniaturmalerei*, Leipzig, 1914, vol. 1, p. 98, pl. 31. Schulz was the original owner of both paintings published in this and other early publications.

³⁰ G. Marteau and H. Vever, *Miniatures persanes*. . . Paris, 1913, vol. 1, pls. 53 and 54.

³¹ Stchoukine, *op. cit.*, pp. 129-132.

recently Sakisian published a newly discovered painting on silk belonging to this group (to which he, however, did not refer) and called it "Sino-Persian" of the pre-Mongol period, that is, about 1200 or perhaps earlier.³² The wide range of countries and dates attributed to these miniatures show that they present special problems which even now cannot be considered settled.

Since comparatively little is known about this very startling style of painting (so far only five miniatures have been published), it may be appropriate at this point to say a few words about it. Technically, we can distinguish between two groups, one in which we find shaded tints, while in the other the colors are applied pointillistically (see also *fig. 55*). Works of the second group are sometimes painted on silk and, because they are composed of very delicate dots, the color scheme is usually more subdued. The palette, on the whole, consists of grays, light reds and blues, dull or dark blues, reds, browns, and purple, also black and occasionally some gold. There is hardly ever a background design and the figures are placed on the paper itself. If there is an indication of a landscape, it is inconsequential in character and consists of bits of rock, flowers, or tufts of grass. Iconographically speaking we have again two groups, one dealing mainly with demons, the other with human beings. The black-, red-, or yellow-skinned demons are usually covered with only a loin cloth and they have an ugly, wrinkled face set on the shoulders of a bulky, neckless body. These nightmarish figures show a leering mouth with huge teeth; their hands and feet are enormous and usually end in claws.

³² A. Sakisian, *Some Sino-Persian monsters*, Burlington Magazine, vol. 70 (1937), pp. 78–81; in an earlier article, *Persian drawings, II*, in the same journal (vol. 69 [1936], pp. 59–60), he had, however, given an early fifteenth century date to the miniature here reproduced as figure 55.

They have tails, some of which end in dragon heads; on their heads there are often horns.³³

³³ These pictures of demons, whose physical ugliness is rendered with great skill, recall the following passage from Jālāl al-Dīn Rūmī's *Mathnawī*:

"And if you say that evils too are from Him, (that is true), but how is it a defect in His grace?

"(His) bestowing this evil is even His perfection: I will tell you a parable (in illustration), O respected one.

"A painter made two kinds of pictures—beautiful pictures and pictures devoid of beauty.

"He painted Joseph and fair-formed houris, he painted ugly afreets and devils.

"Both kinds of pictures are (evidence of) his mastery: those (ugly ones) are not (evidence of) his ugliness; they are (evidence of) his bounty.

"He makes the ugly of extreme ugliness—it is invested with all (possible) uglinesses.

"In order that the perfection of his skill may be displayed, (and that) the denier of his mastery may be put to shame.

"And if he cannot make the ugly, he is deficient (in skill): hence He (God) is the Creator of (both) the infidel and the sincere (faithful).

"From this point of view, then, (both) infidelity and faith are bearing witness (to Him): both are bowing down in worship before His Lordliness."—*The Mathnawī of Jalālu'ddīn Rūmī*, tr. Reynold A. Nicholson (Gibb Memorial Series, London, 1926), vol. II, p. 352, lines 2535–2543; the Persian text for this passage is in *The Mathnawī of Jalālu'ddīn Rūmī*, ed. Reynold A. Nicholson (Gibb Memorial Series, London, 1925), vol. I, p. 387.

This passage represents an attitude toward figural painting which is opposite that expressed in the *ḥadīth*. There the painter is regarded as a blasphemous imposter trying to imitate God the Creator (El-Bokhāri, *Les traditions islamiques*, tr. O. Houdas, Paris, 1914, vol. 4, pp. 132–135, chapters 89–92, 95, 97). Rūmī has no words of condemnation or disapproval; on the contrary, he looks at his work as something natural and proper, and uses it therefore as an appropriate means to explain one of the most difficult aspects of God.

The "afreet pictures" in Istanbul are, of course, later than the period of Rūmī, but they belong to a well-established genre, of which early examples (of

Their only adornments are necklaces, bracelets, and armlets of gold. Some carry whips, the handles of which are camel legs, to which a leather thong is applied. These creatures are frequently involved in scenes of violence, fighting, or wrestling with each other or with a dragon, and it seems symptomatic that the serpent-headed tail may bite into his master's leg. In other instances they are fettered with chains. Their only redeeming quality is that they seem to be fond of making music and wild dancing. In their physical aspect the monsters are derived from Far Eastern models and the impression of such a connection is further reinforced by the subdued tints, which recall Chinese paintings.

The second group represents also an uncommon world, though it lacks the demonic character of the first. Here we see heavily clothed, rather short, stooped figures, usually with enormous beards and heavy headgear, moving slowly about the picture stage or engrossed in some kind of action. Their kaftans and trousers are made of heavy material and they may even be padded, as they fall in thick folds. Their headgear consists either of bell-shaped caps or brimmed and unbrimmed hats made of fur. Some of the figures wear felt shoes or footgear of Chinese character, but usually the feet are bare and they show broadly drawn toes. The heads are set on the shoulders, the noses are flat, and since the protruding eyes are given without an iris, they have a staring look. The wrinkles in these faces are not much different from the folds in the garments. The figures are shown in various actions, sometimes with animals, carrying objects, or just in conversation. Because of the sombre colors, the unperceptive eyes, and the

shapeless bodies, there is the impression of a barbaric life and sometimes even of despair.

There are, of course, variations within these groups, and the figures of the two types can even become intermixed. Also, sometimes the colors are more brilliant than usual, thus in figure 4 we find strong reds and blues in the jacket of the Negro, whose black skin is not so dusty as usual. His staring eyes, his toothy mouth, the broadly drawn toes, and the intensity of the movements still indicate that the picture belongs to this group. The "camel fight" in figure 3 and the "angels and dragons" of figure 38 also have certain connections with our style, but the colors (pale blue, red, green, and reddish brown) are much lighter, the whole drawing is more refined, and the movements more agile. There are also links with the rich polychrome style in the Chinese manner, exemplified by several paintings in these albums (e.g., *fig. 31*).

The question arises as to where these paintings were executed. In view of the early "Tartar" theory, speaking of Kipchaks or Crimeans, it might be of interest to note that B. Denike in his book on Near Eastern miniature painting (*ЖИВОПИСЬ ИРАНА*, Moscow, 1938) does not illustrate any paintings in this style, although he does so, for instance, with an Armenian miniature of the fourteenth century and paintings from Chinese Turkestan. No pictures of this type seem, therefore, to exist within Russia proper, which would probably be the case if the paintings did indeed come from the southern parts of this territory, as assumed by earlier writers. Stchoukine had already quite rightly pointed out that nothing is known about a school of painting among the Kipchaks. Since we have a basically Chinese idiom before us, transformed into a curiously barbaric style, which also has some connections with the Near East, he thought of Turkestan or Transoxiana as the place of origin and this seems very reasonable to this

the ninth or possibly the late eighth century) were found in Nishapur (W. Hauser, J. M. Upton, and C. K. Wilkinson, *The Iranian expedition*, 1937, Bull. Metropolitan Museum of Art, vol. 33, No. 11, Sect. 2 [Nov. 1938], pp. 12-13 and fig. 9).

writer. A further proof of this Turkestani origin, and one pointing to the eastern part of that region, might be the costume still worn by the natives there, who appear as heavily clothed with padded coats and who wear similar bell-shaped headgear.³⁴

There remains now only the question of the date of these paintings. In this respect we should like to disregard the so-called European influence, as the various elements seem to be explainable as part of the Far Eastern idiom. The fine tufts of grass, evenly applied, as background, as we find them in the two miniatures formerly in the collection of Schulz, were not current in the Near East before the middle of the fourteenth century (the first dated example is apparently the Cairo Bidpai of 1343) and it was continued in the fifteenth century. More specific than this element is the vessel of blue-and-white porcelain held by the left demon in the painting of the Freer Gallery, which belongs to this group (*fig. 55*). This bottle dates from the fifteenth century, probably from the first half,³⁵ just like the blue-and-white pieces found in *figure 32*. This style element, limited as it is, therefore suggests a fifteenth-century date for these paintings, possibly the second quarter or middle of the century.

After these general observations one could speak of individual paintings, but it might perhaps be better to defer a detailed discussion until more material can be presented. One

³⁴ M. Aurel Stein, *Sand-buried ruins of Khotan*, London, 1904, p. 232. Albert von Le Coq, *Von Land und Leuten in Ostturkestan*, Leipzig, 1928, pls. 15, 16.

³⁵ This date was kindly provided by J. A. Pope. See also *An exhibition of blue-decorated porcelain of the Ming dynasty*, Philadelphia Museum Bull., vol. 44 (1949), Nos. 18 (similar shape and dragon of the late fourteenth to early fifteenth century) and 48 (similar dragon, Hsüan-tê period, 1426-1435). Chinese vessels of this type appear in the *Shāh-nāme* of 796H./1393 in the National Library, Cairo.

case, however, might be singled out, because it points to the significance which the Istanbul paintings have for Near Eastern studies, in spite of their Far Eastern look. *Figure 3* shows a fight between two camels, which most probably antedates several other representations of similar scenes and also the celebrated version attributed to Behzād in the Jahāngir album in the Golestan Palace (*fig. 63*), which in turn influenced many Persian and Mughal paintings and objects.³⁶ It is not so much a question of age and precedence, however, but the artistic treatment of the subject that interests us here. If one looks at the scene of the Istanbul album, one is at once struck not only by the skillful handling of the difficult movements but also by the realistic and forceful treatment. In the Istanbul album we have two enraged, vicious animals fighting each other, and in so doing they interlock their bodies and bite with all their strength. On the other hand, the same subject, attributed to Behzād, looks more like a slow dance or rather as if the animals were peacefully playing. Indeed, if Behzād had not put the leg of one of the animals over the neck of the other, one would hardly feel that we have a fight before us, during which the two cameleers are trying to pull the two "adversaries" apart. Still, Behzād or a painter of his school must have seen a miniature close to the iconographic type of the Istanbul painting, because he not only shows the fighting animals, covered with fine saddle clothes, and the two grooms who are trying to interfere, but also the bystander in one corner who is shown with a spindle, all of which appears in *figure 3*. Nor is the subject matter of fights between two animals of the same species

³⁶ Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray, *op. cit.*, pp. 114, 130, and 131, pl. 87A. The motif still occurs on a green glazed faïence bottle of about 1600 (Victoria and Albert Museum) and seventeenth-century Persian animal carpet (formerly in the Schloss-Museum, Berlin).

restricted to camels in the Istanbul albums, because we find that there is also a painting in the polychrome Chinese style of about the same period in which two buffaloes are shown interlocked in a fight very similar to that which we have been discussing.³⁷ Compared to these renderings the miniature attributed to Behzād looks tame and "decorative."

In conclusion, we want to raise the question of where these various albums were made. At least one of them contains so many Safavid miniatures (No. 2154) that it is at once clear that this one is not to be placed in the same category as its three companions. But in any case, it is possible to establish the date of each of the four only after one has made a careful study of the whole make-up of each volume, considering, besides the latest of its miniatures, such features as introductory texts, calligraphies, inscriptions, and attributions.³⁸ If this does not give the proper clue, two factors have to be considered: We would have to keep in mind that the albums contain an astonishing variety of styles ranging from Chinese to Italian originals and, of course, comprise a great deal of varied material from intermediary countries, and we would have to account for the fact that we not only have a large number of paintings and drawings of first quality,

but, in addition to the finished pieces, a good many preliminary studies in the form of sketches of the whole scene or various fully executed versions of individual figures.³⁹ Only when all these points are fully considered can we come to definite conclusions about the origin of this remarkable collection. In the meantime, for at least one of the albums (No. 2152) we can recall the judgment of Max van Berchem, who, at the Munich Exhibition of 1910, came to the following conclusion:

Der . . . Sammelband . . . ergibt sich als ein aus bunten Blättern zusammengesetztes Album. . . . Schon aus der Entstehungsart dieses Prachtbandes ergibt sich, dass ihm kein einheitliches Datum zugeschrieben werden kann, und dieser Schluss wird durch die darin enthaltenen kalligraphischen Modelle bestätigt, die Namen von verschiedenen Sultanen und Künstlern, sowie auch verschiedenen Jahresangaben enthalten. . . . Man hat in diesem Werke das Sammelbuch eines Künstlers erkennen wollen; damit wird aber der diplomatische Charakter der darin enthaltenen Schriftmodelle nicht erklärt. Ich möchte es lieber als ein Denkmal aus der Staatskanzlei oder der Hofbibliothek eines Weltreiches erkennen, welches im 15. Jahrhundert die persischen und zentralasiatischen Länder in sich fasste, kurz gesagt, aus dem Reich der Timuriden, aus welchem dieses einzig dastehende Denkmal im Laufe der Kriege mit den Osmanen-Sultanen nach Konstantinopel gewandert sein wird. Erst eine gründliche Untersuchung desselben wird einen einigermaßen sicheren Schluss über die Herkunft seiner Bestandteile gestatten."⁴⁰

³⁹ See, e.g., figures 12 and 13, and 18 and 19. The Istanbul collections contain also another version of studies for figures 7, 14, and 33 which are not illustrated in Aslanapa's article; and of figure 21 there even exist two other versions.

⁴⁰ In Sarre-Martin, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-14, 16.

³⁷ Stchoukine, *op. cit.*, p. 127, No. 38.

³⁸ Professor Zeki Velidi Togan kindly informed this writer that he is now working on the historical aspects of these albums and the information they provide about certain artists. Every student of Islamic painting will be eagerly awaiting the results of these investigations.

ORIGIN AND DATE OF THREE FAMOUS *SHĀH-NĀMEH* ILLUSTRATIONS

BY B. W. ROBINSON

I

PHILIPP WALTHER SCHULZ, THE MOST METHODOLOGICAL and scholarly among European pioneers of the study of Persian painting, formed the nucleus of his collection during his travels in Persia in 1897–1899. Among the precious manuscripts he brought back was a copy of the *Khamseh* of Nizāmī, apparently dated either 866/1461 or 868/1463 (the colophon has since been lost), which now holds an honored place in the A. Chester Beatty collection (No. 137). Not only is this manuscript, with its curiously individual illustrations and its association with Isfahan, of very great interest in itself, but when Schulz acquired it, its covers enclosed six important miniatures which did not belong to it at all.

The first two, forming a double-page composition of an outdoor court scene, were then bound into the manuscript as a frontispiece, but have since been detached. They are typical examples of the Shiraz-Timurid style of about 1440–1450, and are in all probability by the same hand as the miniatures in a *Shāh-nāme* dated 848/1444 in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (sup. pers. 494). Indeed, it is not impossible that they originally belonged to this splendid manuscript, from which a number of miniatures have been extracted. This double-page court scene was reproduced by Schulz,¹ and appeared at an exhibition of Islamic art at the M. H. de Young Memorial Museum, San Francisco, in 1937, to which it was lent by the late Kirkor Minassian. The two halves have now, alas, been separated; one is in the Cleveland Museum of Art, while the other remains in the possession of Mr. Minassian's family.

¹ P. W. Schulz, *Die persisch-islamische Miniaturmalerei*, Leipzig, 1914, vol. 2, pls. 36, 37.

It is with the other four miniatures, however, that we are here concerned. They evidently formed part of an unfinished *Shāh-nāme* conceived on a magnificent scale, and it may be of interest to give a brief account of their vicissitudes, as far as they can be traced. In 1900 they were exhibited on loan, along with the rest of Schulz's collection, at the Kunstgewerbemuseum, Leipzig. One of them, an unfinished representation of the vanishing of Kay Khusrow (a very rare subject), apparently left Schulz's possession quite soon; it was noted in his book (1914) as being at that time in an unspecified Paris collection, and it has not, so far as I know, been seen since, nor has it been reproduced.

The other three, *The Sleeping Rostam*, *Rostam lassoing Kāmūs*, and *Tahmīneh coming to Rostam's chamber*, here reproduced in figures 1, 2, and 3, were shown together at the great Munich exhibition of 1910 (Catalogue Nos. 654, 655). The second of them has sometimes been called *Rostam and Pilsam*, but, according to Firdowsī, Pilsam's fate was to be spitted on Rostam's spear and so lifted from the saddle; it was Kāmūs of Kushān whom the hero lassoed and dragged along the ground.² This miniature and the *Rostam and Tahmīneh* were afterward presented by Schulz to the Kunstgewerbemuseum, but their present whereabouts is uncertain. It will be remembered that Leipzig is in the Russian Zone of Germany, and my only information is to the effect that the Kunstgewerbemuseum's whole Persian collection, including photographs and negatives, has been "lost owing to war conditions (*Kriegseinwirkungen*)."

² A. G. and E. Warner, *The Shāhnāma of Firdausī*, tr. and notes, London, 1905–1925, vol. 2, p. 352, and vol. 3, p. 189.

As to the *Sleeping Rostam*, it seems that the great Dr. F. R. Martin must have taken a fancy to it at the Munich exhibition in 1910 and induced Schulz to part with it. In any case, when Martin's pioneer work was published in 1912, this magnificent miniature had passed into his collection. However, by 1922, when it was reproduced by Kühnel with the caption "Früher Sammlung Martin, Stockholm," it had been sold to a Paris collector. In the later editions of Glück and Diez's *Kunst des Islam* it is stated to be in the Leipzig Kunstgewerbemuseum, but this is clearly an error due to confusion with the other miniatures of the set. Later, its Parisian owner suffered a financial collapse and entrusted part of his collection, including the *Sleeping Rostam*, to Mr. Minassian for sale. The latter lent it for exhibition at the Detroit Institute of Arts in 1935, at San Francisco in 1937, and at the Fogg Museum of Art, Harvard University, in 1938. In that year it was purchased from him by the late Sir Bernard Eckstein, under whose will it finally came to rest at the British Museum in 1948.³

II

It is now time to pass briefly in review the principal opinions that have been expressed from time to time on these remarkable miniatures.

The *Sleeping Rostam* was reproduced by Martin, both in the *Meisterwerke muhammedanischer Kunst* (vol. 1, pl. 22), which came out after the Munich exhibition, and in his *Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India and Turkey* (vol. 1, fig. 23). In both he assumes its date to be the same as that of the manuscript in which it was found. Thus in the *Meisterwerke* it is very misleadingly described as "datiert 1463," and in *Miniature*

Painting he goes so far as to say "It is taken from a Shāh Nāmāh dated A.H. 868 (A.D. 1463)." This error was reproduced as late as 1937 in the catalogue of the San Francisco exhibition mentioned above.

Schulz himself made no such mistake. He recognized that these miniatures had nothing to do with the manuscript in which he had obtained them, and assigned them to western Persia during the reign of Ūzūn Ḥasan (1453–1478). He noted the presence of the Safavid baton on the helmets of the Persian army in the *Rostam and Kāmūs* and on the turbans in the *Rostam and Tahmineh*, and indeed perceived with some surprise in all three "many traits characteristic of Safavid painting."⁴

Dr. Ernst Kühnel, in his *Miniaturmalerei im islamischen Orient*, ascribed them to Herat, dating them to the middle of the fifteenth century, and was still of the same opinion in his contribution to *A Survey of Persian Art*, where he gives his reasons at greater length. After admitting the initial difficulty of associating them with the Khurasan school, he nevertheless finds himself persuaded to do so by "the way in which the composition is managed in the battle between Rustam and the Turanians," which "points unmistakably to a workshop that was essaying innovations, and even apart from specific characteristics is decisively in favour of the Herāt attribution." Unfortunately he does not enumerate the "specific characteristics." In the *Sleeping Rostam* "the plants are set off against each other in multiple shades of green and yellow, and such an audacious colour-experiment could have been ventured only in a centre that already had a great colouristic tradition. These conditions were met with in Herāt. . . . This small group of miniatures can be safely dated about 1450." It may be noted in passing that in the same passage Kühnel mentions a repre-

³ For several items of information incorporated in the above paragraphs I am indebted to Miss Adrienne Minassian of New York.

⁴ Schulz, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 91.

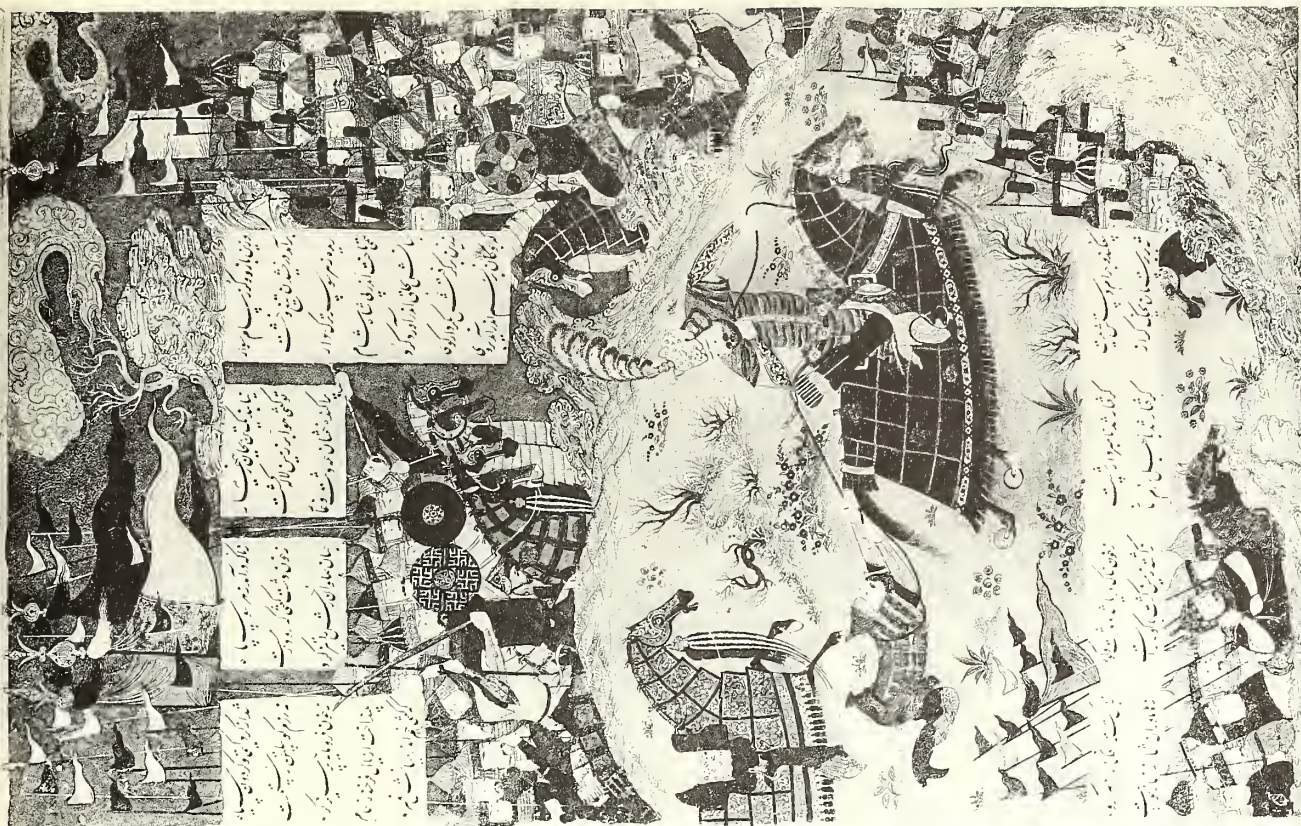


FIG. 2.—ROSTAM LASSOING KĀMUS. Formerly Leipzig, Kunstgewerbemuseum.



FIG. 1.—THE SLEEPING ROSTAM, WITH RAKHS KILLING THE LION. British Museum.



FIG. 4—THE SLEEPING ROSTAM, WITH RAKHSH KILLING THE LION. Oxford, Bodleian Library.



FIG. 5—ROSTAM AND SOHRAB. British Museum.



FIG. 3—TAHMINEH COMING TO ROSTAM'S CHAMBER. Formerly Leipzig, Kunstgewerbemuseum.

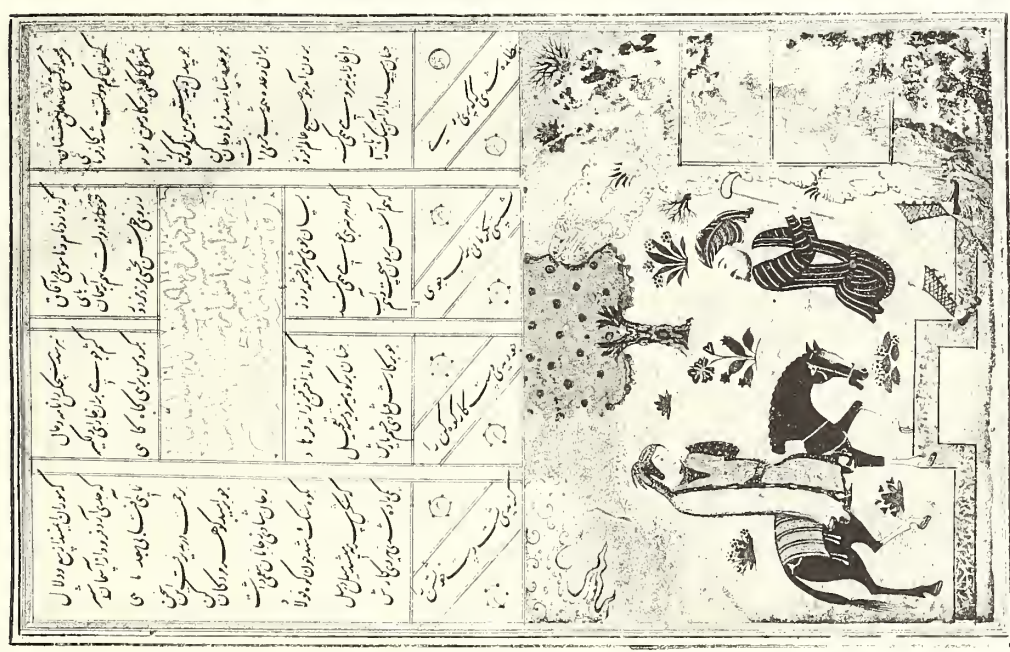


FIG. 6.—SHIRIN VISITING FARHĀD, SUP. PERS. 631, FOL. 60a. (Service photographique de la Bibliothèque Nationale.)



FIG. 7.—HUNTING SCENE (OR. 5770, FOL. 139a). British Museum.



FIG. 8.—HUNTING SCENE, SUP. PERS. 765, FOL. 124a. (Service photographique de la Bibliothèque Nationale.)



FIG. 9—CONCOURSE OF THE BIRDS

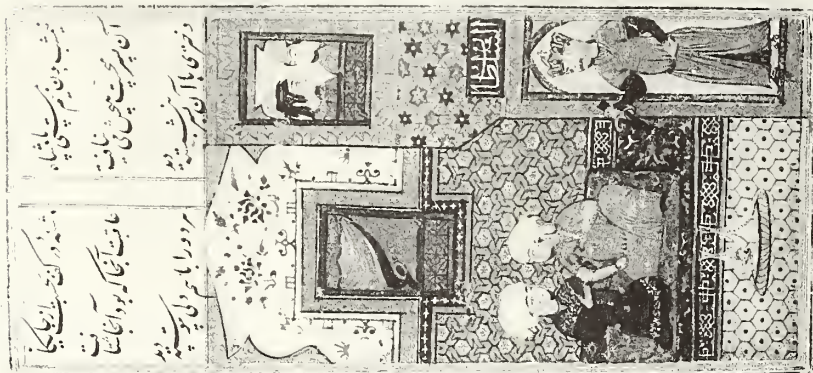


FIG. 10



FIG. 11



FIG. 12

FIGS. 9-12—ILLUSTRATIONS TO 'ATTAR'S "MANTIQU AL-TAYR."

Cracow, Czartoryski Museum. Ms. 3885.



FIG. 14



FIG. 13

FIGS. 13-14—ILLUSTRATIONS TO 'ATTAR'S "MANTIQ AL-TAYR."
 Cracow, Czartoryski Museum. Ms. 3885.



FIG. 15—KAY KHOSROW KILLING SHIDEH, SON OF AFRĀSIYĀB. Bombay, Collection of Dr. S. A. Hakim.



FIG. 16—BAHRĀM GŪR OBTAINING THE CROWN BY ORDEAL. Bombay, Collection of Dr. S. A. Hakim.



FIG. 17—ROSTAM KILLING THE WHITE DEMON. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale.



FIG. 19.—THE COURT OF KHÂN KUYŪK. British Museum.

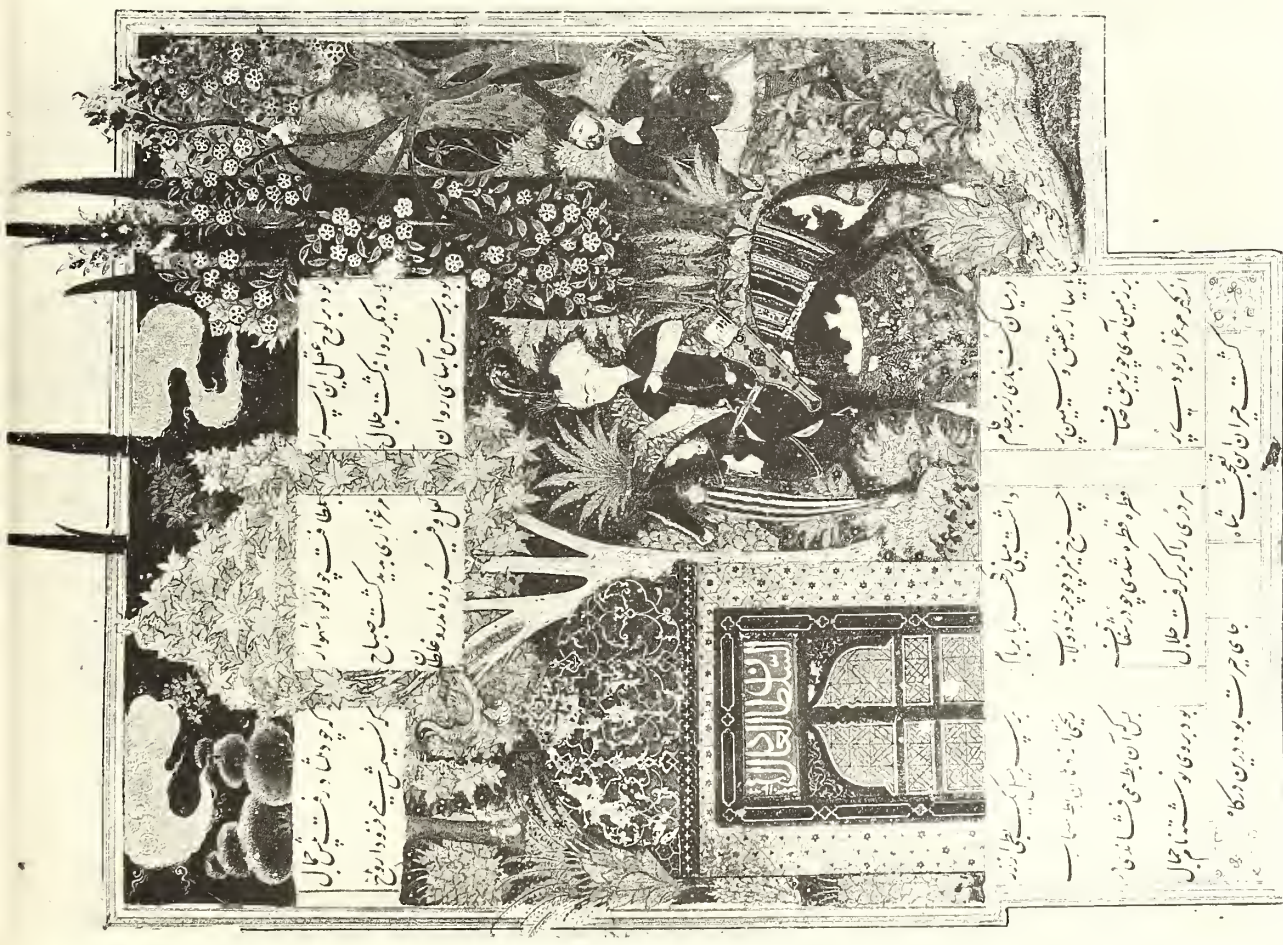


FIG. 18.—JALĀL BEFORE THE TURQUOISE DOME. Uppsala, Royal University Library.

sentation of the same incident in the Bodleian Nizāmī of 1501 (Elliot 192). But the national hero does not figure in the writings of Nizāmī, and there is consequently no portrayal of him to be found in that manuscript. I can only assume that Kühnel intended the Bodleian *Shāh-nāmeḥ* of 1494 (Elliot 325), which does indeed contain a miniature of the same subject, reproduced here as figure 4. The group of Rakhsh and the lion and the fantastic nature of the vegetation provide an interesting comparison with the miniature under discussion, and there can be no question that the Bodleian version has an earlier and less sophisticated look.⁵

In *Persian Miniature Painting*, L. Binyon, J. V. S. Wilkinson, and Basil Gray agreed with Schulz in assigning these miniatures to western Persia, "perhaps to the reign of Ūzūn Ḥasan, if they are not even earlier." They also noted the Safavid baton, or rather "what is perhaps an early representation of it," suggesting that those on the helmets of the Persians in the *Rostam and Kāmūs* "may be the prototypes of the Shi'a turbans worn under Shāh Isma'il and his son Ṭahmāsp." Gray later reproduced the *Sleeping Rostam* in color, and expressed the even more guarded opinion that "these miniatures (the *Sleeping Rostam* and its two companion-pieces) stand rather apart from the main stream of Timurid painting. They do not appear to belong to the school of Herāt, but cannot be attributed to any other particular centre. Unless the style is very archaic the date can hardly be later than 1475."⁶

Finally, Eric Schroeder makes a passing

⁵ E. Kühnel, *Miniaturmalerei im islamischen Orient*, Berlin, 1922, pp. 26, 55 f.; pls. 42, 43; A. U. Pope (ed.), *A survey of Persian art*, London, 1938, vol. 3, p. 1856 f.

⁶ L. Binyon, J. V. S. Wilkinson, and B. Gray, *Persian miniature painting*, London, 1953, p. 78 f.; B. Gray, *Persian painting* (Iris Colour Books), London, 1948, p. 12, pl. 7.

reference to the *Rostam and Kāmūs* in his work on the Persian miniatures in the Fogg Museum. In it he implies acceptance of Schulz's dating, while arguing for Tabriz as the home of the style these miniatures represent, at any rate during its period of maturity.⁷

III

The three *Shāh-nāmeḥ* illustrations under discussion are, it will be agreed, unusually elaborate examples of a well-known and persistent style which I have elsewhere⁸ called "Turkman," because it appears to have been to a large extent coextensive in time and place with the dominion of the Black and White Sheep Turkmans, albeit surviving some years after the latter's destruction by Shāh Ismā'il Ṣafavī. That they, and the majority of the miniatures in the Uppsala Āṣafī with which they will later be compared, do belong to this stylistic group has been generally admitted,⁹ and indeed can scarcely be in doubt if they are compared, for instance, with the miniatures of the British Museum *Shāh-nāmeḥ* of 1486 (Add. 18188), which furnish some of the most typical and best-known examples of this style in its maturity. Its most outstanding characteristics are, perhaps, the squat and sturdy human figures with their rather large heads and full round faces, and the two methods of rendering the ground (i) in a pale color with simple rocky horizon and stylized grass tufts and plants, and (ii) in green, covered with large bushy masses of vegetation often picked out with yellow or a lighter green, and with

⁷ E. Schroeder, *Persian miniatures*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1942, p. 89, note 11.

⁸ Victoria and Albert Museum, *Catalogue of a loan exhibition of Persian miniature paintings*, London, 1951, p. 8 ff.

⁹ *A survey of Persian art*, vol. 3, p. 1856 ff.; Schroeder, *loc. cit.*; K. V. Zetterstéen and C. J. Lamm, *Muhammad Āṣafī; the story of Jamāl and Jalāl*, Uppsala, 1948, p. 28 ff.

no rocky horizon.¹⁰ Of our *Shāh-nāmeḥ* miniatures, *Rostam and Kāmūs* illustrates a development from the first method, the grass tufts having been brought closer to one another and the plants somewhat elaborated; while the *Sleeping Rostam* and *Rostam and Tahmineh* are developments of the second method. Apart from his elaborate development of the vegetation, the artist of the *Sleeping Rostam* made an innovation in this method by the introduction of masses of rock among the greenery. This point will, however, be dealt with in more detail in section IV below.

The earliest examples of this style are perhaps to be found in a *Shāh-nāmeḥ* in the British Museum (Or. 4384), written with six columns to the page and containing nine miniatures which occupy a width of four or (in one instance) five columns. One of them (fol. 51b), is here reproduced (*fig. 5*), showing a treatment of the subject which is still to be found unaltered at the end of the fifteenth century in *Shāh-nāmeḥs* illustrated in this style.¹¹ This manuscript may perhaps be dated to about 1430 and assigned to northwestern Persia, which was the main seat of Turkman power at the time, for its general character and the arrangement of the miniatures are reminiscent of the Tabriz manuscripts of the previous century. That the Turkman style had a northwestern origin is also suggested by some close similarities (especially in the types of human figures) it has with the miniatures in the Duni-marle *Shāh-nāmeḥ* of 1446, which was exe-

cuted in Mazanderan,¹² and the British Museum Anthology of 1468 from Shīrwān (Add. 16561). The latest miniatures in the same style—surely a freak survival—occur in a *Shāh-nāmeḥ* of 1548 in the Chester Beatty collection (No. 214). Between these two extreme dates, a considerable body of manuscripts was produced which were illustrated with miniatures in this Turkman style, the majority of which belong to the last quarter of the fifteenth century. As noted above, Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray have followed Schulz in placing this style in western Persia, Kühnel has consistently supported Herat, while Schroeder has argued strongly for Tabriz.

The best evidence for “placing” the miniatures in any given manuscript (assuming that there is no reason to suppose them to have been added later) is, of course, a definite statement in the colophon that the manuscript in question was executed “at such-and-such a place”—an invaluable piece of information all too seldom included by the copyist among his pious ejaculations on the completion of his work. Among some forty manuscripts known to me which are illustrated in the Turkman style, only seven contain colophons with statements of this kind. The Uppsala Āṣafi, copied “at Herat” in 908/1502, is the best known, and provides Kühnel’s chief support (conclusive, in his view) for placing the whole group, side by side with Behzād and his school, at that city. But it will be remembered that three of the miniatures in the Uppsala manuscript, one of which is here reproduced (*fig. 18*), are dated either 909/1503-4 or 910/1504-5; the manuscript may well have traveled in the interval, and in any case the miniatures have been generally regarded as “totally unlike Herāt work of the period.”¹³ Next there is

¹⁰ For the first method see figures 5 and 15; also E. Blochet, *Musulman painting*, London, 1929, pls. 73-79, 98, and Sir T. W. Arnold, *Painting in Islam*, Oxford, 1928, pl. 14. For the second method see figure 4; also Blochet, *op. cit.*, pl. 99, and Arnold, *op. cit.*, pls. 6, 28, 37b.

¹¹ For example, Bibliothèque Nationale sup. pers. 1280, fol. 79b (about 1480-1490), reproduced by E. Blochet, *op. cit.*, pl. 74; and Bodleian Library, Elliot 325, fol. 115b (1494).

¹² Victoria and Albert Museum, *Persian paintings* (Picture Book), London, 1952, figs. 6-9.

¹³ Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 126; Schroeder, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

a Nizāmī, dated 849/1446, formerly in the Sambon and Riefstahl collections and now in the Library of Princeton University (Garrett Collection 77G), which was copied "at Abar-qūh," a small town roughly midway between Yazd and Shiraz. Lastly, the remaining five manuscripts whose colophons give this information were all copied "at Shiraz" itself. They are, in chronological order, an Amīr Khosrow of 1482 in the Bibliothèque Nationale (sup. pers. 651; *fig. 6*), another, of 1488, in the British Museum (Or. 5770; *fig. 7*), an 'Aṭṭār (*Manṭiq al-Tayr*) of 1494 in the Czartoryski Museum at Cracow, Poland (MS. 3885; *figs. 9-14*), an 'Aṣṣār of 1504 in the Bibliothèque Nationale (sup. pers. 765; *fig. 8*), and a Nizāmī of 1513 in the Kevorkian collection.¹⁴

But the claim of Shiraz to be the main center of this style during its period of greatest activity does not rest on these colophons alone, powerful as their evidence is. Between 1440 and 1460 miniatures in the Turkman style are to be found in no less than four manuscripts whose other miniatures are in the Shiraz-Timurid style associated with the court of Ibrāhīm Sulṭān and his successors, which the Turkman style was evidently superseding at much the same time as the Turkmans themselves took Shiraz from the Timurids. These four manuscripts are the *Shāh-nāme*hs of Lord Teignmouth¹⁵ and Dr. Hakim,¹⁶ another in

the John Rylands Library at Manchester,¹⁷ and a Nizāmī in the Bibliothèque Nationale (sup. pers. 1112). Another striking but isolated and possibly fortuitous link between the Shiraz-Timurid and Turkman styles is provided by a comparison of the head of Rostam as portrayed in the *Rostam and Kāmūs* and in the miniature of his fight with the White Demon in the Paris *Shāh-nāme*h of 1444 (sup. pers. 494, fol. 78a), here reproduced in figure 17. This royal manuscript (it was copied by Muḥammad al-Sulṭānī), with its monumental miniatures, was probably still in Shiraz 60 years after its completion; it may well have been seen by the artist of the *Rostam and Kāmūs* and given him inspiration.

Furthermore, to the period 1470-1490 belongs a group of some ten manuscripts containing delicate and small-scale miniatures not wholly unlike the Turkman style, yet quite distinct from it. Of these, an 'Aṣṣār of 1478 in the Freer Gallery, Washington (49.3), and a Fattāhī of 1480 in Cambridge University Library (Or. 1280) were copied "at Shiraz" by the scribe Murshid, and as he was responsible for at least two of the others—the Chester Beatty Nizāmī of 1481 (No. 162) and a British Museum 'Aṣṣār of 1472 (Add. 6619)—as well as the British Museum Amīr Khosrow copied "at Shiraz" in 1488 and illustrated in the Turkman style throughout (Or. 5770), it may be permissible to place the whole group at Shiraz. But in three of these manuscripts, Chester Beatty No. 162, British Museum Or. 2931, and Bodleian, Elliot 194, miniatures in the Turkman style also occur, and it therefore seems reasonable to suppose that both styles

¹⁴ Grace Dunham Guest, *Shirāz painting in the sixteenth century*, Washington, 1949, pl. 27A. (For the photographs from the Czartoryski MS. I am indebted to the good offices of the Polish Embassy in London.)

¹⁵ Dated 861/1457. Victoria and Albert Museum, *Catalogue*, No. 14; Victoria and Albert Museum, *Persian paintings*, *figs. 10* (Shiraz-Timurid), and *11* (Turkman). This manuscript was sold at Sotheby's on June 16, 1952 and is now in the collection of the Kevorkian Foundation.

¹⁶ Undated; about 1450. Victoria and Albert Museum, *Catalogue*, No. 15. Miniatures from this manuscript illustrating the two styles are here reproduced (*fig. 15*, fol. 258a [Turkman], and *fig. 16*,

fol. 410b [Shiraz-Timurid]). Later Turkman versions of figure 15 will be found in Bibliothèque Nationale sup. pers. 1280, fol. 28a (Blochet, *op. cit.*, pl. 73), and Bodleian Library, Elliot 325, fol. 30b.

¹⁷ Pers. MS. No. 9. Undated; about 1450-1460. B. W. Robinson, *Some illustrated Persian manuscripts in the John Rylands Library*, Bull. John Rylands Library, vol. 34 (Manchester, 1951), p. 72 ff.

were being practiced simultaneously at Shiraz during this period.

Finally, during the first 20 years of the sixteenth century, the gradual modification of the Turkman style into what Miss Guest has established as the Shiraz Safavid style, may be clearly traced in a number of dated examples such as the Bodleian Nizāmī of 1501,¹⁸ the Vienna Nizāmī of the same date,¹⁹ the Paris Nizāmī of 1504,²⁰ the India Office Library Nizāmī of c. 1505,²¹ the New York Nizāmī of 1510,²² and the British Museum *Golestān* of 1513.²³

It surely follows, then, from all this, that although the Turkman style may well have been practiced in other places in southern and western Persia, and perhaps also at Tabriz, its main center from the middle of the fifteenth century was Shiraz, and it is therefore at Shiraz that its leading exponents may be presumed to have worked. Nobody will deny that the *Sleeping Rostam* and *Rostam and Kāmūs* represent the highest point of achievement ever reached by this style, and it therefore seems a legitimate conclusion that Shiraz was their place of origin.

IV

Whatever their differences in placing this set of *Shāh-nāme* illustrations and the style to which they belong, the authorities have always been in general agreement in dating them to the middle years of the fifteenth century. In the following paragraphs, however, from the consideration of various details in them and their comparison with dated examples, it will eventually appear that they date in all

probability from the beginning of the sixteenth century.

The most fruitful field for comparison is provided by the Uppsala *Āṣafi*, with its miniatures dated between 1503 and 1505, and among the many parallels it affords to the *Shāh-nāme* miniatures under consideration, the most obvious and significant is the early (thick) form of the Safavid baton on turbans and helmets. This feature seems to have occasioned slight uneasiness among some of the writers whose opinions have already been quoted, but they were prepared to brush it aside or explain it away. This type of baton occurs in turbans throughout the Uppsala manuscript—its first appearance in a dated miniature—and the only difference is that in the *Āṣafi* illustrations the turbans themselves retain the full, rounded form found in earlier examples of the Turkman style, whereas in the *Rostam and Tahmineh*, those worn by Rostam and the servant carrying the candle have contracted into a shape approaching the later Safavid type. Such transitional turbans with the thick baton are to be seen in the New York Nizāmī of 1510 (footnote 22), the British Museum *Golestān* of 1513 (footnote 23), and a very similar and clearly contemporary *Būstān* in the Bodleian Library (Fraser 73). The baton fitted to the helmet also occurs in the Uppsala *Āṣafi*, where the similarity of the armed figures to those in the *Rostam and Kāmūs* is so striking that it seems hardly necessary to draw attention to it.²⁴ I know of only one other instance of a helmet with a baton of this type; it occurs in the Bodleian *Būstān* referred to above.

Women's headdresses in the early and middle Timurid period appear to have been of two main types, though their exact construction is

¹⁸ Elliot 192. Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray, *op. cit.*, pl. 98A, etc.

¹⁹ Nationalbibliothek, A. F. 93. K. Holter, *Persische Miniaturen*, Vienna, 1951, pls. 1-3.

²⁰ Bibliothèque Nationale, sup. pers. 578.

²¹ Pers. MS. 387. Victoria and Albert Museum, *Persian paintings*, figs. 14-17.

²² Metropolitan Museum of Art, Cochran 7.

²³ Or. 11847 (Eckstein Bequest).

²⁴ Zetterstéen and Lamm, *Muḥammad Āṣafi*. All the miniatures in the manuscript are reproduced (a few in color) in this most valuable publication. For helmets with batons, see pls. 10, 29. This work will be referred to parenthetically as ZL.

often difficult to determine from the miniatures. That favored in the northeast, at Herat, consisted of a circlet of some colored stuff, knotted at the back and with the ends hanging down, which sometimes held in place a piece of fine veiling reaching to the shoulders.²⁵ At Shiraz, however, the fashion was different, and the ladies dressed their hair under a colored headcloth arranged like a cock's comb and secured in front with a knot or brooch.²⁶ The former style is at first invariable in Turkman style miniatures, but later gives way to a simple white headcloth, the corners of which are sometimes shown fluttering out at the back. The transition seems to have occurred about 1494, for in the Bodleian *Shāh-nāmeḥ* of that date (Elliot 325), as well as the Czartoryski *Manṭiq-al-ṭayr* already mentioned, which was copied in the same year, both forms are found, whereas in the Nizāmī of 1501 (Elliot 192), and other manuscripts of similar or later date, the white headcloth is invariable. It is scarcely necessary to point out that Tahmīnch's head-dress in figure 3 is of the latter type, and is indeed closer to the form usual in the earlier part of Shāh Ṭahmāsp's reign than to the earlier examples just quoted.

As far as Rostam himself is concerned, the seven-fold plume set in the point of his helmet in the scene of his victory over Kāmūs may well be admired as a highly effective adjunct, enhancing his heroic and almost superhuman appearance. But there is not a single authenticated example in the fifteenth century of a plume of any kind in the hero's leopard's-head casque (the dating of the miniature reproduced by Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray on pl. 32A as 1395-1400 is undoubtedly a century-and-a-half too early); in *Shāh-nāmeḥ*s of the Safavid period, on the other hand, Rostam's

headpiece is plumed more often than not, and it may have been the artist of the *Rostam and Kāmūs* who started the fashion. For the actual method of rendering the plumes in this miniature, the closest parallels—and they are very close indeed—are once more to be found in the Uppsala *Āṣafi*, and one of many examples can be seen in figure 18. It is also worth remarking that the hilt of Rostam's sword bends slightly at the pommel, which is itself rounded; sword hilts of the middle fifteenth century are straight, and their pommels flat-topped, as in figure 17.

Another detail for consideration is the large tassel hung under the horse's chin. Such tassels are worn by Rakhsh and the horse of Kāmūs in the battle miniature, and comparable examples are to be found in a number of miniatures in the *Āṣafi* manuscript (including that here reproduced as figure 18), in the New York Nizāmī of 1510, and in other manuscripts of the period. It was, in fact, normal in early Safavid times. But examples earlier than 1500 are of great rarity (one occurs on fol. 269b of the Royal Asiatic Society's *Shāh-nāmeḥ* of c. 1440) and even when they do occur, the tassels are short and simple, in complete contrast to the long and elaborate double tassels of Rakhsh and his counterpart. For tassels such as these there is no fifteenth-century precedent whatever, but there are any number of close parallels, as has been seen, in the early Safavid period.

It is also instructive to compare the outlines of Rakhsh in the *Sleeping Rostam*, first with those of any horse in an authenticated miniature of the middle fifteenth century, and then with examples from the early Safavid period. There can be no question which of the two the hero's charger more closely resembles. The delicate legs of exaggerated thinness, the fine head with its rolling, expressive eye, and the graceful rounded forms of the body and hindquarters—all these characterize the Safavid horse rather than the sturdier fifteenth-

²⁵ An example can be seen in Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray, *op. cit.*, pl. 42, among many others.

²⁶ See, for instance, Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray, *op. cit.*, frontispiece, and Victoria and Albert Museum, *Persian paintings*, fig. 10.

century animal with its comparatively short head and thick legs. It may also be noted in passing that the caparisons of the war horses in the *Rostam and Kāmūs* have very close parallels in the Uppsala manuscript (see especially ZL, pl. 11).

It may also be observed, after careful examination and comparison, that there is hardly a detail of vegetation in all the varied jungle of the *Sleeping Rostam* for which the Uppsala Āṣafi, the Vienna Nizāmī (footnote 19), or the India Office Library Nizāmī (footnote 21) does not afford a parallel. These bushy tufts of green vegetation picked out with yellow are to be found throughout the whole series of manuscripts illustrated in the Turkman style during the later fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, gradually increasing in fineness and complexity. This convention seems to have originated in the Shiraz-Timurid style, and its simple form at that stage can be seen in the British Museum miniature (fig. 19), which comes from the Paris Juwaynī of 1438 (sup. pers. 206), and in the Nizāmī of 1444-1445 in the John Rylands Library, Manchester.²⁷ If its development is followed in a series of dated manuscripts from then to the early sixteenth century, and if the examples under discussion in the *Sleeping Rostam* and *Rostam and Tahmineh* are placed at the end of the series—their natural position—Dr. Kühnel's "audacious color-experiment" becomes merely the climax of a normal process of evolution.

The Uppsala manuscript also contains close parallels to the tree forms in the *Sleeping Rostam* (see especially fig. 18, and ZL, pls. 21, 29), to the patch of ground where the encounter of Rostam and Kāmūs is taking place, with its close-set grass tufts, flowering plants, and wavelike rocky horizon (ZL, pls. 11, 20), and to the large clouds in both miniatures, these latter being almost identical with

a number of those in the Āṣafi illustrations.

In the foregoing paragraphs a considerable number of details in these three *Shāhnāme*h miniatures have been shown to have many parallels in the early sixteenth century, but often none whatever in the middle fifteenth century. On the other hand they contain nothing incompatible with a date between 1505 and 1510, and that is the period to which the foregoing considerations all point. In the face of so many concrete and specific points of detail, such general considerations as composition and color scheme, even if applicable, lose their force as criteria. A great master will not follow the conventions of his contemporaries in either respect if they do not fall in with his own ideas; on the other hand, it seems unlikely that even the greatest artistic genius can anticipate by half a century a new fashion in sword hilts or headgear.

But to bring forward the dating of these miniatures is by no means to detract from their merit. They are the greatest and almost the last examples of the long-lived Turkman style; for, while most of its earlier examples were the work of competent craftsmen, it was a master's hand that produced the *Sleeping Rostam* and *Rostam and Kāmūs*. They are unsurpassed as epic illustrations, and while the former may be the greater of the two, the latter contains what has always seemed to me the most splendid representation of the national hero in the whole of Persian art. We shall, alas, never know who the painter was, but I think he may well have contributed to the Uppsala Āṣafi and perhaps the India Office Nizāmī a few years earlier, when he was "finding his form." He was in any case the last great representative of a great era. The new dynasty was already established; new styles of painting were being formed; but in these two supreme works the old virile Timurid tradition blazes up for a moment in its full splendor before sinking finally into extinction.

²⁷ Pers. MS. No. 36. Victoria and Albert Museum, *Persian paintings*, fig. 12.

THE EARLY RAJPUT MURALS OF BAIRĀT (CA. A.D. 1587) *

BY H. GOETZ

THE PROBLEM OF THE ORIGINS OF RAJPUT painting is not yet solved. For a long time this art had been regarded merely as a transposition of Mughal court painting into a Hindu folk style, and this theory, to some degree correct, at least for the later phases of Rajput painting, has some followers even today. Thereafter Vredenburg, Coomaraswamy, and Laurence Binyon pointed out the links which connect Rajput painting with classic and Medieval Hindu art and the inspiring influence that the Vaishnava mystic revival of the fifteenth–sixteenth centuries had exercised on the formation of a peculiar Rajput style. However, during the last decade when the various schools of Rājasthānī painting began to delineate themselves, we first began to realize the difficulties of the problem. For it is comparatively easy to trace the development of official pictorial art at the leading Rajput courts, because the portraits of so many rajas and nobles permit us to coordinate art and history. But by their side a great number of illustrated manuscripts and of picture sets illustrating well-known religious stories or erotic and mystic poetry have turned up, the whole type of which looks much more archaic than those official court paintings.

Yet the more evidence that was discovered, the more it became evident that most of these

* *Ars Orientalis* intends to produce only first-class illustrations to give the best possible information to its readers. There are, however, rare occasions when the maximum effect cannot be achieved owing to difficult conditions. The illustrations in Dr. Goetz's article belong in this category; since Bairāt is not easily accessible to him and the murals were discovered by him just an hour before sunset, he therefore "had no choice but to do the work at top speed with a simple snapshot camera."—ED.

pictures were not older, but contemporary with those so different semi-Mughal court paintings. The problem was not whether these two types represent different schools, but whether they had originated at the same time and independently. This latter interpretation would be acceptable only in case the archaic style could be connected with some political centers influential enough not only to encourage a considerable art production, but also to develop a strong ideology of its own. The attempt to prove the existence of such not-yet identified homes of an archaic style in the seventeenth century has, however, failed. The archaic pictures belong not to one, but to several styles and come from practically everywhere in Rājasthān.

Thus only one other interpretation remains, i.e., to regard them as provincial remnants of older court styles, which, in this case, would have flourished in the sixteenth century. But then the difficulty arises as to why only later echoes of such an earlier court style should have survived, but no original works. We have to concede that in the wars ending in the submission of the Rajput states to the Mughal Emperor Akbar, many of the older paintings may have been lost. But even so, some originals of this earliest phase of Rajput painting must have been salvaged. And there exist in fact manuscripts, picture sets, and individual miniatures which for all reasons seem to be such genuine remnants of sixteenth-century Rajput painting. But as long as none that are dated can be discovered, we cannot prove it. Thus, for the time being we can do nothing else but try to discover further evidence which might either solve this problem, or, at least, help us to elucidate it further.

Some such new evidence is offered by the discovery of early Rajput murals at Bairāt, about 54 miles north of Jaipur, on the Shāhpura-Ālwar road. Bairāt¹ is well-known to archaeologists. In olden times it had been the capital of the Matsyas, and king Virāta, the protector of the Pāndavas during their exile, resided here, according to the Mahābhārata. Two rock edicts and a column of Aśoka have been known for more than a hundred years. The excavations undertaken by Daya Ram Sahni revealed the ruins of an old town which seems to have flourished from prehistoric times to the Hun invasion, and a Buddhist monastery and stūpa near one of Aśoka's edicts and his column on the Bijak-kī Pahārī. The modern town, founded some four hundred years ago, is situated about two miles from Bijak-kī Pahārī and again a mile to the northwest of it is Bhīmji-kī Dūngri, where the second rock edict still can be seen. Perhaps half a mile south of Bhīmji-kī Dūngri there stand the monuments,² in which the paintings were found which we shall discuss below.

The group of buildings consists of a Jain temple of octagonal ground plan, covered with a Lodi-Sūri dome surrounded by eight chhattri-

balconies located in the center of a garden which one enters by a big gateway in the earliest Mughal (i.e., Šafavī-Persian) style. In an adjoining garden there are the Samādhs of unidentified Rajput princes or nobles. They have the form of small Muslim tombs of the third quarter of the sixteenth century; but in their back walls relief slabs without inscriptions are inserted. Each represents the deceased on horseback and, standing in front of him, the women who had become satis on his pyre. In the midst of a field in front of these two gardens there stands the garden house (*fig. 1*) in which the murals were discovered. Sahni has described the garden house as one of the old city gates, but there is no archaeological evidence that the sixteenth-century town ever extended that far, and the building is a typical summer pavilion in early Mughal style. It consists of a vast central hall from which radiate four two-storied eyvāns (*fig. 2*), flanked by four smaller rooms on each floor, which likewise are provided with niches and balconies; the flat roof is crowned by a bigger central dome supported on eight columns, and four domed chhattris at the corners, each resting on four pillars. Though once this garden pavilion had been completely covered with murals, today only fragments survive. On the exterior walls the monsoon showers (though never very strong in Rājasthān), and the lichen growing on the wet plaster, have destroyed all vestiges of the paintings except some faded figures high up under the cornice (*fig. 5*). Inside, the paintings are covered with a thick layer of soot, as the building had long been used as a barracks for irregular military levies. However, there still is some hope that they can be reclaimed when the building is declared a protected monument and carefully cleaned. The murals in the balcony niches might have escaped both the inclemencies of the weather and the smoke, but most of them have been covered by a crude wall; even where

¹ India. Archaeological survey. Reports, Old series, 1862-1865, by Alexander Cunningham. Simla, 1871. vol. 2, pp. 242-252 (Bairat, or Vairat); Gerrick, H. B. W., Report of a tour in the Panjāb and Rājputāna in 1883-1884. India. Archaeological survey. Reports. Old series, v. 23, pp. 29-31 (Vairāda, Bairāt); India. Archaeological survey. Western India. Progress report of archaeological survey of India, Western circle. Year ending Mar. 1910. Calcutta, 1914, pp. 44-47 (Bairat), Report signed: D. R. Bhandarkar; Daya Ram Sahni, *Archaeological remains and excavations at Bairat*, Jaipur, 1937; Satyaprakash Srivastava, *Bairat: A bird's eye view*, Jaipur, 1951.

² I studied the building in the company of Shiv Saranlal, Conservation Assistant, thanks to the arrangements made by the Chief Superintendent, Archaeology and Museums, Jaipur, at the end of December, 1951.



FIG. 1—MĀN SINGH'S GARDEN HOUSE AT BAIRĀT



FIG. 2—NORTH FAÇADE WITH EYVĀN NICHE AND RELIEF OF RĀDHĀ

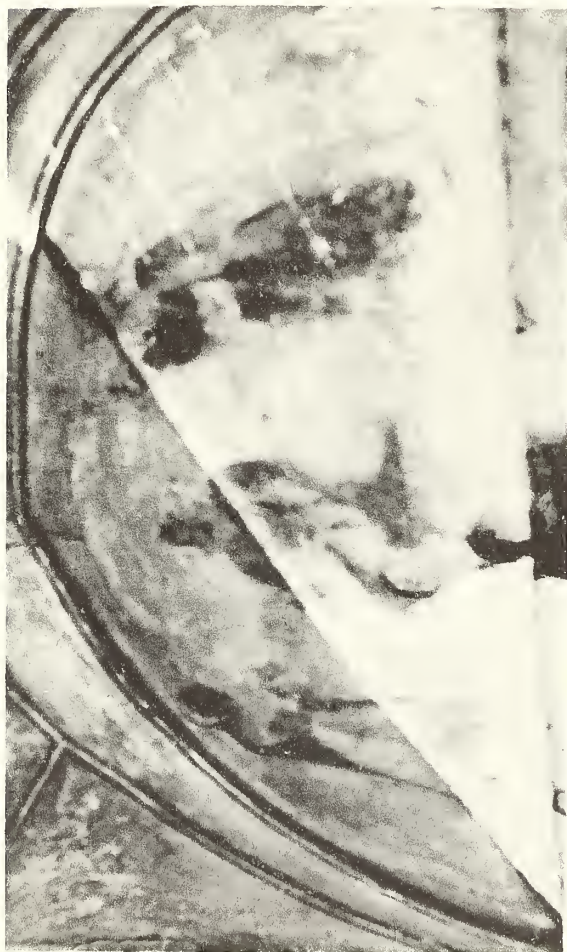


FIG. 3—MURALS IN A BALCONY NICHE OF THE SOUTH FAÇADE



FIG. 5—VESTIGES OF WALL PAINTINGS ON THE SOUTH FAÇADE

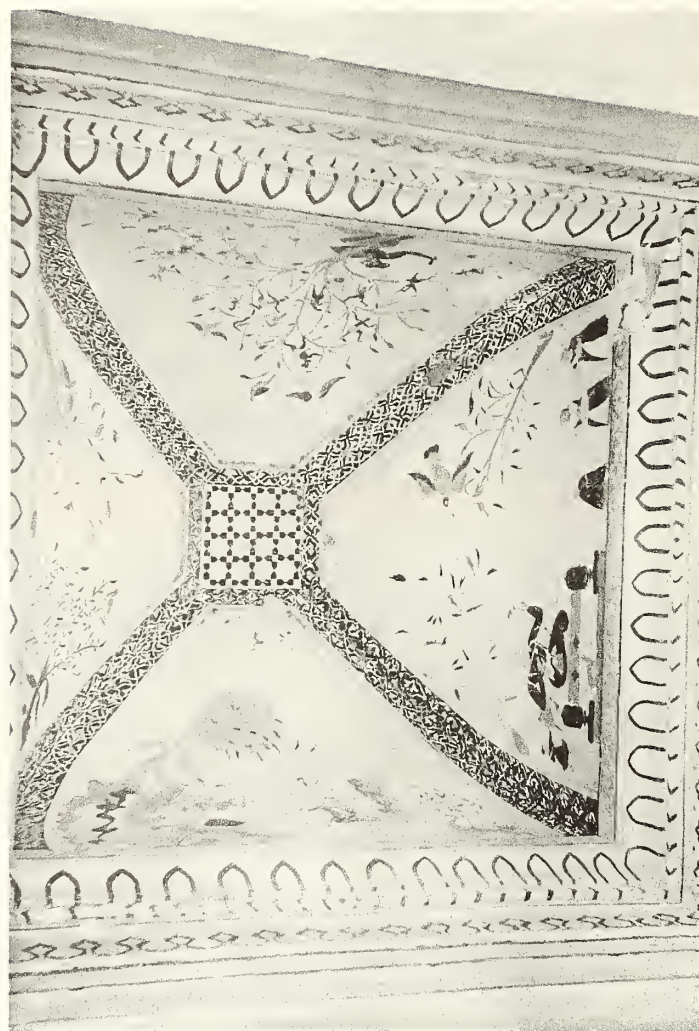


FIG. 4—THE CEILING IN ONE OF THE ROOF CHHATRIS

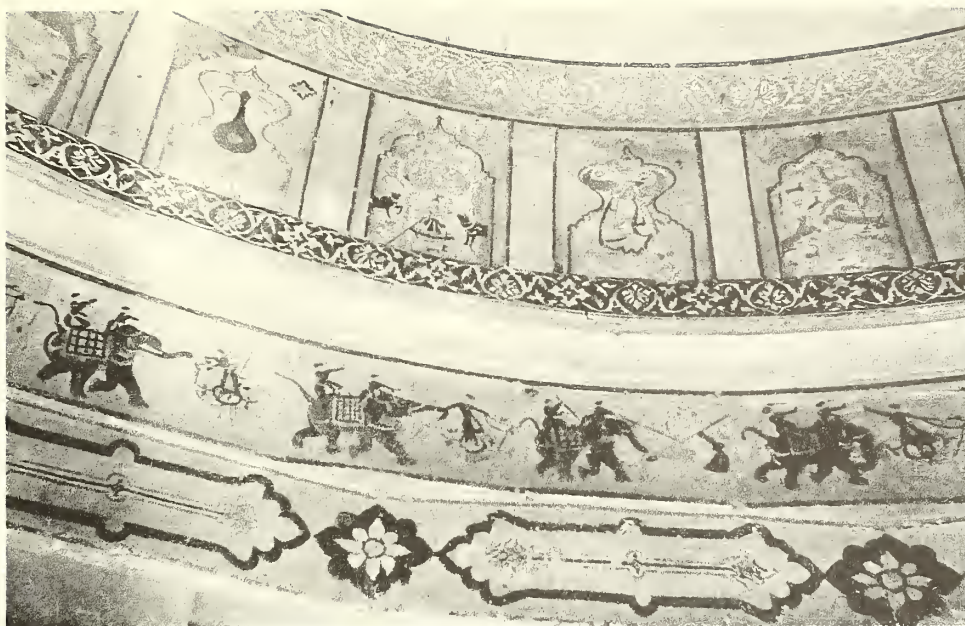


FIG. 6—MURAL IN THE CENTRAL DOME



FIG. 7—MURAL IN THE CENTRAL DOME

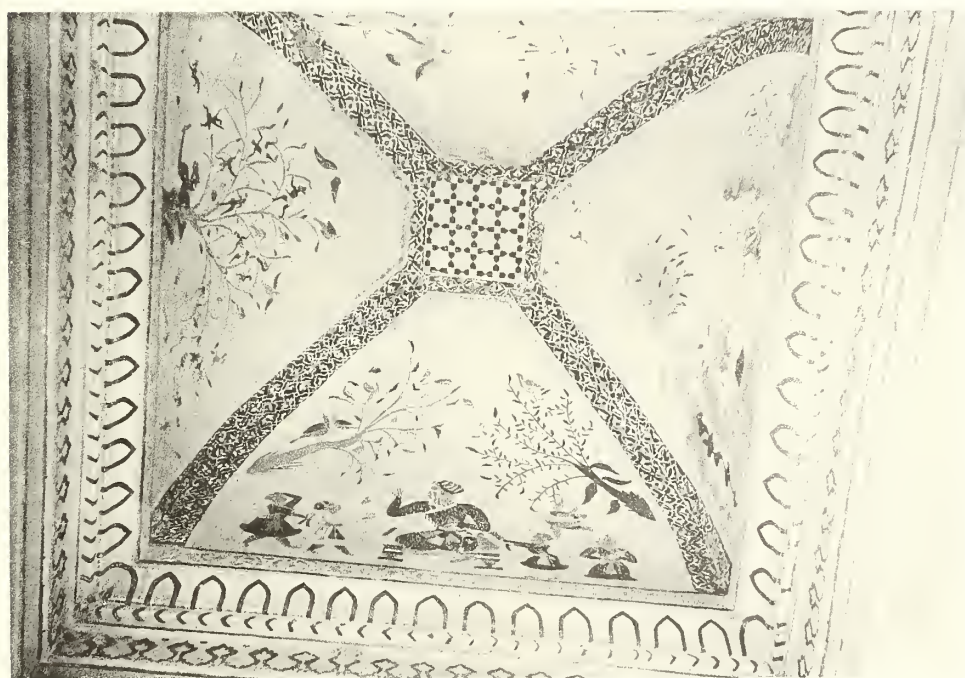


FIG. 8—AKBAR IN THE COMPANY OF YOUNG RAJPUT PRINCES

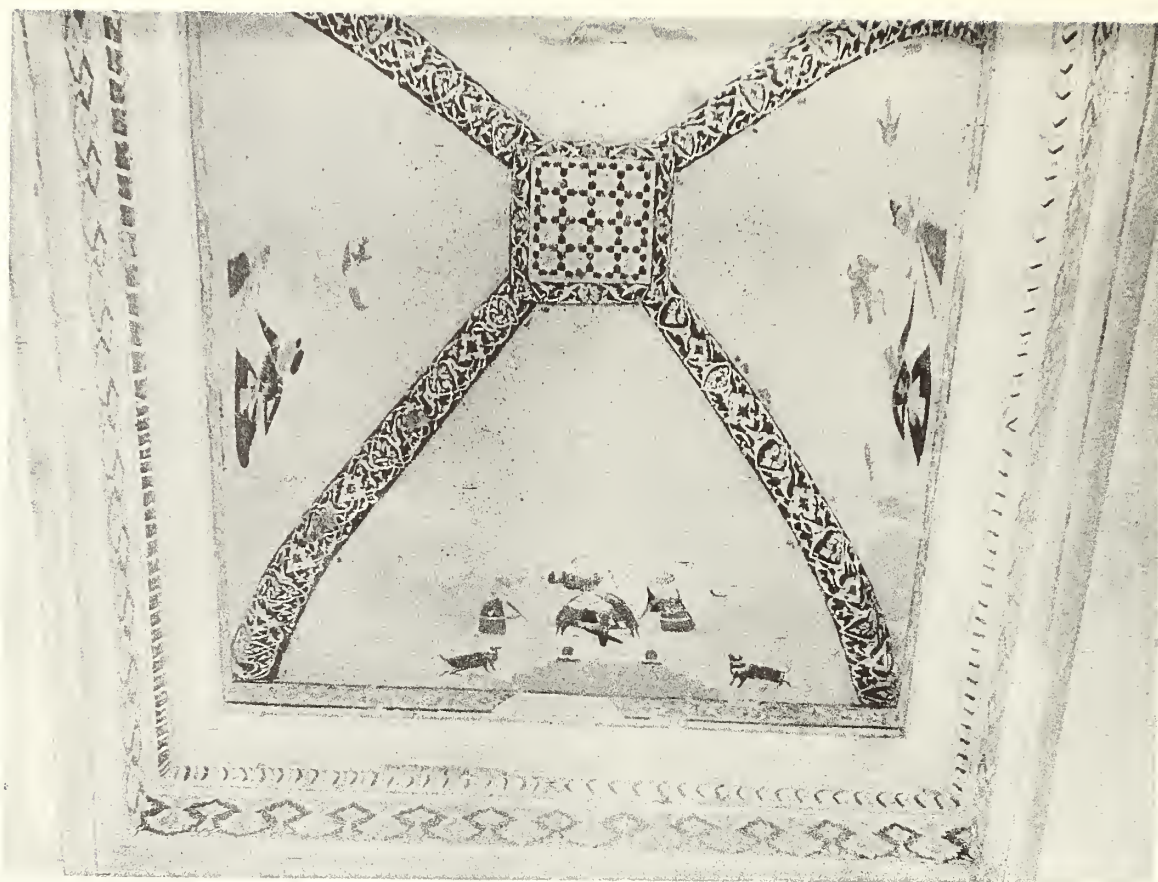


FIG. 9—KRISHNA BANSIDHĀR IN ONE OF THE CHHATRĪ CEILINGS



FIG. 10

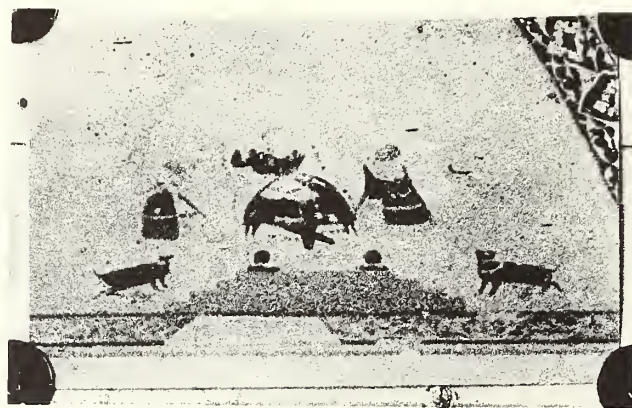


FIG. 11



FIG. 12



FIG. 13

FIGS. 10-13—FIGURE GROUPS FROM THE CHHATRĪ CEILINGS

the murals are accessible, the balconies are so narrow that it is very difficult to take photographs (*fig. 3*). Only the paintings in the interior of the domes on top of the building are still in good condition. But only the central dome and two of the *chhatris* possess such paintings. In the first they fill a frieze on top of the lintels and a series of niches above these (*figs. 6-7*). In the minor *chhatris* they cover the concave parallelogram sides of a blunted pyramid vault, framed by broad decorative bands in the Mughal taste (*fig. 4*).

Mr. Daya Ram Sahni has described them as scenes from the history of Akbar and Mān Singh. At least his identification of the persons depicted is highly probable, though no historical events are described anywhere. In one scene the protagonist figure, a man in his best years, has the characteristic appearance of Akbar (*fig. 8*), though the face is not well enough preserved to permit a detailed comparison with other known portraits of the emperor. But the fact that his costume closes under the right shoulder, and not, according to the Rajput fashion, below the left one, proves that he is a Mughal. His turban is the same as that worn by Akbar when he was in his forties. His imperious and energetic attitude, his athletic and yet slim figure, his self-controlled yet alert and free behavior, all fit exactly with what we know of the great emperor.

The other male figure, which recurs in most of the scenes (*figs. 4, 12, 13*), may be slightly older, toward the end of the forties or the beginning of the fifties, likewise energetic and vivid, but more heavily built, with all the signs of a beginning obesity, and a swarthy skin. All these characteristics we know of Mān Singh who, like his colleague Rāi Singh of Bikāner, became a very fat man in his later years.

Akbar is represented playing with some young Rajput princes (*fig. 8*). Mān Singh,

on the other hand, is depicted in the company of his ladies (*figs. 4, 12, 13*). Other scenes are devoted purely to female subjects. One mural depicts Krishna, the fluteplayer, between two gopis and two cows (*fig. 11*). Finally, the friezes around the central dome describe processions, elephant fights, wrestlers, hunters, etc. (*figs. 6 and 7*).

The costumes are those of Akbar's time. The men wear the *pagrī* in several varieties, more or less closely wound; the short *jāmeh* of strong material, standing off widely and ending in a plain seam or in one with four points hanging down, and tight trousers underneath. The female costume is either of the ordinary Hindu fashion—a striped skirt, a *choli*, a *sārī* often falling down in front in many folds, almost like the ends of the male belt—or it is very similar to the male one, but closed by means of two sets of tresses between the breasts. In some cases, which unfortunately are not preserved well enough for a definitive judgment, the ladies' costume that dominated the seventeenth century is already assuming shape, i.e., a wide overdress bound above the waist directly beneath the bosom, and, parallel with this latter group, pointed caps with the rim turned up. All these are remnants of men's earlier costumes, now changed into women's fashions of the upper classes.

The figures generally are set against a blank background. Their local setting is indicated only by trees and animals, especially monkeys and various birds in the minor ceilings. In the central dome there are elephants and horses; and in those of the *eyvān* arches, lions and dragons. However, all these motifs are treated very freely, almost arbitrarily. They are not intended as strict descriptions of nature, but as complementary ornaments. Trees either rise from the center of the picture base, their blossoming branches expanding like a vast arabesque (e.g., as on the famous *jālis* of Sidi Saiyad's Mosque at Ahmadabad), or

they spring diagonally into the picture, covering the figures with a sort of low arch. Birds, monkeys, and boys are set into this arabesque like the stressed ornaments of a carpet design, without regard to size and proportion. The animals on the frieze of the central dome and on the outer walls of the garden pavilion, finally, are treated in a more or less heraldic spirit.

This is merely one aspect of the general style of the murals. Scenes arranged in strips without depth and without real background, accessories filled in according to a purely decorative pattern, figures built up according to a system comparable to that of the old Egyptian reliefs, heads almost always in profile (the only exception being Śrī Krishna—see figure 11—where the concept of the darśan of an idol has enforced a view *en face*), the simplified, flowing lines, the pronounced simple color contrasts, all these are characteristics of Rajput art. Indeed, if we limit our observation only to the figures, more outstanding examples of pure Rajput art can hardly be found. Yet this is not the type of early Rajput painting to which we are accustomed. The figures are heavy, statuary, and, notwithstanding their vivacity, move in almost hieratic poses. The fluent and easy rhythm of later times had not yet developed. The lions and dragons do not fit in, but can be compared with pictures on encaustic tiles in Mān Singh's palace at Gwalior and in the Takht Maḥal at Bidar, or with heraldic reliefs such as are found in many Muslim gates of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The trees and birds remind one of Deccanī miniatures on one hand, and of the animals populating so many book illustrations of Akbar's later reign, and of Jahāngīr's earlier reign, on the other. Yet they are simpler than the latter and look more like their predecessors than later copies.

But this is not the only type of painting. In the blind niches in the drum of the central

dome, just above the already mentioned frieze of horsemen, elephant riders, wrestlers, etc., very different pictures, in a curiously uncertain and experimental manner, are inserted. Part of the scenes are no more than variations of what we have found on the other murals. But others are free transpositions of early Mughal decorations, hunting scenes looking like enlarged copies of niello work on jewelry or on arms, flying deities or dancing girls in a calligraphic outline technique remotely reminding one of very early Mughal drawings, but of a very different flow of lines and with figural concepts which seem taken from ancient Near Eastern art rather than from any known Indian tradition.

How old are these murals, and what is their position in the history of Indian art? Unfortunately we have no direct evidence. No inscription can be found anywhere in the building. Thus we have to rely on other considerations.

The garden house belongs to the early Mughal type of architecture, i.e., a purely Ṣafavī-Persian style enriched with chhatris such as the Lodis and Sūrīs had used. This type of architecture³ went out of fashion when Akbar started on his pro-Hindu policy and moved his capital to Fatḥpūr-Sikrī in A.D. 1573. The Boland Darwāzeh there probably is its last official monument. But in the provinces the style lingered on somewhat longer.

This must be the case also with the Bairāt garden house. As the murals prove, it had been erected for a Kachhwāha prince, most probably Mān Singh. However, a Rajput prince would hardly have ordered a building in a purely Mughal style before relations between Mughals and Rajputs had become very close. Furthermore, a Mughal architect would not have been available before Akbar made

³ S. K. Banerji, *The historical remains of the early years of Akbar's reign*, Journ. United Provinces Historical Society, vol. 15 (1942), p. 88 ff.

extensive use of Hindu architecture and did not need all the architects accustomed to the older manner. Thus we may regard the garden pavilion at Bairāt as approximately contemporary with Fathpur-Sikrī, i.e., of a time somewhere between ca. A.D. 1572/3 and 1585/6.⁴

In case we identify the chief figures of the murals with Akbar and Mān Singh, for which there is strong though not quite irrefutable evidence (see above), we arrive at approximately the same date. As Akbar was born in November 1542, and as the figure identified with Akbar seems to be in his forties, it would have been painted in the years between A.D. 1582 and 1590. The same applies to Mān Singh, born in A.D. 1535. Mān Singh became raja of Amber in A.D. 1592, but he was already a most influential person at Akbar's court. In A.D. 1589 he became governor of Bihar, Hajipur, and Patna; in A.D. 1591, also of Orissa; and in A.D. 1596 he built a big palace at Roh-tasgarh.⁵ We should thus assume that, if the garden house at Bairāt had been erected by him, this would have been done before he had to settle for many years in the east of the empire. Bairāt is not rich in monuments of that time, though one palace of the eighteenth century, at least, still stands in the town. Of Mān Singh's and Akbar's time there is only one other important monument, the Pārasnāth Temple, dated in Śaka Samvat 1509/A.D. 1587. It is built in a curiously unconventional manner: though its pillared porch still tries to imitate the medieval temple style, its interior is rather an adaptation of palace architecture, and the few figural reliefs in its court and mandapa form a direct parallel to the corresponding figures in the murals of the garden house. It appears, therefore, most probable that the

garden house and the temple belong to approximately the same period, i.e., the second half of the eighties of the sixteenth century.

We can even draw one more parallel. The murals in the tentative style in the blind niches of the central dome of the garden house are not so isolated as might appear. Similar murals are found in similar niches in the chhatris of Bhāramall and Bhagvantdās, Mān Singh's predecessors, on the Shahpura road outside the northeastern gate of Amber. Since Bhāramall died in A.D. 1584 (abdicated A.D. 1575), and Bhagvantdās in 1589, and chhatris generally were erected soon after the death of a ruler, the dates of their paintings cannot be much later.

We are, therefore, entitled to regard the Bairāt murals as the oldest datable Rajput paintings at present on record. They prove that, at least at Amber, a still comparatively virginal, yet fully developed school of Rajput paintings flourished in the later reign of raja Bhagvantdās. This fact is corroborated by the existence of numerous reliefs in a related style in most of the temples of Amber which range over all the sixteenth century and the early seventeenth century. Two such reliefs representing Rādhā and Krishna are found also in the Bairāt garden pavilion on both sides of the northern eyvān (fig. 2). Original miniatures in a very similar style, though not dated, are contained in the great Bhāgavata Purāna set in the Lallgarh Palace collection of H.H. the Maharaja of Bikaner.⁶ A later echo of the same style, however, already using the color of Shah Jahan's early reign, is the Rāgmālā album in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (Laud Or. 149).⁷ Closely related to both the Bairāt

⁶ H. Goetz, *Art and architecture of Bikaner*, Oxford, 1950, fig. 91.

⁷ O. C. Gangoly, *Ragas and Raginis*, Calcutta, 1935, pls. 64B, 73A, 78B, 80D, 103E; H. Goetz, *The Kachhwāha school of Rājput painting*, Bulletin Baroda Museum, vol. 4 (1949), p. 38, fig. 2; Basil

⁴ M. Ashraf Husain and H. L. Srivastava, *A guide to Fatehpur Sikri*, Delhi, 1947.

⁵ Muh. Hamid Kuraishi, *Ancient monuments in Bihar and Orissa*, Calcutta, 1931, p. 155 ff.

murals and the Bikaner Bhāgavata Purāna set are the Rajput features in the famous *Razm-nāmeḥ* manuscript in the Jaipur Pothi-Khāna which had been executed for Akbar in A.D. 1583–84.⁸ The murals of Bīr Singh Deo's palace (Jahāngiri Maḥal) at Orchha likewise represent a more refined development of the Bairāt type; the group of Krishna Bansidhār in both frescoes is almost identical. The sgraffito murals in his palace at Datia also are very similar to the reliefs in the Pārasnāth Temple at Bairāt. The big Raslilā relief in the staircase of Datia⁹ palace is a further elaboration of the same composition in the Bikaner Bhāgavata set and its individual figures are a variation of those in the Bairāt garden pavilion. As Bīr Singh Deo basked in the imperial favor in A.D. 1604 when Mān Singh had fallen into disgrace, and as he built his palace after the latter's death, when Amber temporarily relapsed into obscurity,¹⁰ it appears that Bīr Singh Deo Bundela had merely taken over the artists whom the declining Amber could no longer employ.

Most important, however, is the relationship of all these paintings to the Akbar school. It might be concluded that it was the Akbar style that was the source of all these Rajput paintings, but the fact is that before contact with the Rajputs the Mughal school was purely Persian, thus the features parallel with Rajput art first turn up only after this contact, especially with Amber. It is likewise a fact that in the miniatures of Akbar's time the Persian and Rajput elements are only superficially

amalgamated and that it is easy to isolate each of them. In the corresponding Rajput paintings, however, genuine Mughal features appear considerably later, occasionally after A.D. 1600, and more generally after ca. A.D. 1615. It is therefore evident that originally the Rajput tradition had enriched the Mughal style, whereas the reverse development set in only some decades later.

Finally, we have to come back to the key question: How old is Rajput painting, and where did it originate? If a fully developed Rajput style existed at Amber about A.D. 1585, we have to concede at least two to three decades, if not considerably more, for its growth. But Amber had been quite an unimportant state before its alliance with the Mughals, so we have to look for another center as the source of the Rajput style of painting. In another study this writer shall demonstrate that this source was the Gwalior of Mān Singh Tomār (A.D. 1486–1516). Gwalior had been a very active art center through most of the fifteenth century. Mān Singh's palace in Gwalior Fort had been a revolutionary achievement, an experiment in new style combinations not less many-sided than Akbar's amalgamation of styles in the architecture of Faṭḥpūr Sikrī. The musical style (Dhrūpad) developed at the court of Mān Singh had been no less a revolution. The fragmentary evidence that can be collected for the pictorial art under Mān Singh Tomār points to a similar change. It can be proved that after the fall of Gwalior the architectural and sculptural tradition of Mān Singh's court was taken over by Orchha and Amber. *Ex analogi*, we may therefore conclude that the new pictorial style of Gwalior was also taken up by them and became the source, on one hand, of Coomaraswamy's "Bundela Primitives," and on the other of the early Amber school, of which the Bairāt murals now represent the most important document, and likewise for the Hindu features in the Akbar school of Mughal painting.

Gray, *The art of India and Pakistan*, London, 1950, pp. 96, 110; H. J. Stooke and Karl Khandalawala, *The "Laud" Rāgmālā miniatures*, Oxford, 1952.

⁸ Th. H. Hendley, *The Razm-Nāma*, Jeypore, 1893.

⁹ H. Goetz, *Bundela art*, Journ. Indian Society Oriental Art, vol. 6 (Calcutta, 1938), p. 181 ff.

¹⁰ A.D. 1611–1615, Amber was left entirely without ruler; Mān Singh's next two successors were utterly worthless, and only under Mīrzā Rājā Jai Singh I (A.D. 1625–63) did the state recover.

QUELQUES OEUVRES SCULPTÉES EN BOIS, OS ET IVOIRE DE STYLE OMEYYADE

PAR H. STERN

IL N'EST PAS FACILE D'ATTRIBUER, POUR DES raisons de style seul, des oeuvres d'art à l'école omeyyade. L'art de cette école est difficile à définir : c'est un composé de styles du proche Orient, depuis l'Iran jusqu'en Afrique du Nord. En outre, les arts qui l'ont engendré, ceux de la Perse, de la Mésopotamie, de la Syrie, de la Palestine de l'Égypte, ne nous sont connus que de façon fort inégale et, dans la plupart des cas, fort fragmentaire. Les vicissitudes des temps et les hasards des découvertes archéologiques déterminent probablement nos connaissances.

Si, néanmoins, nous proposons d'attribuer à l'école omeyyade des oeuvres pour les raisons de *style* seul, nous le faisons par ce que les indices de cette appartenance nous paraissent particulièrement précis et, dans leur ensemble, particulièrement suggestifs. Nous voulons parler de deux vantaux d'une porte d'un couvent de Qaryatayn en Syrie et d'un groupe de sculptures en os et ivoire qui sont de provenance égyptienne.

I. LA PORTE DE QARYATAYN

Nous sommes au regret de ne pouvoir publier de cette porte qu'une photographie prise dans l'ouvrage de Th. Wiegand sur Palmyre.¹ Cette photographie permet une analyse du style, mais nous interdit de nous prononcer sur l'état de conservation exact et sur les détails techniques (*fig. 2*).

¹ *Palmyra, Ergebnisse der Expeditionen von 1902 und 1917*, Berlin, 1932, pl. 1. M. H. Seyrig, directeur de l'Institut français d'archéologie de Beyrouth, nous dit que cette porte a été classée comme monument historique par un arrêté pris en bonne forme et qu'elle se trouve actuellement entre les mains de S. E. le Cardinal Tappouni, patriarche syrien catholique d'Antioche, résidant à Beyrouth.

Il n'y a que deux auteurs, sauf erreur, qui ont fait allusion à cette porte. Le duc Johann Georg de Saxe l'a découverte. Dans deux articles² il a donné une brève description du site où cette porte se trouvait, de la porte elle-même, et une photographie de celle-ci. Wiegand a joint aussi à sa description une photographie,³ un dessin au trait⁴ et la photographie d'un panneau provenant de cette porte, qui appartenait alors à la collection F. Sarre, mais était déposé dans le musée de Berlin et publié dans le catalogue de cette collection (*fig. 3*).⁵

Qaryatain est une agglomération sise dans un oasis sur la piste de Damas à Palmyre, à 115 km à l'est-nord-est de Damas.⁶ La population en est dans sa majorité chrétienne-jacobite. Vers l'ouest du village, à une distance de 10 km, dans le désert, se trouve le vieux couvent de Mar Elyan (Deir Mar Elyan-Saint Julien) dans lequel, aujourd'hui encore (1930), les chrétiens de la région se réunissent une fois par an à la fête du saint titulaire.⁷ Le duc de Saxe attribue la construc-

² *Sadad, Karjeten und Hawarim*, Oriens christianus, 3e sér., t. 2 (1927), pp. 233-242; *Die Holz-türe in Deir Mar-Aelian in Syrien bei Karjeten*, *ibid.*, 3e sér., t. 3-4 (1930), pp. 59-63.

³ Nous la publions de préférence à celle du duc de Saxe. L'enduit de peinture qui recouvrait cette porte ne semble avoir été enlevé complètement que lors de la prise de vue par le photographe de Wiegand.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, pl. 2. Ce dessin est très insuffisant et paraît être fait, non pas d'après nature, mais d'après la photographie publiée.

⁵ O. Wulff, *Altchristliche und mittelalterliche, byzantinische und italienische Bildwerke*, Berlin, 1909, p. 79; 2e éd., par O. Wulff et W. F. Volbach (1930), p. 101.

⁶ Voir R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale*, Paris, 1927, pp. 262-264, 282, pl. C3 et XIV, B3.

⁷ Duc Joh. Georg de Saxe, *Sadad, Karjeten und*

tion des bâtiments de façon très générale au premier millénaire: "Semblable aux couvents coptes du désert, mais moins décoré et plus simple. L'édifice paraît plus ancien. Dans l'église, à l'entrée du sanctuaire, une vieille porte en bois (donc probablement porte d'une iconostase) qui appartient au VI^e siècle."

Wiegand ajoute les renseignements sui-

planches. Le vantail de gauche était suspendu plus haut que l'autre, d'où une impression de disparité⁸ qui ne se justifie nullement par le style. Il est exactement le même sur les deux battants. Les montants paraissent être en très mauvais état. Seul le montant intérieur de droite est intact, les trois autres sont coupés sur toute leur longueur d'un quart ou de la moitié

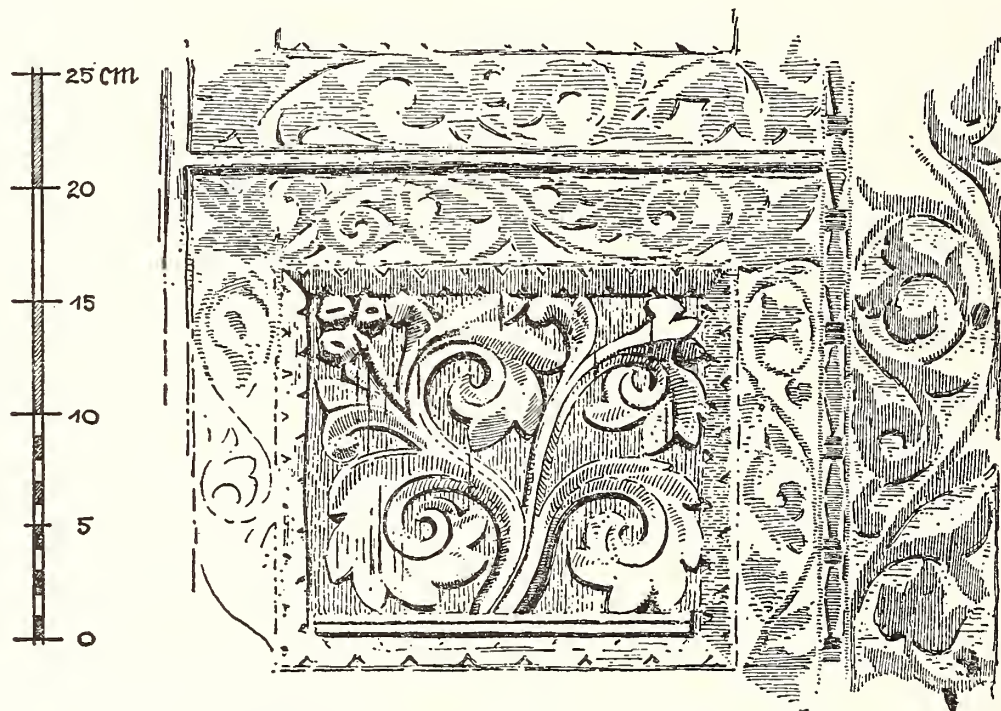


FIG. 1—PANNEAU DE LA PORTE DE QARYATAYN, RINCEAU DE VIGNE
(D'après Wiegand, *Palmyra*.)

vants: porte en bois, hauteur environ 2m10, bois de cèdre, un panneau à Berlin. La photographie qu'il publie permet de compléter cette description sur quelques points (*fig. 2*). Les deux vantaux étaient suspendus par des pentures de fer médiévales (ou plus récentes?) dans un châssis rudimentaire. Apparemment fort rongés en haut et en bas, ils sont complétés dans leur partie inférieure par de simples

Hawarim, p. 239. Photographies du couvent, pl. V, 3, 4.

de leur largeur et complétés par de simples planches.

Chaque vantail est divisé en cinq panneaux, trois carrés alternant avec deux rectangulaires dressés dans le sens de la hauteur (séquence: carré-rectangle-carré-rectangle-carré). Quatre sur cinq manquent à gauche, la moitié d'un à droite. Ils sont décorés d'animaux ou de motifs végétaux. La répartition des sujets paraît avoir été symétrique. Le panneau de Berlin,

⁸ *Idem*, *Die Holztüre in Deir Mar-Aelian*, p. 60.

qui se place dans le carré central de gauche, représente un lièvre (*fig. 3*), auquel correspond un lion à droite, c'est-à-dire un animal à un autre animal. Deux panneaux de chaque côté, le deuxième et le troisième du haut, portaient des animaux, les trois autres des plantes. On trouve celles-ci encore à droite : un plant de vigne en haut, un plant d'acanthé en bas (*fig. 1*), un grand fleuron dressé sur une tige dans le deuxième panneau du bas.

Ces panneaux sont encadrés par des chanfrins ornés, soit par un zigzag (*fig. 1*) sur le vantail de droite, soit, sur celui de gauche, par un motif zigzaguant aussi, mais formé de feuilles, les espaces entre les feuilles remplis par des petits motifs circulaires. Des bandes de rinceaux d'acanthé entourent les chanfrins. Les panneaux sont bordés sur toute la hauteur des battants par un chapelet de type classique (*fig. 2*). Les deux montants de chaque battant sont ornés de rinceaux d'acanthé mêlés de feuilles de vigne. Une asymétrie marquée se manifeste ici entre les deux vantaux. Le montant extérieur droit était couvert dans toute sa largeur d'un seul rinceau, celui du vantail gauche est divisé en *deux* bandes, séparées par un listel : la bande intérieure porte un rinceau du type décrit, la bande extérieure un rinceau d'acanthé sans feuilles de vigne.

Il s'agit là d'un décor dont ni la disposition d'ensemble ni la plupart des motifs n'ont quelque chose de particulier. Ils appartiennent à la tradition de l'art du proche Orient depuis l'époque classique jusqu'à l'époque musulmane. La souplesse des rinceaux et le vivant naturalisme des plantes et des animaux ont fait attribuer ces boiseries au V^e ou à la première moitié du VI^e siècle. Le duc de Saxe rappelle les portes de Sainte-Sabine de Rome et de Saint-Ambroise de Milan, mais surtout la chaire de Maximien de Ravenne dont le décor végétal et animal lui semblait le plus proche de celui de cette porte. Pour nous, ce décor est plus tardif et appartient à un milieu d'art

différent. Nous tenterons de justifier notre attribution par l'analyse qui suit.

A. *Le panneau au fleuron*. Le grand fleuron du panneau du bas, à droite, est un motif totalement inconnu dans les oeuvres d'art syro-palestiniennes antérieures à l'époque omeyyade. Il se trouve, au contraire, de façon courante, dans le décor des châteaux et des sanctuaires du premier art musulman. En voici la description : une forte tige, une sorte de tronc, dont la naissance est marquée par une feuille à trois lobes, supporte un fleuron formé de deux pétales, vus de profil. Deux demi-palmettes d'acanthé ornent ces pétales entre lesquels jaillit une petite feuille tripartite qui semble figurer les étamines. La même feuille tripartite se place en guise de calice à la naissance des pétales. Ceux-ci sont bordés à l'extérieur de longues demi-palmettes incurvées, deux autres, semblables, se déploient au-dessous d'elles. Leur naissance sur la tige est marquée par un anneau d'attache d'où retombent trois petites feuilles. Deux minces branches jaillissent symétriquement des deux côtés au-dessus de la base du tronc. Elles s'enroulent et se partagent pour se terminer par deux feuilles de vigne à trois lobes ; celle du bas se place dans l'enroulement de la branche.

Ce fleuron "sassanide"⁹ se retrouve sous une forme presque identique, bien que plus stylisé, dans le décor du château omeyyade Qaṣr el-Ḥair al-Gharbī (*fig. 4*) :¹⁰ fleuron à deux pétales, vu de profil, dressé sur une forte tige ; entre les pétales la petite feuille tripartite

⁹ L'origine sassanide de ce motif ne peut faire de doute. Cf. Marguerite van Berchem dans K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim architecture*, Oxford, 1933, vol. 1, p. 206 et suiv. ; E. Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien*, Berlin, 1921, p. 116 et suiv., figs. 30 et 31, en a étudié la genèse dans l'art sassanide.

¹⁰ Exécuté en stuc il orne la claire-voie d'une porte. Cf. D. Schlumberger, *Les fouilles de Qaṣr el-Ḥair el-Gharbī*, Syria, t. 20 (1939), pl. XLVI, 3.

qui figure les étamines.¹¹ Chacune des deux pétales ornée de la demi-feuille d'acanthé; la naissance du fleuron sur la tige marquée, comme à Qaryatayn, par un anneau d'attache d'où retombent trois petites feuilles. Deux branches en spirale, fortement endommagées, s'élançant symétriquement des deux côtés du tronc. Les éléments végétaux de ces branches sont évidemment différents de ceux de Qaryatayn : deux fleurons, semblables au fleuron principal, se placent dans un premier enroulement, deux autres, fermés, des boutons de fleurs, les surmontent. Mais ce n'est là qu'une différence de détail. La structure de la plante est la même.

R. W. Hamilton, dans une excellente étude sur le décor en stuc de Khirbat Mafjar a analysé les formes très diverses que ce motif adopte dans le décor d'un autre château omeyyade.¹² Il l'appelle tantôt *blossom* ou *flower*, tantôt *pomegranate-fruit*, selon l'aspect particulier qu'il revêt : le motif dessiné dans sa figure 63a est le plus proche du nôtre. C'est le même fleuron dont seule la forte tige manque. A Qaṣr al-Ṭūba, autre château omeyyade,¹³ le linteau d'une porte est orné d'un fleuron du même type,¹⁴ on le retrouve dans les triangles O, P, U, V de Mshattā.¹⁵ Dans les mosaïques du Dôme du Rocher il est le sujet exclusif du décor des écoinçons sur les arcades de l'octogone intermédiaire¹⁶ et il revient sur quelques chapiteaux du site al-Muwaqqar en Transjor-

danie,¹⁷ dont l'appartenance au khalife Yazīd a été démontrée par M. Hamilton.¹⁸

La fréquence de ce motif dans l'art omeyyade s'oppose à son absence totale dans l'art antérieur de la Syrie. Sur la porte de Qaryatayn il est un sûr indice de l'origine omeyyade de ces vantaux.

B. *Les autres panneaux à décor végétal.* Les plants d'acanthé et de vigne qui ornent les panneaux carrés en haut et en bas du vantail droit sont remarquables à deux égards (figs. 1 et 2). Le rinceau qui décore un champ rectangulaire ou une arcade, et non une bordure, ne fait son apparition dans l'art syrien, si nous ne nous trompons pas, qu'à l'époque omeyyade. Il orne les niches aveugles du château omeyyade Qaṣr al-Ḥair al-Sharkī,¹⁹ celles de la curieuse construction (porte fortifiée?) de l'acropole d'Amman,²⁰ qui est sûrement aussi omeyyade,²¹ plusieurs des panneaux sculptés en bois de la mosquée al-Aqṣā dont l'origine omeyyade ne peut faire de doute non plus²² et enfin les petites arcades sculptées d'un linteau de Qaṣr al-Abyad.²³

¹⁷ R. W. Hamilton, *Some eighth century capitals from al Muwaqqar*, QDAP, t. 12 (1946), pl. XXI, 10 et fig. 5a.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 70 et suiv.

¹⁹ Voir A. Gabriel, *Qasr el-Heir*, Syria, t. 8 (1927), p. 316, fig. 11 : rinceau de vigne dans une arcade aveugle.

²⁰ Voir la bibliographie dans Creswell, *op. cit.*, t. 2 (1940), p. 113, n° 9.

²¹ Voir la note de Nelson Glueck, *Archaeological exploration and excavation in Palestine, Transjordan and Syria during 1938*, The American Journal of Archaeology, t. 43 (1939), p. 154, qui mentionne un avis semblable de Bartoccini.

²² Voir G. Marçais, *The panels of carved wood in the 'Aqṣā mosque at Jerusalem* dans Creswell, *op. cit.*, t. 2, pp. 127-137, et *infra* n° 48.

²³ Sur Qaṣr al-Abyad, que nous considérons également comme un château omeyyade, voir notre article dans *Ars Islamica*, t. 11-12, p. 76. Le motif en question est reproduit dans C. J. M. de Vogüé, *Syrie centrale : architecture civile et religieuse du I^{er} au VII^e siècle*, Paris, 1865-77, t. 1, pl. XXIV, 1.

¹¹ Elle n'est conservée que par fragments, mais peut être reconstituée avec certitude par analogie avec les deux fleurons du bas où elle est parfaitement visible.

¹² R. W. Hamilton, *Plaster balustrades from Khirbat Mafjar*, Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine (par la suite : QDAP), t. 13 (1947-48), p. 48 et suiv., figs. 47, 48, 54c, 55a-c, 63.

¹³ Voir la bibliographie dans notre étude : *Notes sur l'architecture des châteaux omeyyades*, *Ars Islamica*, t. 11-12 (1946), p. 74, n. 10-12.

¹⁴ Creswell, *op. cit.*, t. 1, pl. 80a.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pls. 76, 78.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pls. 5-8, 11, 14, 17, 20.

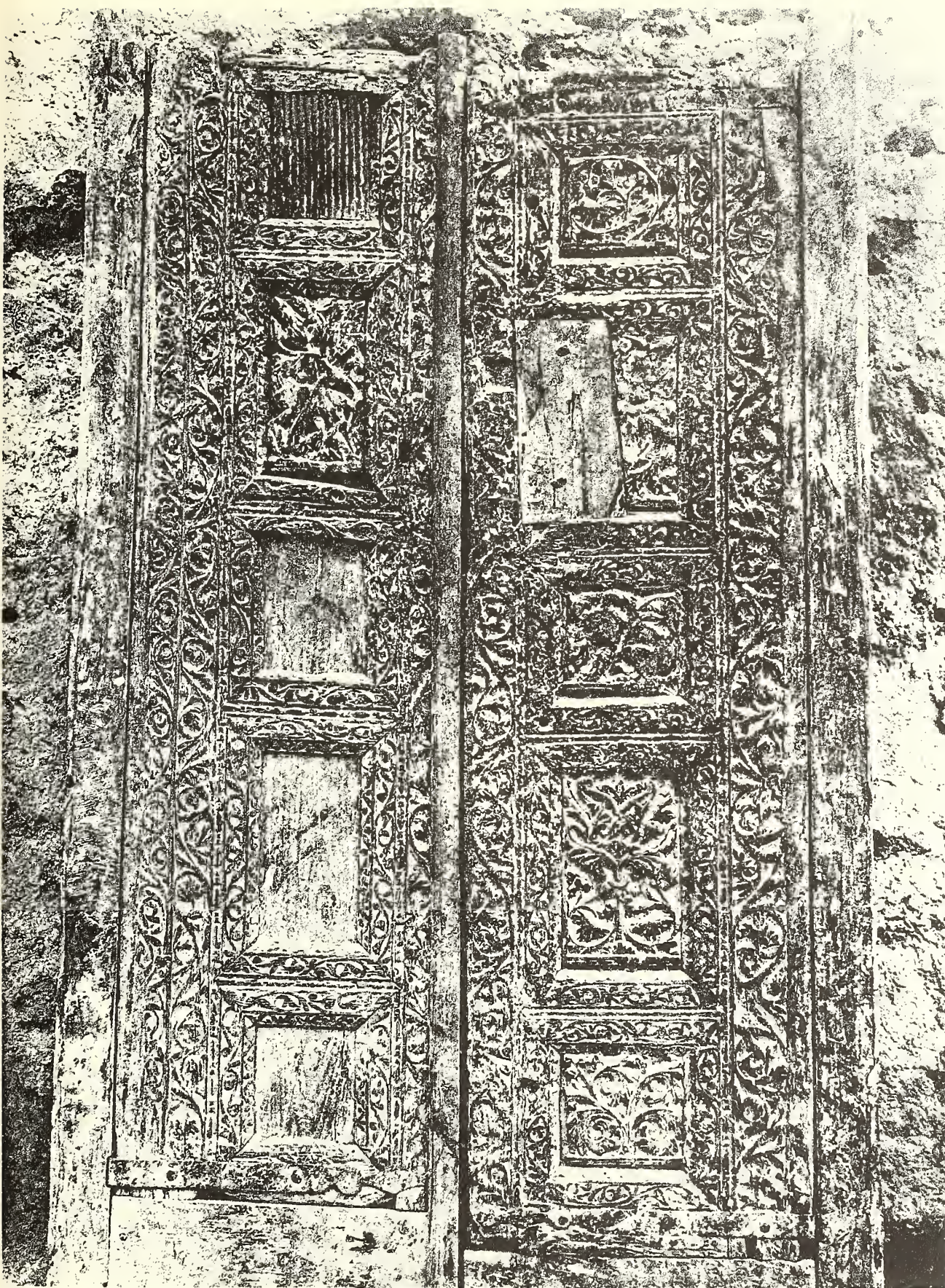


FIG. 2—LA PORTE DE QARYATAYN. (D'après Wiegand, *Palmyra*.)



FIG. 3—PANNEAU DE LA PORTE DE QARYATAYN, BERLIN.
(D'après Wiegand, *Palmyra*.)

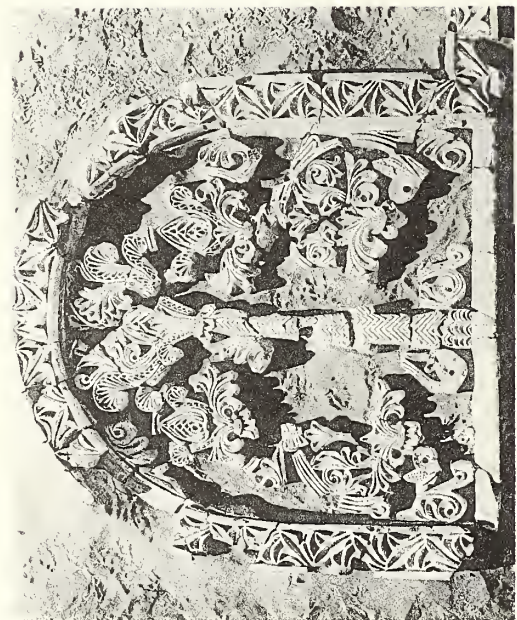


FIG. 4—CLAIREVOIE EN STUC, QAŞR AL-ĦAIR AL-GHARBI.
(D'après D. Schlumberger.)

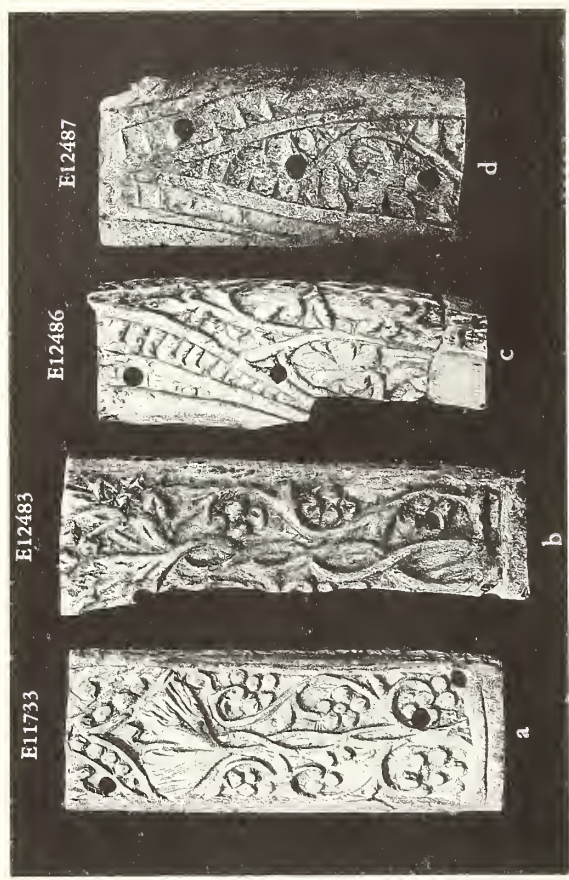


FIG. 5—PLAQUES EN OS, MUSÉE DU LOUVRE. a, E11733;
b, E12483; c, E12486; d, E12487. (Cliché du Musée.)

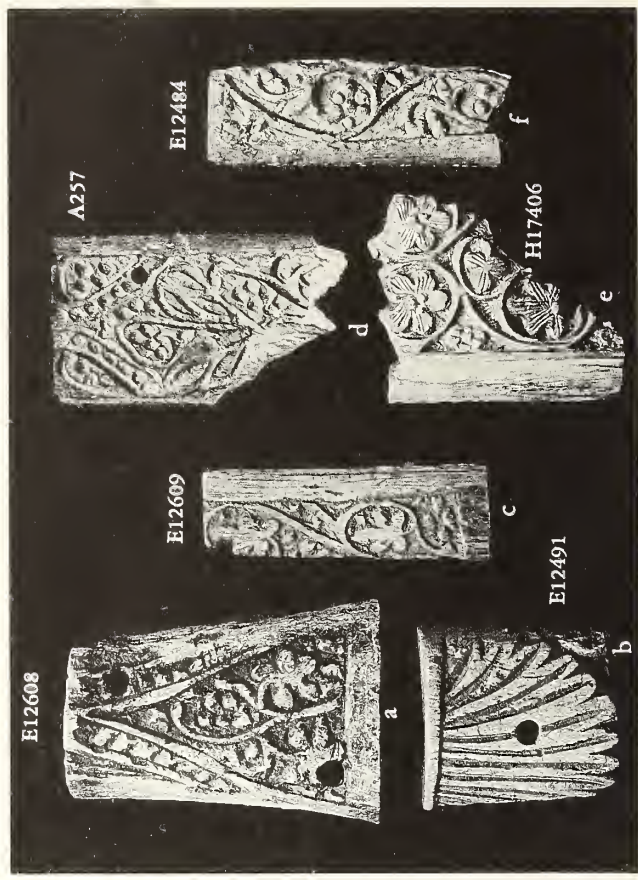


FIG. 6—PLAQUES EN OS DU MUSÉE DU LOUVRE. a, E12608;
b, E12491; c, E12609; d, A257; e, H17406; f, E12484.
(Cliché du Musée.)



FIG. 7—PLAQUES EN OS, MUSÉE DU LOUVRE. a, E12488; b, E12485; c, AF1120; d, E12610; e, E12489. (Cliché du Musée.)

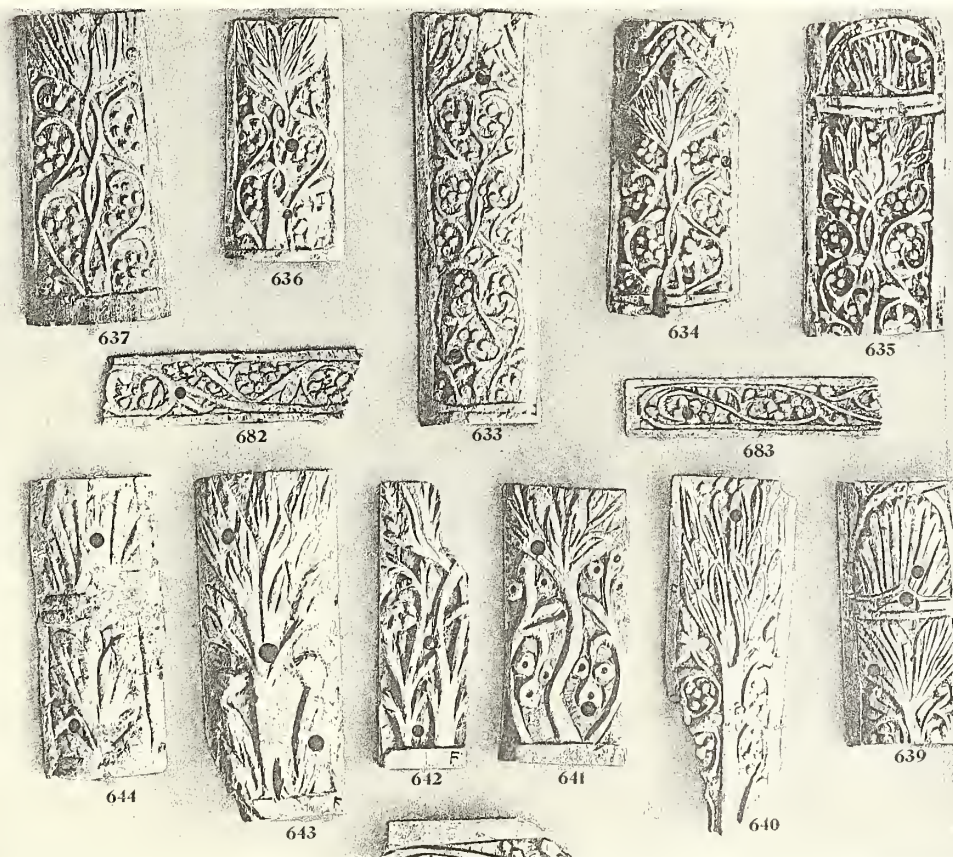


FIG. 8—PLAQUES EN OS, MUSÉE DE BERLIN. (D'après Wulff, *Bildwerke*.)

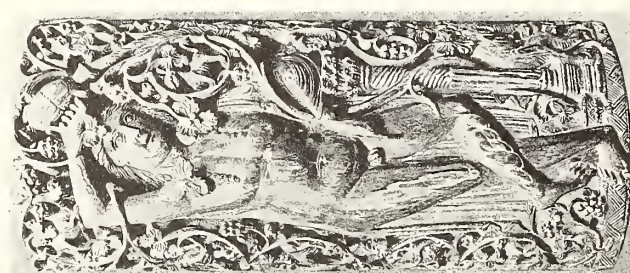


FIG. 14—RELIEF DE LA CHAIRE,
CATHÉDRALE D'AIK-LA-CHAPELLE.
(D'après W. F. Volbach.)

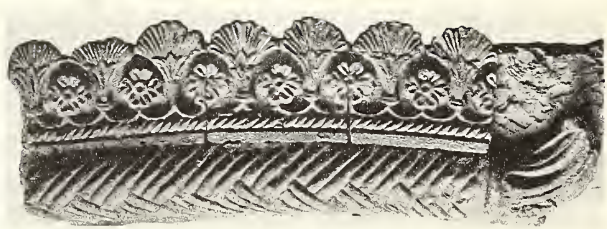


FIG. 16—ARC D'UN LIVAN DE CTÉ-
SIPHON. (D'après Zaccaria
Ktesiphon-Expedition.)

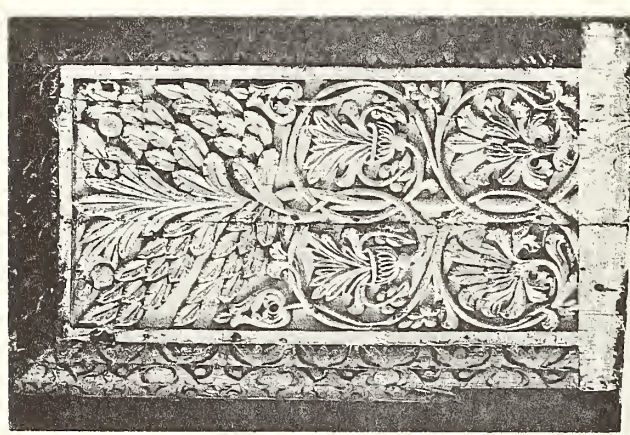


FIG. 13—BOIS SCULPTÉ, AL-AQSÂ, JÉRUSA-
LEM. (D'après Creswell, t.2.)



FIG. 15—IVOIRE, MUSÉE COPTE DU
CAIRE, N° 7115.



FIGS. 9-10—ANCIENNE COLLECTION FOUQUET (ÉBÈNE)

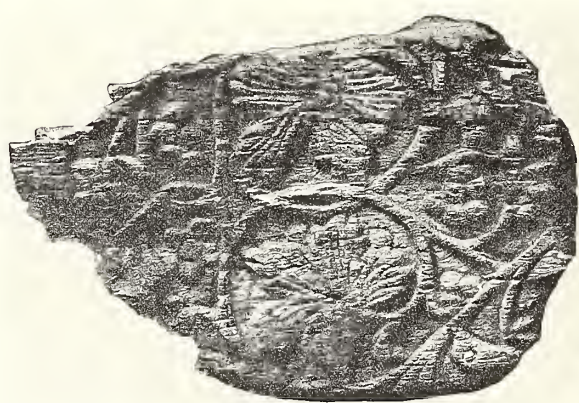


FIG. 12—MUSÉE DU LOUVRE (?) (IVOIRE)



FIG. 11—MUSÉE COPTE DU CAIRE,
N° 7115. REVERS (IVOIRE)
(D'après Strzygowski,
Koptische Kunst.)



FIGS. 9-12—PLAQUES (D'après Strzygowski, *Mschatta*.)

Un trait de l'un de ces rinceaux est tout particulièrement à retenir : celui du bas (*fig. 1*) associe l'acanthé avec une petite grappe de raisin formée de trois grains.²⁴ L'association de l'acanthé avec le raisin est une fantaisie qu'on ne rencontre que dans l'art omeyyade. Elle est fréquente dans les mosaïques du Dôme du Rocher,²⁵ se retrouve sur les panneaux sculptés de la mosquée al-Aqṣā²⁶ et dans le décor de Qaṣr al-Abyaḍ.²⁷ L'un des caractères distinctifs de l'art omeyyade est l'association arbitraire, et contraire à la nature, de plantes et de fruits de différentes espèces.

C. *Les animaux*. Peu de chose reste à dire sur les représentations d'animaux dont deux seulement sont reconnaissables sur les photographies. L'unique panneau conservé en place sur le vantail gauche représente un agneau qui tourne la tête (*fig. 2*). Il se tient parmi des branchages de vigne. Le duc de Saxe pensait y reconnaître un symbole chrétien. L'absence de tout attribut proprement chrétien sur cette porte nous fait écarter cette idée.

Sur le panneau central du vantail droit Wiegand reconnaît un lion accroupi derrière un plant de vigne (?). Le panneau supérieur à celui-ci n'est conservé qu'à moitié. Ce reste ne permet pas de déterminer le sujet.

Au contraire, la bonne conservation du panneau de Berlin (*fig. 3*) autorise à porter un jugement même sur le style. Le lièvre²⁸ se

trouve devant un cep de vigne dont une branche se termine par les trois grains de raisin cités plus haut. Plante et animal s'enlèvent dans un relief vigoureux sur un fond d'ombre. Le mouvement du lièvre qui broute est d'une grâce nerveuse, les contours de son cou et de son dos d'une grande souplesse.

De telles représentations d'animaux n'ont rien qui puisse surprendre dans une oeuvre chrétienne de Syrie de cette époque. La découverte de nombreuses mosaïques de pavement d'églises en Palestine, en Syrie et en Transjordanie a fait connaître d'innombrables sujets de ce genre.²⁹ Mais dans ce cas encore, une oeuvre omeyyade offre les analogies les plus étroites avec les images de cette porte. Sur l'un des plafonds du château de Qaṣayr 'Amra on voit sur un fond de losanges des animaux de toutes espèces.³⁰ Ce décor est évidemment le produit d'une tradition locale. Une mosaïque d'Antioche montre des animaux sur un fond de losanges.³¹ Mais la souplesse des mouvements, le vivant naturalisme de la porte, sont plus proches du style de la fresque que de la raideur un peu schématique de la mosaïque des V^e/VI^e siècles.

D. *Les cadres*. Deux groupes de motifs s'y distinguent. 1° Les zigzags qui ornent les chanfrins et le chapelet qui borde les panneaux (*fig. 2*). 2° Les rinceaux.

²⁴ Ces trois grains sont l'un des motifs favoris des praticiens omeyyades, cf. par ex. J. Strzygowski, *Mschatta*, Jahrbuch d. kgl. preuss. Kunstsammlungen, t. 25 (1904), figs. 69 et 70; à Khirbat Mafjar on ne trouve pas seulement dans la plupart des rinceaux ces petites grappes qui remplissent les vides. Les grains eux-mêmes sont marqués au milieu par un trou, exactement comme sur notre porte, cf. Hamilton, *Plaster balustrades*, *op. cit.* pls. VI, 9, XIX à droite, XXII à droite, figs. 40, 43, 62a, b, et ailleurs.

²⁵ Creswell, *op. cit.*, t. 1, pls. 19a, 31a, et ailleurs.

²⁶ Panneaux Est, 2, 8, 11, *ibid.*, t. 2, pls. 25 et 26.

²⁷ Voir n° 23.

²⁸ Wiegand considère cet animal comme un chevreuil.

²⁹ Pour la Syrie nous pensons à la mosaïque de Kabr-Hiram, découverte par E. Renan. On trouvera une bibliographie complète à son sujet dans le *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* de F. Cabrol et de H. Leclercq s.v. *Kabr-Hiram*. Pour la Palestine on consultera l'inventaire des mosaïques publié par M. Avi-Yonah, *Mosaic pavements in Palestine*, QDAP, t. 2 (1932), pp. 136-162; t. 3 (1933), pp. 26-73, et t. 4 (1934), pp. 187-193. Pour la Décapole voir les publications de G. M. Fitzgerald et de C. H. Kraeling; pour la Transjordanie, celles de S. J. Saller et B. Bagatti, O. F. M.

³⁰ Cf. Creswell, *op. cit.*, t. 1, pl. 49, a, b.

³¹ Antioch-on-the-Orontes, *The Excavations of 1933-36*, ed. R. Stillwell, Princeton, London, The Hague, 1938, t. 2, pl. 47, n° 62.

Les premiers n'ont aucun caractère particulier. Ce sont des motifs de l'art gréco-romain depuis des siècles. Retenons cependant le zigzag qui est formé de deux feuilles ovales, l'espace entre les feuilles rempli par un motif circulaire. C'est un ornement de prédilection des artistes omeyyades pour décorer les abaques des chapiteaux.³²

Le rinceau est plus intéressant (figs. 1, 2). Il y en a de deux sortes sur la porte : un large et très beau, à l'abondant feuillage, où des feuilles de vigne se mêlent à l'acanthe plus ou moins stylisé (montants des vantaux, sauf la bande extérieure de gauche) ; un rinceau plus frêle et plus linéaire, d'une grande finesse, se trouve sur les cadres des panneaux. Mais la structure des deux groupes est la même. Les ondulations de la tige principale sont étirées. Chacune est remplie par les enroulements d'une branche secondaire qui se partage en deux spirales. Au point de bifurcation jaillit une petite feuille lancéolée. Ce type de rinceau se retrouve sur une arcade de l'un des panneaux sculptés de la mosquée al-Aqṣā ;³³ il sera aussi celui de l'art musulman des siècles à venir.³⁴

A notre connaissance, cette forme du rinceau était absente de l'art syrien avant les Omeyyades. Les seules œuvres où il est préfiguré ont été trouvées en Egypte. On peut y suivre son évolution. C'est tout d'abord un rinceau assez lourd, aux ondulations serrées,

³² Par ex. à al-Muwaqqar (Hamilton, *Capitals from al Muwaqqar*, QDAP, t. 12, fig. 5) ; cf. aussi, *Khirbat Mafjar. Stone sculpture, I*, QDAP, t. 11 (1945), pl. XIV, 20, 21 ; mais les petits cercles manquent.

³³ Creswell, *op. cit.*, t. 2, pl. XXV, E9.

³⁴ Cf. par ex., E. Pauty, *Les bois sculptés jusqu'à l'époque ayyoubide, Catalogue générale du Musée arabe du Caire*, Paris, 1931, pl. III, en particulier n° 1307 ; R. W. Hamilton a décrit (*Khirbat Mafjar, Stone sculpture, II*, QDAP, t. 12 (1946), p. 2 et suiv., pl. 2A et fig. 23 ; cf. *ibid.*, t. 6, p. 157 et pl. 45, 1), un rinceau semblable de Khirbat Mafjar, mais qui est plus proche des rinceaux du type syrien.

qui occupe entièrement le fond de la bordure.³⁵ Puis, il devient plus souple, les branches s'étirent et se déploient plus librement. L'un des exemples les plus proches des rinceaux de Qaryatayn orne les chanfrins de la porte ancienne de l'église Sainte-Barbara du Vieux Caire qu'on peut attribuer au VI^e siècle.³⁶ Mais les rinceaux de Qaryatayn, par la souplesse de leur mouvement, sont plus proches des œuvres arabes du VIII^e et du IX^e siècle que de celles de l'époque pré musulmane.

Il ne nous reste qu'un mot à dire sur la composition d'ensemble de ces vantaux. Le duc le Saxe les a comparés à ceux de Sainte-Sabine de Rome, de Saint-Ambroise de Milan et de Sainte-Barbara du Vieux Caire. Ce sont les portes chrétiennes les plus anciennes en bois sculpté qui soient conservées. Celle de Saint-Ambroise de Milan est attribuée à la fin du IV^e siècle,³⁷ celle de Sainte-Sabine serait un peu plus tardive (première moitié du V^e siècle) ;³⁸ enfin la porte de Sainte-Barbara daterait du début du VI^e siècle.³⁹ Toutes les trois montrent la structure de la porte de Qaryatayn : disposition en panneaux carrés et rectangulaires. Mais les ressemblances s'arrêtent là. Aussi bien à Milan qu'à Rome les bandes décoratives

³⁵ Cf. par ex. G. Duthuit, *La sculpture copte*, Paris, 1931, pl. 22b, sculpture du V^e siècle, et E. Breccia, *Le Musée Gréco-Romain d'Alexandrie*, Bergame, 1931-32, n° 1051, pl. 41.

³⁶ Musée copte du Caire, n° 738 du *Guide sommaire du Musée copte*, par Marcus H. Simaica Pacha, Le Caire, 1937, pls. 71 et 72. Cf. A. Patricolo et U. Monneret de Villard, *La chiesa di Santa Barbara nel Vecchio Cairo*, Florence, 1922, que nous n'avons pu consulter. Voir la photographie dans Creswell, *op. cit.*, t. 1, fig. 483 et p. 388, n° 9. Sur la date voir E. Kitzinger, *Notes on early Coptic sculpture*, *Archaeologia*, t. 87 (1937), p. 212 et suiv.

³⁷ A. Goldschmidt, *Die Kirchentür des hl. Ambrosius in Mailand*, Strasbourg, 1903, p. 24.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 24 et suiv. et J. Wiegand, *Das altchristliche Hauptportal an der Kirche der hl. Sabina*, Trèves, 1900, p. 110 et suiv.

³⁹ Kitzinger, *op. cit.*

qui forment les cadres des panneaux, sont profilées selon la tradition classique. A Sainte-Barbara, il n'y a pas de profils, mais les panneaux sont séparés par des surfaces vides, non décorées. Les vantaux de Qaryatayn, au contraire, sont entièrement couverts d'ornements, laissant à peine à des listels la place de s'intercaler entre les panneaux. C'est là encore un trait typique du style omeyyade. A Mshattā, à Khirbat Mafjar, à Qaṣr al-Ḥair, les façades sont entièrement couvertes d'ornements qui s'étendent sur les surfaces comme des tapis. Aucune distinction n'est faite entre le décor des profils et des surfaces planes.

Résumons: quelques uns des motifs qui ornent la porte de Qaryatayn sont nettement omeyyades. D'autres, pour ne pas être aussi caractéristiques, sont également très fréquents dans cet art. Enfin, l'association de motifs d'origine sassanide (fleuron), syrienne et égyptienne, la combinaison arbitraire de plantes de toutes sortes, la surcharge des surfaces par un décor qui la couvre dans toutes ses parties, caractérisent le premier art musulman de la région. Tout concorde pour attribuer ces deux vantaux à l'époque omeyyade. Les oeuvres de cette école s'échelonnent de la fin du VII^e au milieu du VIII^e siècle (le dernier khalife omeyyade est détrôné en 749). C'est à cette époque que la porte de Qaryatayn a dû être exécutée.

Nous ignorons si elle a été destinée pour l'endroit où elle se trouvait il y a quelques années. Les rares indices que nous possédons permettent cependant de le supposer. D'après le duc de Saxe le couvent de Mar Elyan aurait été construit vers le milieu du premier millénaire. Aussi la porte pouvait elle s'y trouver à son emplacement primitif. N'oublions pas non plus que Qaryatayn est situé dans une région où l'activité des architectes omeyyades était grande. Le château de Qaṣr al-Ḥair al-Gharbī se trouve à 42 km à l'Est-Nord-Est de Qaryatayn, R. Dussaud signale que, selon Ya'qūbī, le

khalife Hishām ibn 'Abd al-Malik se fit construire un palais à Qūṭaiyifāh, à 75 km à l'Ouest-Sud-Ouest de Qaryatayn.⁴⁰ Ce bourg se place donc entre deux sites omeyyades; on ne s'étonnera pas que l'activité des ateliers princiers voisins y ait laissé des traces.

Nous avons eu l'occasion d'attribuer une autre oeuvre chrétienne, les mosaïques de la nef de l'église de la Nativité de Bethléem à un atelier omeyyade.⁴¹ La porte de Qaryatayn prend place dans ce groupe d'oeuvres qui, pour nous, marquent les contacts artistiques entre les chrétiens et les musulmans de Syrie durant la fin du VII^e et dans la première moitié du VIII^e siècle.

II. LES SCULPTURES EN OS ET IVOIRE

Les autres objets que nous voudrions attribuer à l'école omeyyade sont d'une espèce très différente. Ce sont d'abord de petites plaques sculptées en os et en ivoire (une seule est d'ébène) dont on trouve des échantillons dans la plupart des grands musées.⁴² Ensuite

⁴⁰ Dussaud, *Topographie*, *op. cit.*, p. 282.

⁴¹ H. Stern, *Les représentations des conciles dans l'église de la Nativité à Bethléem*, I et II, Byzantion, t. 11 (1936), pp. 101-152 et t. 13 (1938), pp. 417-459; *Nouvelles recherches sur les représentations des conciles dans l'église de la Nativité à Bethléem*, Cahiers archéologiques, t. 3 (1948), pp. 82-105.

⁴² Nous pensons aux n^{os} 7115 et 8860-8867 du Catalogue du Musée copte du Caire (J. Strzygowski, *Koptische Kunst*, Vienne, 1904); aux n^{os} 617-687 du Catalogue du Musée de Berlin (O. Wulff, *op. cit.*); aux n^{os} E 11733, E 12483-12489, E 12608-12610, A 257, AF 1120 et HI 7406 de la collection copte du Musée du Louvre que nous avons pu étudier et que nous publions ici (*figs. 5-7*), grâce à l'obligeance de M. Vandier, conservateur en chef du département des antiquités égyptiennes, et de son collaborateur, le R. P. P. du Bourguet, et enfin aux n^{os} 521-1891, 522-1891, 1924-1897, 1925-1897, 1175-1904, 1239-1904, A18-1926 du *Catalogue du Victoria and Albert Museum*, cf. *Catalogue of carvings in ivory, part 1*, par Margaret H. Longhurst

six reliefs d'ivoire aussi, qui ornent la chaire de la cathédrale d'Aix-la-Chapelle.

A. *Les plaques d'os et d'ivoire.* Ces petits objets d'une valeur artistique tout à fait médiocre ont été étudiés par J. Strzygowski,⁴³ qui les a rapprochés du décor de Mshattā, sans évidemment tirer de son étude des conclusions sur leur origine omeyyade. Pour lui, ni Mshattā ni les oeuvres apparentées n'étaient d'époque musulmane. Wulff de son côté a bien proposé leur attribution à l'école omeyyade, mais sans la justifier.

Des connaissances plus précises et plus étendues sur cet art nous permettent, semble-t-il, de trancher dans la plupart des cas la question sans difficulté.

Nous n'entreprendrons pas l'analyse de tous les ornements de ces fragments. L'étude de quelques motifs suffira pour déterminer le style et la date approximative du groupe tout entier qui est d'un caractère très homogène.

L'arbre associé avec le rinceau de vigne. Parmi ces motifs, l'arbre autour duquel s'enroulent des rinceaux de vigne, est l'un des plus fréquents et des plus caractéristiques (fig. 5, a et b).⁴⁴ On en distingue deux variantes: 1° Un arbre au tronc assez fort, à la cime feuillue est accompagné de chaque côté d'un cep de vigne⁴⁵ qui remplit le fond (fig. 8, n°s 640-643). 2° Ce même arbre se divise un peu au-dessus

(London, 1927), p. 23 et suiv., figs. 4 et 5; une pièce de la collection Fouquet au Caire, a été publiée par Strzygowski dans *Mschatta*, figs. 80 et 81 (elle est en ébène). Le même auteur, *ibid.*, fig. 83, a publié une tablette d'os qui appartiendrait à la collection du Louvre; je n'ai pu la retrouver (fig. 12). Voir aussi *infra*, n° 78.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 305 et suiv.

⁴⁴ Strzygowski, *Koptische Kunst*, n° 8865, fig. 263, p. 200; Wulff, *op. cit.*, n°s 634-643, pl. 28; Strzygowski, *Mschatta*, fig. 80, et *Hellenistische und koptische Kunst in Alexandria*, Vienne, 1902, pls. 1/2, n° 2075; Louvre, E 11733 et 12483 (fig. 5, a et b); Victoria and Albert Museum, A 18-1926.

⁴⁵ Berlin, n°s 640-643.

du pied en deux branches qui forment un entrelacs. Chacune des branches porte un bouquet de feuillage. De chaque côté de l'arbre un rinceau de vigne remplit le fond (figs. 5a et b, 8, n°s 634-637, 9)⁴⁶ ou enlace l'arbuste.⁴⁷

Il est évident que tous les objets qui portent ce motif appartiennent à la même école. Or, nous n'en connaissons, en dehors des sculptures que nous avons citées, qu'un seul exemple. Il se trouve sur l'un des panneaux sculptés de la mosquée al-Aqsā (fig. 13).⁴⁸ Il y a bien des différences qui, en partie, s'expliquent par les dimensions plus importantes et l'exécution beaucoup plus soignée de ce panneau, mais les traits essentiels du motif n'ont pas été altérés.⁴⁹

L'arbre se divise sous sa cime en deux branches dont chacune porte un abondant feuillage. Deux bouquets s'élancent de chaque côté, un cinquième se dresse au milieu. Deux rinceaux, portant des grappes de raisin, des touffes d'acanthe et deux petits gobelets, surgissent des deux côtés du pied de l'arbre et s'enroulent en deux larges spirales autour de son

⁴⁶ Berlin, n°s 634-637, Le Caire, n° 8865; Louvre, E 11733 et 12483 (fig. 5, a, b); Victoria and Albert Museum, A 18-1926, fig. 5, p. 25.

⁴⁷ Pièce de la collection Fouquet (fig. 9).

⁴⁸ Creswell, *op. cit.*, t. 2, pl. 25, E 8. G. Marçais dans son étude de ces panneaux: *The panels of carved wood in the 'Aqṣā mosque at Jerusalem*, pp. 127-137, a laissé planer un doute sur l'origine omeyyade de ces panneaux, *op. cit.*, p. 137. R. W. Hamilton, de son côté, les a attribués, pour des raisons extérieures au style et qui découlent pour lui de l'histoire architecturale de la mosquée al-Aqsā, à l'époque de la reconstruction abbasside, c'est-à-dire aux règnes d'al-Manṣūr et d'al-Mahdī (773/80), voir *idem*, *The structural history of the Aqsa mosque* (Jerusalem, Oxford, 1949), p. 83 et suiv., en particulier p. 92 et suiv. Nous espérons montrer bientôt ailleurs que cette attribution ne peut-être maintenue. Les panneaux sculptés de la mosquée al-Aqsā sont du plus pur style omeyyade et appartiennent sûrement à la construction d'al-Malik qu'on date des années 709/15.

⁴⁹ Cf. aussi les arbres semblables, mais dépourvus de rinceaux de vigne dans les mosaïques du Dôme du Rocher, Creswell, *op. cit.*, t. 1, pls. 12b, 12c, 13c.

tronc. L'arbuste sur l'ébène de la collection Fouquet (*fig. 9*) est le plus proche de celui-ci. Mais sur toutes ces sculptures il ne s'agit que de variantes d'un seul motif dont l'invention par les décorateurs omeyyades paraît probable, sinon certaine.

Nous ne pensons pas, pour autant, qu'ils l'aient créé de toutes pièces. Wulff a rappelé à juste titre⁵⁰ que sur une mosaïque de Mādabā⁵¹ un grenadier à sept branches feuillues est enlacé par deux ceps de vigne qui partent du pied de l'arbre. Il préfigure le motif que nous venons d'analyser. Mais comme pour les peintures d'Amrah, nous mesurons ici toute la distance qui sépare les oeuvres omeyyades de leurs modèles. Les formes figées et schématiques de la mosaïque ont pris une souple élégance. En outre, l'arbre de la mosaïque chrétienne est l'arbre de vie du paradis; c'est un *symbole*, qui évoque un *paysage*. Dans l'art omeyyade c'est un *ornement* qui est employé au même titre que des rinceaux ou des entrelacs. Aucune idée de paysage ne s'y rattache. Les artistes omeyyades donnent aux motifs traditionnels un caractère ornemental, ils les transforment dans un esprit nouveau.

Les rinceaux de vigne. La plupart de ces plaques sont ornées de rinceaux de vigne. On y trouve des rinceaux simples et des rinceaux doubles, jaillissant de vases ou surgissant de la ligne du sol. Une particularité en a attiré l'attention de Strzygowski. Elle nous paraît, à nous aussi, très importante. Sur quelques unes de ces tablettes⁵² la feuille de vigne est ornée de grains de raisin (*figs. 9-12*). C'est

là un motif typiquement omeyyade⁵³ qui ne se trouve pas, sauf erreur, auparavant dans l'art du proche Orient.

Il ne faut modifier l'opinion de Strzygowski, qui a saisi l'importance de ce motif, que sur un point: contrairement à son avis le groupement des grains sur les feuilles n'obéit à aucune règle. On y trouve ou trois ou cinq grains, ou des grappes entières et même d'autres fruits.⁵⁴

Dans ce cas aussi, il semble s'agir d'un motif de tradition syrienne, modifié et "standardisé" par les artistes omeyyades.⁵⁵

Le cep de vigne qui monte librement et s'enroule en une ou deux spirales a été décrit plus haut.⁵⁶ Sur quelques unes de ces plaques (*figs. 5c, d, 6a, 7b*)⁵⁷ sa forme est très proche du rinceau (*fig. 2*) qui orne un panneau de la porte de Qaryatayn, et des plants d'acanthé du linteau de Qaşr al-Abyaḍ.

Une particularité d'un seul de ces rinceaux mérite que nous nous y arrêtions encore un instant. Sur le fragment n° 641 de Berlin (*fig. 8*) deux ceps montent de chaque côté d'un arbre: les tiges de ces ceps portent trois grains, marqués au milieu par un trou. Un *seul* grain est attaché à l'extrémité de la tige, les deux

⁵³ Le caractère *omeyyade* de ce motif est évident: il ne se recontre, dans l'art monumental, qu'à Mshattā (cf. Strzygowski, *Mshatta*, p. 307), à Khirbat Mafjar (Hamilton, *Plaster balustrades*, *op. cit.*, fig. 41, p. 34 et pl. 20 en bas) et sur les panneaux de la mosquée al-Aqṣā; cf. Creswell, *op. cit.*, t. 2, pl. 27, W19.

⁵⁴ *Khirbat Mafjar, al-Aqṣā, op. cit.*

⁵⁵ Sur une mosaïque d'Antioche, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, t. 2, pl. 74, n° 91, des feuilles de lierre portent des fruits. Le motif a été repris sans modification dans les mosaïques du Dôme du Rocher, Creswell, *op. cit.*, t. 1, pl. 24 f. Les feuilles de vigne ornées de fruits des décors omeyyades sont évidemment inspirées par ce modèle.

⁵⁶ *Supra*, p. 122, par. B.

⁵⁷ Par ex., Wulff, *Bildwerke*, n. 660-664; Musée du Louvre, E 12486 (*fig. 5c*), E 12487 (*fig. 5d*), E 12608 (*fig. 6a*), E 12485 (*fig. 7b*).

⁵⁰ Wulff, *op. cit.*, I^{re} éd., p. 144.

⁵¹ Cf. P. M. Séjourné, *L'Éliane de Madaba*, *Revue biblique*, t. 6 (1897), p. 652, et *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, s.v. *Madaba*, fig. 7427.

⁵² Aux trois pièces que Strzygowski a publiées et que nous reproduisons d'après lui dans nos figures 9-12, il faut ajouter le n° 616 du Musée de Berlin et le n° HI 7406 du Musée du Louvre (*fig. 6e*).

autres se placent beaucoup plus bas sur les côtés de la tige et ne paraissent pas être reliés à celle-ci. La même configuration des trois grains se retrouve exactement dans les stucs de Khirbat Mafjar.⁵⁸ C'est là encore un trait de style qui rapproche ce fragment des décors omeyyades.

Quant aux rinceaux d'acanthé un coup d'oeil sur les n°s 8860-8863 du Musée du Caire,⁵⁹ les n°s 671-687 du Musée de Berlin⁶⁰ et le n° E12484 du Musée du Louvre (*fig. 6, f*) montre que nous avons à faire au même type que sur la porte de Qaryatayn.

Compte tenu de toutes ces analogies nous ne doutons pas de l'origine omeyyade de ces petites sculptures. Le fait nous paraît intéressant au delà de la simple attribution de quelques objets insignifiants à une école d'art déterminée. Il prouve que l'art des sculpteurs égyptiens a subi l'influence des ateliers omeyyades. L'art de la cour des premiers khalifes paraît avoir été un véritable "art d'empire" (Reichskunst) qui s'est propagé d'une extrémité à l'autre de ce vaste territoire.

B. *Les reliefs d'Aix-la-Chapelle.* M. Volbach a réuni récemment la bibliographie des six reliefs qui ornent la chaire de la cathédrale d'Aix-la-Chapelle.⁶¹ Il les attribue, à la suite de Strzygowski, à l'Égypte. On les date généralement des V^e/VI^e siècles; D. Levi propose sans commentaire le VI^e ou le VII^e.⁶² A notre avis aussi, Strzygowski a démontré l'origine égyptienne de ces ivoires.⁶³ L'analogie entre les deux reliefs de Bacchus (*fig.*

14)⁶⁴ et une face de l'ivoire n° 7115 du musée du Caire (*fig. 15*) paraît en effet si étroite, malgré la qualité beaucoup plus grossière de ce dernier, que l'origine égyptienne des pièces d'Aix ne peut faire de doute.

Or, le revers de l'ivoire du musée du Caire est orné d'un rinceau (*fig. 11*) dont le pendant presque exact se trouve à Mshattā. Strzygowski l'a montré et en a réuni d'autres exemples.⁶⁵ Les rinceaux se trouvent tous sur des plaques d'os ou d'ivoire égyptiennes. Il ne reste qu'à préciser ces analogies qui paraissent démontrer l'origine omeyyade des pièces d'Aix-la-Chapelle.

Deux rinceaux forment une succession d'ovales, leurs points de jonction marqués par des fleurons à six pétales (*figs. 10-12*). À l'intérieur de ces ovales deux pédoncules forment deux spirales. Celles-ci se terminent par des feuilles de vigne sur lesquelles se détachent trois grains de raisin. La jonction des spirales peut se faire par un anneau d'attache sur lequel se dresse une feuille trilobée (*fig. 11*). Nous avons trouvé cet anneau sur la porte de Qaryatayn.⁶⁶ Il est fréquent aussi sur les panneaux de la mosquée al-Aqṣā.⁶⁷ On ne trouve que des différences secondaires entre le motif de Mshattā et celui de l'ivoire du Caire (*fig. 11*): sur ce dernier les rinceaux jaillissent d'un vase et des oiseaux se jouent dans les branches, tandis qu'à Mshattā tous ces accessoires manquent.

⁶⁴ Volbach, *op. cit.*, n°s 73 et 74.

⁶⁵ *Mshatta*, p. 305 et suiv. Parmi les stucs de Khirbat Mafjar, il y en a plusieurs qui présentent un motif très semblable; cf. Hamilton, *Plaster balustrades*, *op. cit.*, pl. 22 à droite, *figs. 6, b-d*, p. 47; cf. aussi AF 1120 du Musée du Louvre (*fig. 7c*), qui est une variante de ce motif.

⁶⁶ *Supra*, p. 122, par. B.

⁶⁷ Cf. Creswell, *op. cit.*, t. 2, p. 131, *fig. 128*, en particulier W2 et E4: c'est le même anneau d'attache surmonté d'une feuille à trois lobes. Nous avons affaire à un motif d'origine sassanide qui a connu une rare fortune dans l'art omeyyade.

⁵⁸ QDAP, t. 13, pl. 20 à gauche, pl. 21 en bas, pl. 23 à gauche, *fig. 14*, p. 14.

⁵⁹ Wulff, *op. cit.*, p. 198 et suiv.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pls. 27 et 28.

⁶¹ W. F. Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spätantike und des frühen Mittelalters*, 2^e éd., Mayence, 1952, n°s 72-77, p. 45 et suiv., pls. 24 et 25.

⁶² D. Levi, *Antioch mosaic pavements*, Princeton, 1947, t. 1, p. 104.

⁶³ Strzygowski, *Hellenistische und koptische Kunst in Alexandria*, pp. 17-70.

Sans doute, la succession d'ovales formés par des rinceaux de vigne, les points de jonction étant marqués par des fleurons, est-elle un motif traditionnel de l'art du proche Orient à l'époque post-classique. On la retrouve sur la porte ancienne de l'église Sainte-Barbara du Vieux Caire, elle remonte donc au moins au VI^e siècle. Mais en comparant le décor de cette porte chrétienne à nos exemples on mesure le chemin parcouru en deux siècles. Sur la porte la disposition des feuilles et des grappes est naturaliste, sur les sculptures, au contraire, un schéma ornemental figé se modifie à peine d'une oeuvre à l'autre.

Une conclusion découle de ces rapports entre les petites sculptures et le décor de Mshattā. L'ivoire du Caire paraît être le produit d'un atelier sous influence omeyyade, les deux reliefs de Bacchus de la chaire d'Aix-la-Chapelle paraissent donc l'être également. Le fait est confirmé par d'autres détails. Sur les deux reliefs de Bacchus on découvre les trois grains de raisin posés sur une feuille de vigne qui sont comme la marque d'une origine omeyyade (*fig. 14*).⁶⁸ Sur d'autres feuilles la tige se termine par une sorte de bouton, autre particularité du décor de Mshattā.⁶⁹ Enfin, la base du relief de Bacchus qui verse le contenu d'une cruche⁷⁰ est formée par une tresse d'osier. Or, sur les panneaux E1, E6 et E9 de la mosquée al-Aqṣā⁷¹ le même motif orne les fûts des colonnettes; à al-Muwaqqar il décore le tailloir d'un chapiteau.⁷²

L'analyse de l'art omeyyade n'est pas encore assez avancée pour que nous puissions indiquer les origines et la diffusion de chaque motif. Celui que nous venons de caractériser paraît provenir de l'art sassanide. Nous ne

l'avons rencontré qu'à Ctésiphon: il orne le profil de l'arc d'entrée d'un livan (*fig. 16*).⁷³

Enfin le contraste est frappant entre le naturalisme des rinceaux de vigne et le style sec et schématique des personnages sur les reliefs d'Aix. Ce contraste aussi est un trait particulier des oeuvres omeyyades. Le plus grand nombre de sculptures figurées de cette école a été trouvé à Khirbat Mafjar. Les ornements de ce château sont d'une diversité et d'une richesse rares. Une véritable "renaissance" du décor gréco-romain s'y manifeste. Les personnages, au contraire, sont d'un style rigide;⁷⁴ ils conservent la tradition de l'art nabatéen. M. Avi-Yonah a étudié cette survivance du style "oriental" en Palestine⁷⁵ et E. Kitzinger en a montré la continuation dans l'art copte.⁷⁶ Or, les ivoires d'Aix-la-Chapelle montrent la curieuse juxtaposition d'ornements naturalistes et de personnages très stylisés qui caractérise l'art omeyyade.⁷⁷

Résumons: L'ivoire du Musée du Caire (*fig. 15*), très proche des deux reliefs de Bacchus d'Aix-la-Chapelle, doit être attribué à l'école omeyyade en raison de la forme du rinceau de vigne qui le décore (*fig. 11*). Les reliefs d'Aix appartiendraient à la même école en raison de leur parenté avec l'image de

⁷³ Voir *Die Ausgrabungen der zweiten Ktesiphon-Expedition*, 1931/32, Berlin, 1933, fig. 24.

⁷⁴ R. W. Hamilton, *The Sculpture of living forms at Khirbat al Mafjar*, QDAP, t. 14 (1950), pp. 100-120.

⁷⁵ M. Avi-Yonah, *Oriental influence in Palestine art*, QDAP, t. 10 (1945), pp. 105-151, et t. 13 (1947), pp. 128-165.

⁷⁶ Kitzinger, *op. cit.*

⁷⁷ M. W. F. Volbach insiste dans une lettre sur la différence de style entre les reliefs de Bacchus et d'Isis (n^{os} 72-74) et les trois autres (n^{os} 75-77). Elle paraît en effet très sensible. On verrait volontiers dans les trois premiers des oeuvres fortement influencées par l'art omeyyade, dans les trois derniers des travaux nettement plus "coptes." Mais tous les six appartiennent sûrement à la même époque et probablement au même atelier.

⁶⁸ *Supra*, p. 127, ligne 4 et suiv.

⁶⁹ Strzykowski, *Mshatta*, p. 307.

⁷⁰ Volbach, *op. cit.*, n^o 73.

⁷¹ Creswell, *op. cit.*, t. 2, pl. 25.

⁷² Hamilton, *Stone sculpture II*, QDAP, t. 12, pl. 21, 2a et b, fig. 11b, p. 68.

Bacchus de la plaque du Caire. Cette attribution est confirmée par d'autres particularités des ivoires d'Aix-la-Chapelle: feuilles de vigne ornées de trois grains de raisin, bande tressée à la base de l'un des deux reliefs, contraste marqué entre le naturalisme des rinceaux et le style rigide des personnages. Il y a toutes chances que ces reliefs aussi soient les oeuvres d'un atelier égyptien qui a subi l'influence du style omeyyade.

ADDENDUM

Durant la mise sous presse du présent article j'ai eu l'occasion d'examiner une plaque d'ivoire du Musée Bénaki d'Athènes ⁷⁸ (fig. 17) qui appartient, par les motifs de son décor et par son style, au groupes des sculptures d'os égyptiennes que nous avons étudiées. Cette plaque prend cependant une place à part par sa matière, ses dimensions (environ 15 x 10 cm) et par sa haute qualité artistique.

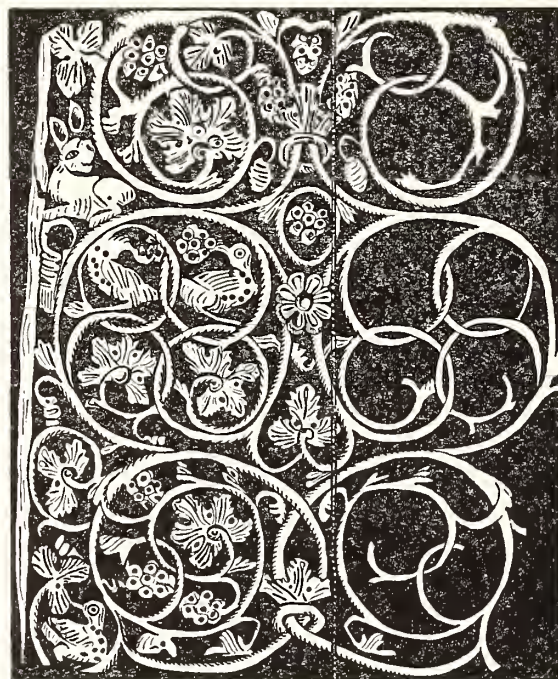
La moitié gauche seulement en est conservée.⁷⁹ Elle était ornée de deux rinceaux de vigne qui, en trois enroulements, montaient symétriquement des deux côtés d'une ligne

⁷⁸ Publiée pour la première fois par G. Migeon, *Manuel d'art musulman*, 2e éd., t. I, Paris, 1927, fig. 146, p. 339. K. A. C. Creswell, *Coptic influences on early Moslem architecture*, Bull. de la Société d'archéologie copte, t. 5 (1939), pp. 29-42, a reproduit cette pièce, pl. Va, sans en connaître la publication par Migeon. Il la considère, ainsi que toutes les plaques citées, comme pré-omeyyade et pense que les artistes musulmans ont cherché leur inspiration dans l'art copte. Or, il n'y a que deux groupes de documents qui présentent ces motifs, les oeuvres omeyyades citées et les petites plaques d'Égypte. Une influence exercée par ces dernières, produits insignifiants d'artisans, paraît beaucoup moins probable qu'un rayonnement des brillants décors des châteaux princiers omeyyades. Le Musée Bénaki possède une quarantaine de plaques non publiées du type des nôtres.

⁷⁹ Je n'ai pu l'examiner sur place que très rapidement. Aussi ne sais-je s'il en manque seulement la partie droite ou si elle est mutilée aussi en haut et en bas.

médiane idéale. Trois oiseaux et un lapin se jouent dans le rinceau conservé.

Des grains de raisins sont posés sur les feuilles. Des anneaux d'attache du type décrit plus haut ⁸⁰ relient les deux rinceaux. Une petite feuille tripartite surmonte ces anneaux comme sur le panneau W2, les panneaux 2, 3 des poutres d'angle de la mosquée al-Aqṣā ⁸¹



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FIG. 17—PLAQUE D'IVOIRE DU MUSÉE BENAKI, ATHÈNES

et sur l'arc triomphal de Mshattā.⁸² Une autre particularité rapproche cette composition plus particulièrement du décor de Mshattā: l'anneau d'attache alterne avec une rosette à six ou huit lobes. Dans l'écouillon au-dessous de cette rosette deux petites tiges secondaires forment une sorte de lyre et se rejoignent en une feuille de vigne trilobée. La même lyre,

⁸⁰ *Supra*, fig. 2 et p. 121, par. A, ligne 19.

⁸¹ Hamilton, *The structural history*, op. cit., pls. LI et LXX.

⁸² Strzygowski, *Mschatta*, fig. 73.

mais renversée et remplie par une grappe de raisin, orne l'écoinçon du haut. Ces *lyres* au même endroit et remplissant la même fonction, figurent dans le rinceau de l'arc triomphal de Mshattā que nous venons de citer, et sur plusieurs des panneaux sculptés de la mosquée al-Aqṣā.⁸³

Les enroulements principaux sont remplis par d'autres, plus petits, quatre au milieu, deux en haut et en bas, qui forment de véritables entrelacs. Je ne connais aucun rinceau de ce type dans l'art pré-islamique. Au contraire, le rinceau à entrelacs est un motif

de prédilection des décorateurs omeyyades (comme des sculpteurs d'os d'Égypte). On en trouve de fort semblables sur les panneaux de bois d'al-Aqṣā: deux enroulements enlacés à l'intérieur d'une grande spirale y sont de règle.⁸⁴

Il ne peut y avoir de doute pour nous: cette plaque est un échantillon intéressant de l'art mineur omeyyade d'Égypte. Elle montre mieux que les autres fragments, insignifiants pour la plupart, l'ascendant pris par l'art des occupants musulmans sur les créations artisanales du pays du Nil.

⁸³ Hamilton, *Structural history*, pls. LI 2W, LIII 5E, LXVI W, LXX 1.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, pls. LVII 9W, LVIII 10W, LXVIII S, LXX 4. Cf. le type un peu différent de pl. LII 3E.

NOTES ON THE LUSTERWARE OF SPAIN *

BY RICHARD ETTINGHAUSEN

TO ERNST KÜHNEL ON THE OCCASION OF HIS SEVENTIETH BIRTHDAY

UNTIL RECENTLY, A STUDENT OF HISPANO-Moresque pottery had to find pertinent information about the various wares in a great number of specialized books and articles. In a recent, well-illustrated publication of the Hispanic Society of America on *The Lustreware of Spain* (New York, 1951), Mrs. Alice Wilson Frothingham now combines the hitherto available data with her own many observations and thus presents us with a very valuable new book on the most important and certainly the most splendid group of Spanish pottery made under Muslim rule or in Mudejar style. Beginning with finds of the earliest imports from the Near East, the author proceeds with lengthy discussions of the main productions in Andalusia and Valencia and concludes with a chapter on the final decline of the industry in a few provincial centers. The subject is treated

* The author wishes to thank M. Henri Seyrig for allowing him to publish a terra-cotta figurine from his collection and for making available to him several photographs of Palmyrenean tesserae; Mr. A. U. Pope and Dr. Phyllis Ackerman for permission to reproduce and discuss a pottery fragment in their collection; Mr. Carl Raswan for some unique photographs of the *Markab* of Ruwalā Bedouins; Don Leopoldo Torres Balbas, the Emir Maurice Chéhab, Professor Ernst Kühnel, Dr. Ernst Petrasch, M. Daniel Schlumberger, Miss Dorothy G. Shepherd, Mrs. Adèle Coulin Weibel, and the authorities of the National Museum in Stockholm for photographs kindly supplied for this article and for additional information about them; Dr. George C. Miles for valuable suggestions; the authorities of the Hispanic Society of America for permission to reproduce figures 1, 8, and 13 from Mrs. Alice Wilson Frothingham's book, *Lustreware of Spain*, and finally, Miss M. Eleanor Morsell of the Freer Gallery of Art, who made the drawings for text figures 1 to 4.

from many angles and historical, aesthetic, technical, and economic questions are taken up whenever necessary. The material is, however, so complex and the study of it so recent that it is not yet feasible to exhaust every issue. In the following a few observations are put forward to supplement the data presented by Mrs. Frothingham.

I. THE LUSTER FRAGMENT FOUND IN MADĪNAT AL-ZAHRĀ'

The earliest group of luster pieces found on Spanish soil includes a tenth-century fragment which came to light in the excavation of Madinat al-Zahrā' and is still kept in the little museum there (*pl. 1, fig. 1*). The type of pottery is well known in the Near East and there is still no reason to doubt (following the stylistic and technical arguments of E. Kühnel)¹ that it should be essentially attributed to Iraq rather than to Iran, as Mrs. Frothingham does. There is, furthermore, some documentary evidence of imports of Iraqi wares into Muslim Spain in the tenth century and later. One report for the year 998 speaks of Iraqi "couca" (using a word for jug which reflects the Arabic الكوزة *al-kūzah*),² and there are

¹ E. Kühnel, *Daten zur Geschichte der spanisch-maurischen Keramik*, Jahrbuch der asiatischen Kunst, vol. 2 (1925), p. 170; *idem*, *Die 'abbāsīdischen Lüsterfayencen*, *Ars Islamica*, vol. 1 (1934), p. 158. More recently the same opinion was held by A. Lane, *Early Islamic pottery*, London, 1947, p. 16: "The monochrome lustre-ware of Baghdad was exported . . . even to Medina Azzahra in southern Spain," and pls. 12 and 13.

² R. Dozy et W. H. Engelmann, *Glossaire des mots espagnols et portugais dérivés de l'arabe*, 2d ed., Leyde, 1869, p. 96.

several other literary references to valuable Iraqi jugs or glass vessels that reached Spain.³ There is also the Spanish word *alcarraza* which is said to have derived from the Iraqi dialect word الكراز *al-kurrāz* or *al-karrāz*, "pitcher, bottle," and which has most likely been introduced into Spain by Iraqians who brought with them vessels of this type.⁴ The importation of the particular luster piece of which this fragment is the last remnant, and of a few others like it found in Madinat al-Zahrā', is therefore not a unique occurrence.

Mrs. Frothingham is correct in assuming that the decoration on the fragment represents a camel. It is even possible to reconstruct the general scheme of the whole piece, since there is a bowl in the Detroit Institute of Arts (No. 25.44) which obviously has a closely related design: a decorated camel carrying on its back a large litter or palanquin in conjunction with a very conspicuous flag (*pl. 1, fig. 5*). This scene is executed in both cases in identical style and with identical details: not only is there the same animal head in profile with its large staring eye, but the same kind of necklace with a "peacock eye" design, the same stippled interstitial background pattern created by short, blunt strokes, leaving undecorated "contour lines" around the main motifs, and the same festooned edge along the rim. Thus there seems to be little doubt that the fragmentary motif behind the animal's neck can be explained as the large litter or *howdah* (Arabic: *hawdaj*) carried by the camel. The only inconsequential differences between the two designs seem to be that the large pennant was in one case fastened in front of, and in the other behind, the litter, and in the fragment found in Spain there is a decoration with a large crescent just above the animal's head, which is missing in the Detroit piece.

Attention should be called to another bowl

now in the City Art Museum of St. Louis, the work of one (A)bū Hammār (?), whose signature (now damaged) is to be found in the foot of the piece. The design of this bowl, though fragmentary and restored, is nevertheless preserved in its basic elements and can therefore be used in this discussion (*pl. 1, fig. 6*). It belongs to the same general group as the fragment from Madinat al-Zahrā' and the bowl in Detroit, but it represents, quite obviously, a somewhat later and, in any case, derivative stage. If we compare the camels, we can see that the design has become more detailed (see, for instance, the drawing of the head and its various features), but at the same time the expressiveness of the simplified silhouette style has weakened. One has only to compare the feet of the animals to understand this, but the drawing of the neck and the mass of the body shows the same tendency. A detail such as the necklaces on the camels in the two pieces demonstrates also that the artist of the St. Louis bowl must have worked in a later period than his colleague. Finally, the St. Louis bowl shows a much larger background design, the so-called "peacock eyes," which is more conspicuous than the short strokes of the Detroit piece. What interests us in this connection, however, is not so much the drawing of the camels, which was referred to only to establish the derivative character of the St. Louis piece, but rather the unusual tripartite decoration on the camel and the flag behind it. These two features (and also the large roundel in the middle of the body of the animal) link the two pieces together, although the fixture on the camel can no longer be described as a litter, having been reduced to an adornment of three ball-like parts which seem out of proportion on the big camel. While, iconographically speaking, this bowl belongs, therefore, to the same category and reflects the same subject matter, it is nevertheless difficult to evaluate the transformation of the litter on the camel's

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 87, 287-288.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 86-87.

back, since it is not known how much of the original design the decorator understood. This much seems certain, however: that the "litter" was not thought to have been used for carrying a person and that the potter must have regarded its function to be of another sort. As to the second camel, with its rider,⁵ we can only assume that he seems to attend the first animal. Thus, whatever the first camel, with its curious load, may have been, the accompanying rider seems to indicate that it is not a mere "decoration," but reflects an actual object of some significance.

When one tries to establish the use of the unusual contrivance on the camel's back, it is best to return to the complete design on the Detroit bowl. We observe that the camel is richly decorated and that apparently only the lower part of the three-part litter could have served as a riding compartment, while the upper sections are richly decorated accouterments of possibly exaggerated proportions. There is no one guiding this camel and no human figure is seated in what seems to be the open litter. Also, there is no indication of a veil or fabric behind which a woman, the usual occupant of such a palanquin, might be hidden from sight. This is corroborated by the St. Louis bowl, where the object was obviously

⁵ The long-sleeved heavy coat of this rider and his peaked cap (if they belong to the original composition) appear also on other pieces of this pottery group, where the coat is ankle length. For an earlier parallel in another medium and from another region see R. W. Hamilton, *The sculpture of living forms at Khirbat al Mafjar*, Quarterly of the Dept. of Antiquities in Palestine, vol. 14 (1950), p. 116, pl. 39, figs. 14-15, and pl. 45. It is known that there was an influx of Persian clothes in the 'Abbasid period, as shown especially by the fashion of a long coat (*qabā'*), drawers (*sarāwīl*), and a tall cone-shaped hat like a tapering wine jar (*qalansuwah ṭawīlah*), though a tall headgear of Persian type was worn even in the preceding periods (R. Levi, *Notes on costume from Arabic sources*, Journ. Royal Asiatic Soc., 1935, pp. 324-325).

not meant for carrying persons, and it is further supported by later representations of litters on camels. If a litter is shown open, as the one on the Detroit bowl seems to be, it shows the figure of a woman rider, even if it is a very small-size representation (*pl. 1, fig. 2*).⁶ On the other hand, if there is no figure to be seen riding on the camel, the litter is completely closed by some kind of fabric (*pl. 1, fig. 3*).⁷ Furthermore, it seems obvious that this highly decorated litter is not the usual or standard type, a fact that can be corroborated by even a quick glance at the palanquins referred to in the two preceding footnotes and also by what is probably the best-known medieval Muslim representation of such an object, that in a miniature of the "Schefer Ḥariri." This shows a caravan making the pilgrimage to Mecca and in this scene we find a camel with a heavily draped, boxlike litter, capped by a conical roof with ball finials at the corners of the base and at the top, from which pennants are fluttering (*pl. 2, fig. 8*).⁸

⁶ Fatimid examples of the tenth-twelfth centuries A.D. are to be found on wood, ivory, luster-pottery, and in the painting of a ceiling; E. Pauty, *Les bois sculptés jusqu'à l'époque ayyoubide. Catalogue général du Musée arabe du Caire*, Le Caire, 1931, pl. 48, upper and lowest figures; G. Wiet, *Album du Musée arabe du Caire*, Le Caire, 1930, pl. 38, left, after which our illustration was made; F. R. Martin, *Lustre on glass and pottery in Egypt from the period of Hadrian to Saladin* (Collana di studi d'arte ceramica, 3), Faenza, 1929, pl. 11, upper left; P. B. Cott, *Siculo-Arabie ivories*, Princeton, 1939, pl. 70h; E. Kühnel, *Die islamische Kunst*, in A. Springer, *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte*, Leipzig, n.d., fig. 406; see also the post-Fatimid example in H. Hollis, *Two inlaid brasses*, Bull. Cleveland Museum of Art, vol. 33 (1946), p. 40, figure on p. 43; a detail from this thirteenth-century Syrian platter is given on plate 1, figure 4.

⁷ Pauty, *op. cit.*, pl. 48, the two central figures, after which our illustration was made; cf. also the remarks following in the text.

⁸ Al-Ḥariri, *Maqāmāt*, dated 634 H./A.D. 1237, Bibliothèque Nationale Ms. arabe 5847, fol. 94, illus-

Lacking more precise information we could, of course, let the case of the luster fragment found in Spain rest at this point and be satisfied with the general identification of its iconography, perhaps adding only that the structure on the camel's back in the Madinat al-Zahrā' and Detroit pieces represents a fancy litter made for some special tenth-century procession or occasion now unknown to us, and leave it with this limited explanation.

If we wish to come to a more specific, though also more hypothetical, interpretation, we will have to search for Near Eastern ceremonial litters, in particular for those without riders. The best known of these is the *maḥmal*, a richly embroidered, empty, tentlike litter carried on a camel and also accompanied by a flag. It was apparently first sent with the Egyptian pilgrimage caravan to Mecca by Sultan Baybars in 664 H./1266, and from then on nearly every year; similar contraptions were also dispatched at various periods by the rulers of Iraq, Yemen, Syria, and Turkey. The original purpose of this institution was to proclaim the Egyptian sultan's overlordship and pro-

trating the following verses from the 31st *maqāmah* entitled "al-Ramlīyah"; "The ḥajj is not they traveling by day and night, and they selecting camels and camel-litters (aḥdāj).

"The ḥajj is that thou repair to the holy house for the sake of the ḥajj, not that thou accomplish thy wants thereby. . ." (*The assemblies of Al Ḥarīrī*, tr. from the Arabic by Thomas Chenery and F. Steingass, London, 1867-98, vol. 2, p. 34.) In an earlier passage of this *maqāmah* the orator Abū Zayd expresses the same thought in the following prose: "Do you imagine that ḥajj means the choosing of saddle-beasts and the traversing of stations, the taking seat in litters and the loading of beasts of burden?" (*Ibid.*, p. 33; for the Arabic text see *K. Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī*, Beyrouth, 1886, p. 319, lines 4-7; p. 317, lines 1-2.) In the second passage, al-Ḥarīrī uses *maḥāmīl* (plural of *maḥmil*) for litters; the context indicates that he does not have in mind the later specifically political use of the word (see below).

tection of the Holy Places, and to represent him during the pilgrimage ceremonies. The appearance of the lesser *maḥmals* indicated to the assembled pilgrims the power of various other Muslim rulers and their concern for Mecca, though the relative position of the *maḥmals* during the rites marked their lower ranks in the political hierarchy of the day. In any case, the *maḥmal*'s significance was rather political in spite of its religious context.⁹

The physical appearance of the Egyptian *maḥmal* is well known to us. There exists first of all an ancient example with the name of the next-to-the-last Mamluk Sultan, Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī, 1500-1517 (*pl. 2, fig. 7*), which is now in the Topkapu Sarayı Müzesi;¹⁰ from the first half of the nineteenth century is Lane's famous description with his accompanying drawing; from later in that century

⁹ F. Buhl, *Maḥmal*, Encyclopaedia of Islām, Leiden, London, 1913-38, vol. 3, pp. 123-124; M. Gaudesfroy-Demombynes, *Le pèlerinage à la Mekke*, Paris, 1923, pp. 157-167; this writer mentions also minor rulers such as the Sultan of Darfūr, various Arab princes, and the Nizam of Hyderabad as having sent a *maḥmal* to Mecca (*loc. cit.*, p. 160, n. 3), but of all the *maḥmals*, that from Egypt was always the most important one. The history of the Egyptian *maḥmal* from the time of Baybars on has recently been given in a most thorough fashion by Jacques Jomier, O.P., *Le maḥmal et la caravane égyptienne des pèlerins de la Mecque (XIII^e-XX^e siècles)*, Publications de l'Institut français d'archéologie, de philologie et d'histoire, vol. 20, Cairo, 1953. The author establishes there that the first ruler to dispatch the *maḥmal* as a political symbol was Baybars and not Queen Shajar al-Durr (died in 655 H./1257), as had been stated by Lane, Snouck Hurgronje and other writers of the nineteenth century (*op. cit.*, p. 23).

¹⁰ First published by Tahsin Öz, *La broderie turque*, La Turquie Kemaliste, No. 44 (August 1941), p. 9, after which our illustration was made. The Egyptian *maḥmal* was kept in the Treasury and remade every 20 years (Gaudesfroy-Demombynes, *op. cit.*, p. 166). The Syrian *maḥmal* was not only smaller than the Egyptian, but it had a domed top, instead of a pyramidal one (*loc. cit.*, p. 158).

dates the more elaborate illustration in Snouck Hurgronje's *Bilder-Atlas*; and finally we have the more recent photographs.¹¹ All these are very large and elaborately decorated litters with a pyramidal roof of the same basic type as the one in the Ḥarīrī miniature of 1237 (*pl. 2, fig. 8*), and therefore not of the more elaborate shape of the litter on the pottery pieces. Furthermore, and this is more important, the custom of sending the maḥmal to Mecca is said to have started only in the thirteenth century, that is to say, about 300 years after the fashioning of the Detroit bowl. This general view, it is true, was challenged by Snouck Hurgronje, who thought an earlier existence of this institution not improbable, owing to the early use of the maḥmal by other rulers, in 1297 by that of Yemen, and in 1319 by that of Iraq, that is to say, fairly soon after its first appearance from Egypt.¹² Be that as

¹¹ E. W. Lane, *The manners and customs of the modern Egyptians* (Everyman's Library), London, n.d., pp. 444–447; C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Bilder-Atlas zu Mekka*, Haag, 1888, pl. 5, Ibrāhīm Rif'at, *Mir'āt al-haramayn*, Cairo, 1344/1925, vol. 1, facing p. 47; E. Rosenthal, *From Drury Lane to Mecca, being an account of the strange life and adventures of Hedley Churchward (also known as Mahmoud Mobarek Churchward), an English convert to Islam*, London, 1931, pl. opp. p. 40; F. Duget, *Le pèlerinage de la Mecque, au point de vue religieux, social et sanitaire*, Paris, 1932, pl. 5B; Jomier, *op. cit.*, pls. 3–4; etc.

¹² C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, Haag, 1888, pp. 83–84.

More recently, Philip K. Hitti pointed to statements of several early authors that the maḥmal was first sent to Mecca by al-Ḥajjāj, the Umayyad viceroy of Iraq, who died in 712 (*History of the Arabs*, London, 1937, pp. 135–136, quoting Ibn Qutaybah, *al-Ma'ārif*, Göttingen, 1850, p. 274; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, Leipzig, 1866–73, vol. 4, p. 886, line 6; Ibn Rustah, *Kitāb al-A'lāq al-naḥḥīyah*, Leiden, 1892, p. 192, line 5; and al-Suyūṭī, *al-Kanz al-madfūn*, Būlāq, 1288, p. 68, lines 15 and 16). These references probably refer to the maḥmal as a special kind of litter used for the Mecca pilgrimage and not to the special institution of the ḥajj as we know it from 1266 on. The passage of Ibn Rustah referred to above

it may, we still have to produce actual evidence for the use of a ceremonial litter, and preferably an empty one, which antedates the middle of the thirteenth century.

An early custom using a palanquin carried by a camel is, however, not unknown. According to the extensive research by Père H. Lammens,¹³ some of the leading clans and tribes of the pre-Islamic period of Arabia possessed a sacred stone (or two) housed in a small, domed tent called the *qubbah*, which was made of red leather.¹⁴ The *qubbah* and *betyl* were transported by a sacred camel during a religious procession or when the tribe was on the move or engaged in a major battle. When the tribe was camping the *qubbah* was put up next to the big tent of the

even contradicts the later use of an *empty* litter as a symbol of the sovereign, since this early tenth-century writer states specifically that the maḥmal was used for carrying purposes. The early use of a special camel litter, called maḥmal, for the pilgrimage of a leading person must, however, have influenced the later concept of the maḥmal. Père Jomier collected other pre-Mamluk references to the maḥmal as a means of transportation to Mecca (*op. cit.*, p. 22, No. 3), to which the passage of al-Ḥarīrī given in footnote 8 should be added. The term maḥmal continues to be used in the post-Baybars period for the carrying of private individuals during the pilgrimage or for other purposes (*Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*, ed. and tr. C. Defrémery and B. R. Sanguinetti, Paris, 1914–26, vol. 2, p. 148, line 9, and p. 168, line 3; the last reference refers to camel litters used by the women of Zabīd in the Yemen).

¹³ His classic study *Le culte des bétyles et les processions religieuses chez les arabes préislamites* appeared first in the *Bull. de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale*, Le Caire, vol. 17 (1919), pp. 39–101, and was reprinted in his *L'Arabie occidentale avant l'Hégire*, Beyrouth, 1928, pp. 101–179 (subsequent references will be to the original article). The sources given by Père Lammens were for the most part not available to the writer, and are therefore usually not listed again in this short summary.

¹⁴ *Loc. cit.*, pp. 46, 60, and 63. This red leather tent قبة الحمراء وهي من ادم was quite different from the (black) hair tent خباء شعر for domestic use.

tribal chief, where its immediate area formed an inviolable asylum for fugitives.¹⁵ The tribal chief, the *sayyid*, was referred to as *rabb al-qubbah*, this being the highest and most coveted honor in the social order of the Bedouins¹⁶ and one of his special tasks was to guard the qubbah and its idol. He often officiated as *kāhin*, i.e., soothsayer and diviner, with regard to the setting or breaking up of camp, the direction of migrations, and action in battle, the auguries being taken next to the qubbah and at times with the betyl.¹⁷ The sacred tabernacle was never carried along on an ordinary raid, but was brought only into decisive engagements when the very existence of the tribe was at stake. It was then guarded by a group of the noblest and most beautiful maidens and women of the tribe who, with their hair loosened and bosoms bared, inflamed the warriors to defeat the enemy and not to let them fall, together with the qubbah and idol, into the hands of the enemy. If the battle seemed to be wavering, all the warriors surrounded the qubbah and the women to defend them to the last.¹⁸ A famous occasion, when two such idols were carried into battle

and were there surrounded by the noblest women, was when the Meccan leader Abū Sufyān brought the goddesses Allāt and al-'Uzzā into the battle of Uḥud (3 H./A.D. 625), which ended in defeat for the Prophet's army.¹⁹

These literary references from the Arabian Peninsula are corroborated by finds from Palmyra. For instance, the report that in the early seventh century the god Yaghūth was carried into a battle waged between two tribes contending his possession²⁰ can be supplemented by a tessera²¹ from Palmyra which shows the manner in which this was accomplished. On one side is a representation of a standing male figure holding a lance, with "Yaghūth" inscribed alongside, above a bull's head (*pl. 3, fig. 9a*); the other side presents the sacred camel with the qubbah on its back and the animal is being led by a man, possibly

¹⁹ Tabarī, *Annales*, ed. M. J. de Goeje et al., Leiden, 1879-1901, vol. 1, p. 1395, line 3 quoted in Lammens, *op. cit.*, pp. 41 and 56-57; Geyer, *op. cit.*, p. 150; Abbott, *op. cit.*, p. 274.

²⁰ Yāqūt, *op. cit.*, pp. 1022-1023, esp. p. 1023, lines 13, 14 (after Ibn al-Kalbī's *Kitāb al-Aṣnām*; for this see *The Book of Idols . . .*, tr. N. A. Faris, Princeton, 1952, p. 9). This battle of al-Razm is supposed to have taken place on the same day as the battle of Badr (2 H./624). Yaghūth is mentioned in the Koran among the idols worshiped at the time of Noah (71.22). For all the early reports on Yaghūth see J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, 2d ed., Berlin, 1897, pp. 19-21.

²¹ Tesserae from Palmyra are molded clay tablets which served as entrance tickets for sacred banquets after sacrifices, or for food distributed by a functionary. They are often decorated with a figure or symbol of the god to be honored (H. Seyrig, *Les tessères palmyréniennes et le banquet rituel*, Memorial Lagrange, Paris, 1940, pp. 51-58; J. Starcky, *Palmyre*, Paris, 1952, pp. 102-104). They will be extensively treated in H. Ingholt, H. Seyrig, et J. Starck, *Recueil des tessères de Palmyre*, which is now in press, but whose numbers 174, 184, 58, and 178 we can illustrate here on plate 3 as figures 9, 10, 11, and 12.

¹⁵ *Loc. cit.*, p. 42.

¹⁶ *Loc. cit.*, p. 65; also Lammens, *Le berceau de l'Islam. L'Arabie occidentale à la veille de l'Hégire*, Rome, 1914, vol. 1, pp. 203-205.

¹⁷ Lammens, *Le culte des bétyles*, etc., pp. 43-44.

¹⁸ *Loc. cit.*, pp. 48-51, 56-58; Nabia Abbott, *Women and the state on the eve of Islam*, Amer. Journ. Semitic Lang. and Lit., vol. 58 (1941), p. 262; see also R. Geyer, *Die arabischen Frauen in der Schlacht*, Mitteilungen der anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien, vol. 39 (1909), pp. 148-155; Werner Caskel, *Aijām al-'Arab, Studien zur altarabischen Epik*, Islamica, vol. 3, Suppl. (1930), pp. 20-22; Ilse Lichtenstädter, *Women in the Aijām al-'Arab*, London, 1935, pp. 23, 42-43. For a pictorial representation of a single standing woman attending a battle, see a Safaitic engraved stone from the burial cairn of Hania (G. Lankester Harding, *A holy man of Dark Age Jordan and the cairn which his kinsmen built and inscribed*, Illustrated London News, vol. 223 [Oct. 10, 1953], p. 565, fig. 10).

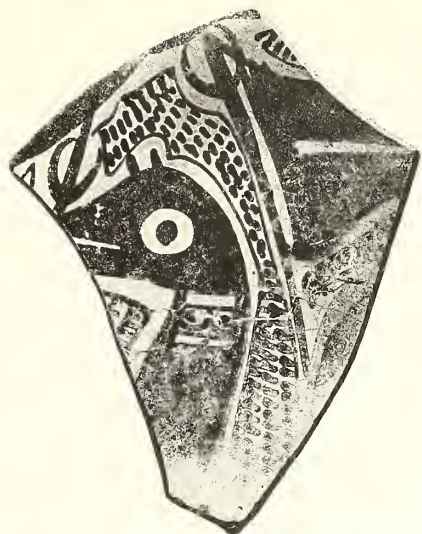


FIG. 1—LUSTER-PAINTED FRAGMENT. MADĪNAT AL-ZAHRĀ', MUSEUM. (After Frothingham.)



FIG. 2—IVORY CARVING. CAIRO, MUSÉE ARABE. (After Wiet.)

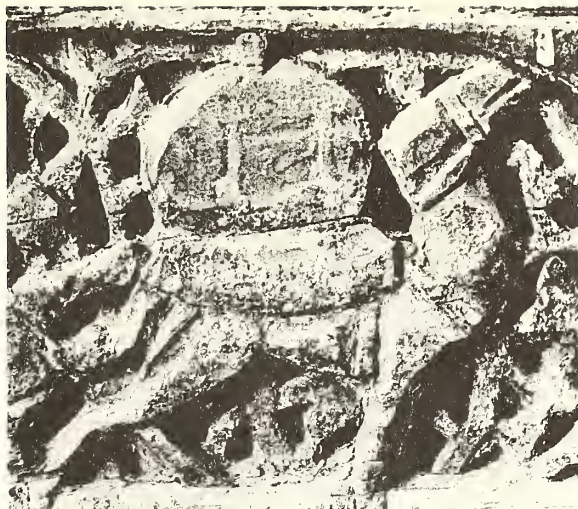


FIG. 3—FATIMID WOOD CARVING. CAIRO, MUSÉE ARABE. (After Pauty.)



FIG. 4—DETAIL OF INLAID BRASS PLATTER. (Courtesy Cleveland Museum of Art.)



FIG. 5—LUSTER BOWL. (Courtesy Detroit Institute of Arts.)



FIG. 6—LUSTER BOWL. (Photograph by ultraviolet light: light sections indicating restorations; grayish parts, worn luster. Courtesy City Art Museum of St. Louis.)



FIG. 7—MAḤMAL OF QĀNŠŪH AL-GHAWRĪ. ISTANBUL, TOPKAPU SARAYI MÜZESİ.
(After Tahsin Öz.)



FIG. 8—MAḤMAL IN A ḤAJJ CARAVAN, MINIATURE IN AN AL-ḤARĪRĪ MS. DATED 1237.
BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE.

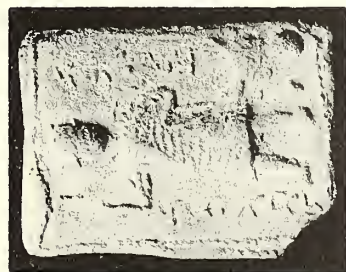


FIG. 9a—INSCRIBED OBVERSE.
(After Rostovtzeff.)



FIG. 9b—REVERSE OF FIGURE 9a.
(After Rostovtzeff.)



FIG. 10—INSCRIBED ARŞŪ



FIG. 11—INSCRIBED BĒL



FIG. 12—INSCRIBED 'OGEIŪ

FIGS. 9-12—TESSERAE FROM PALMYRA



FIG. 14—TERRACOTTA FIGURINE OF CAMEL
WITH LITTER. Collection H. Seyrig.



FIG. 15—STELE WITH SOLAR SYMBOL IN QUBBAH,
MUSÉE DE SOUEIDA. (Photograph D. Schlumberger.)



FIG. 13—SCULPTURED BEAM FROM SANCTUARY OF BĒL IN PALMYRA.
(After Seyrig.)



FIG. 17—THE ABŪ 'L-DUHŪR LEADING THE TRIBE. (Photograph Carl Raswan.)



FIG. 18—MAMLUK STONE BASIN. BEYRUTH, MUSEUM.



FIG. 19—BLASON OF THE BEYRUTH BASIN



FIG. 20—MAMLUK COPPER COIN. (Courtesy Numismatic Society, New York.)

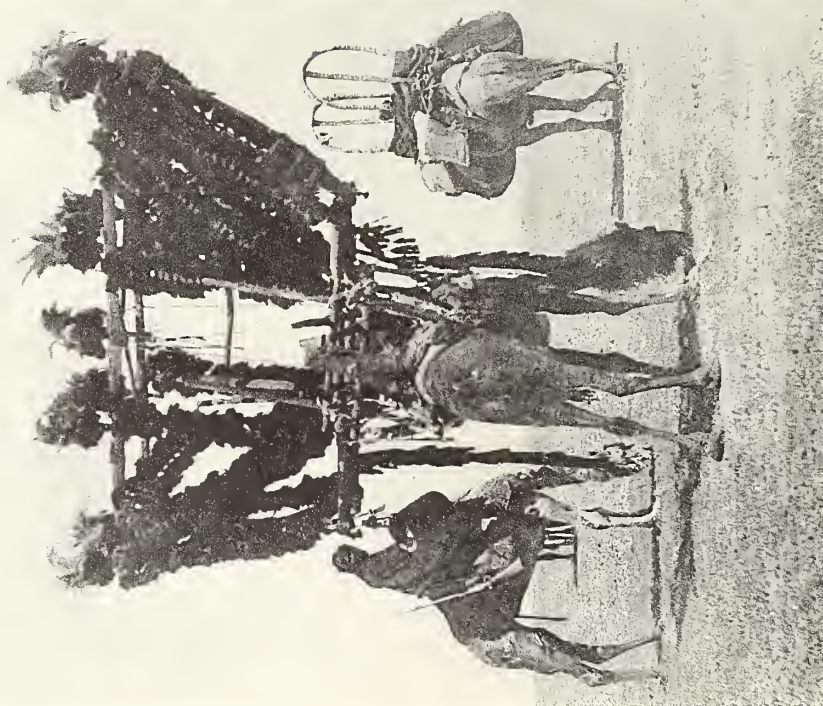


FIG. 16—THE ABŪ 'L-DUHŪR OR MARKAB OF THE RUWALĀ. (Photograph Carl Raswan.)



FIG. 21—LENINGRAD, HERMITAGE. (After Frothingham.)

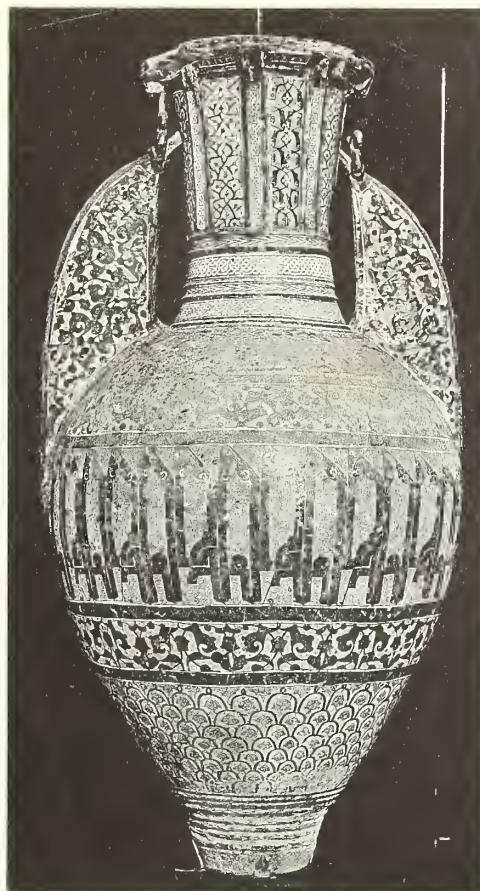


FIG. 22—PALERMO, MUSEO NAZIONALE. (Photograph Alinari, No. 33028.)

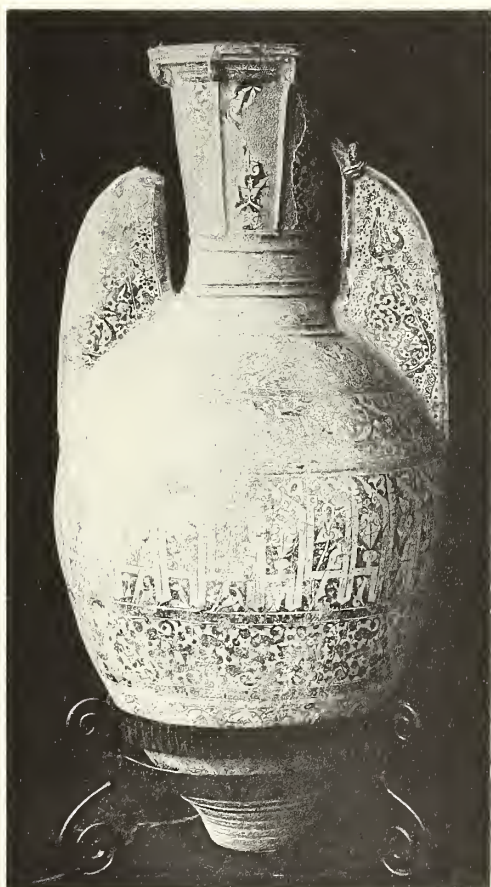


FIG. 23—"JEREZ VASE." MADRID, MUSEO ARQUEOLÓGICO NACIONAL. (Photograph Mas.)



FIG. 24—"OSMA VASE." MADRID, INSTITUTO DE VALENCIA DE DON JUAN. (After Frothingham.)

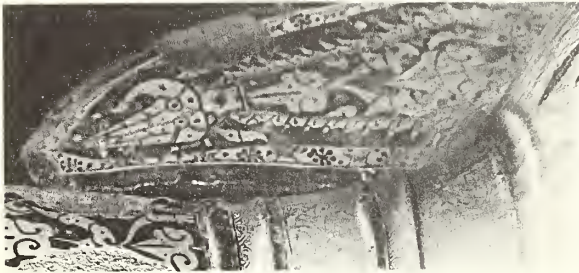


FIG. 26—HANDLE: "JEREZ VASE," MADRID, MUSEO ARQUEOLÓGICO NACIONAL. (Photograph Mas.)



FIG. 25—LUSTER VASE. (Courtesy National Museum, Stockholm.)

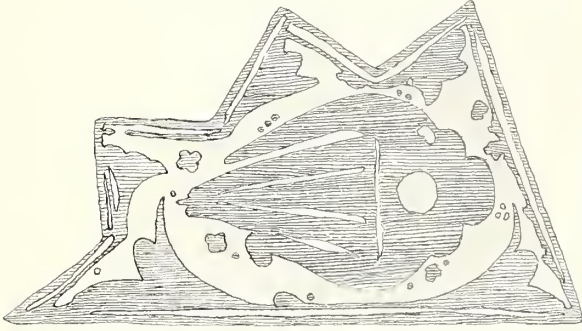


FIG. 27—TILE. TOLEDO, CONVENT OF LA CONCEPCIÓN. (After Font y Gumá.)

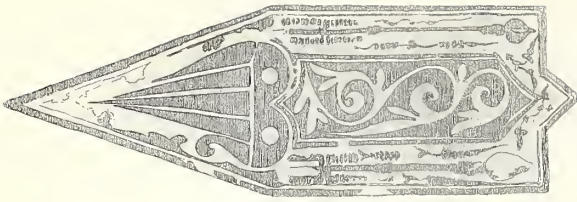


FIG. 28—TILE. TOLEDO, CONVENT OF LA CONCEPCIÓN. (After Font y Gumá.)

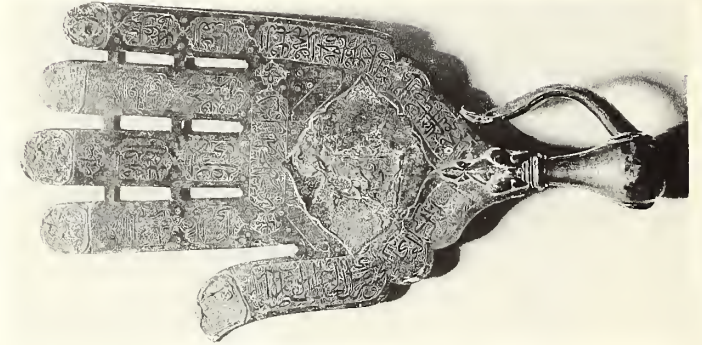


FIG. 29—FINIAL OF STANDARD. (Courtesy Chicago Art Institute.)

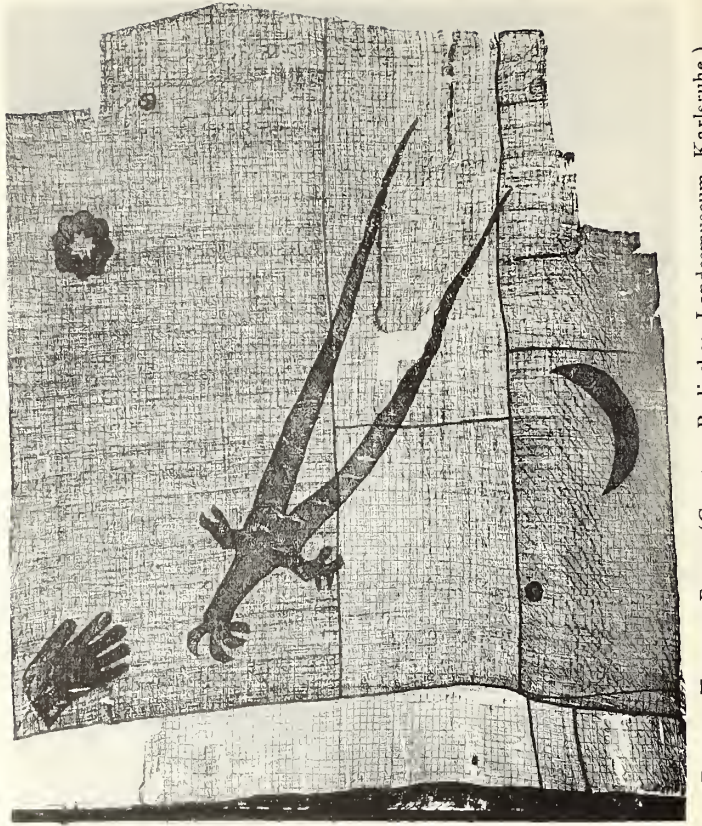


FIG. 30—TURKISH FLAG. (Courtesy Badisches, Landesmuseum, Karlsruhe.)

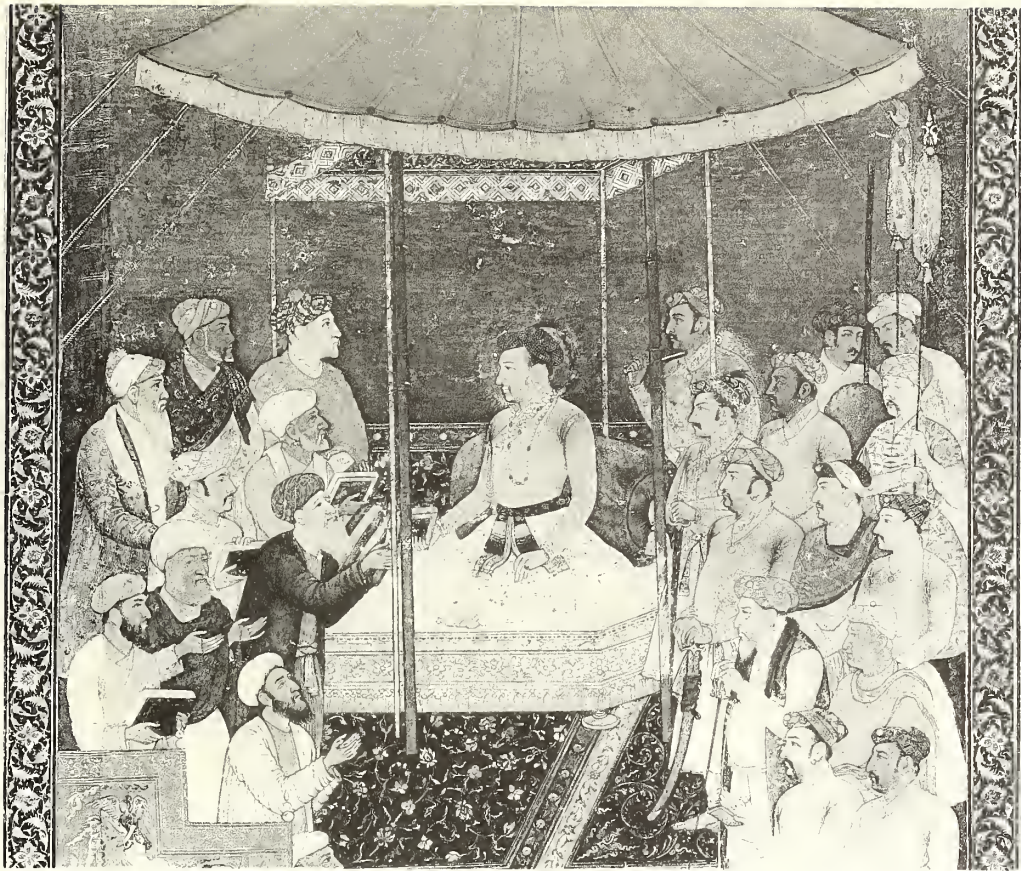


FIG. 31—DARBĀR of JAHĀNGĪR (Central Section). (Courtesy Freer Gallery of Art.)



FIG. 32—KAY KHOSROW CROSSING THE CHINA SEA. Ca. 1480. (Courtesy Kevorkian Foundation, New York.)



FIG. 33—FATIMID LUSTER BOWL. (Courtesy Detroit Institute of Art.)



FIG. 34—NECK FRAGMENT WITH LUSTER DECORATION. New York, Pope-Ackerman Collection.



FIG. 35—VASE FROM THE ALHAMBRA. GRANADA, ALHAMBRA MUSEUM. (Photograph Mas.)

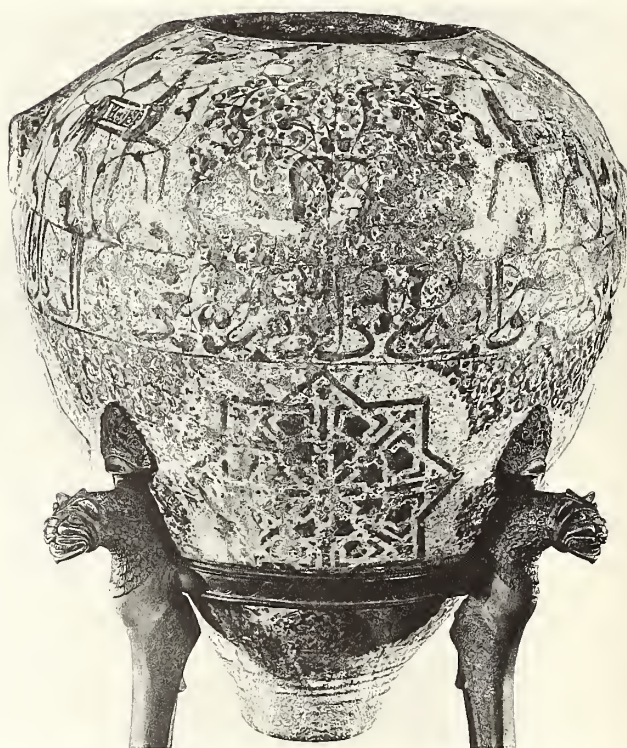


FIG. 36—VASE FRAGMENT. (Courtesy Freer Gallery of Art.)

03.206



FIG. 37—VASE FRAGMENT. (Courtesy Islamische Abteilung, Staatliche Museen, Berlin.)

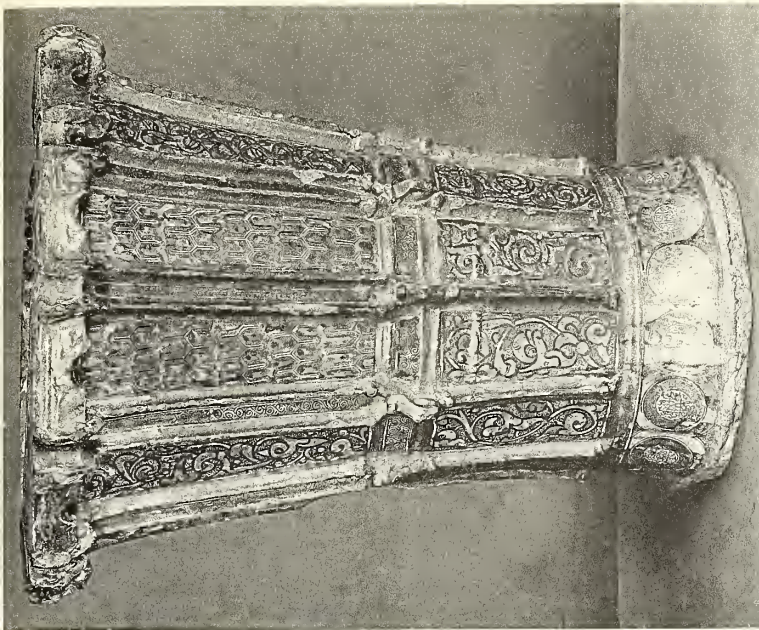


FIG. 38—NECK FRAGMENT. (Courtesy Hispanic Society of America.)



FIG. 39

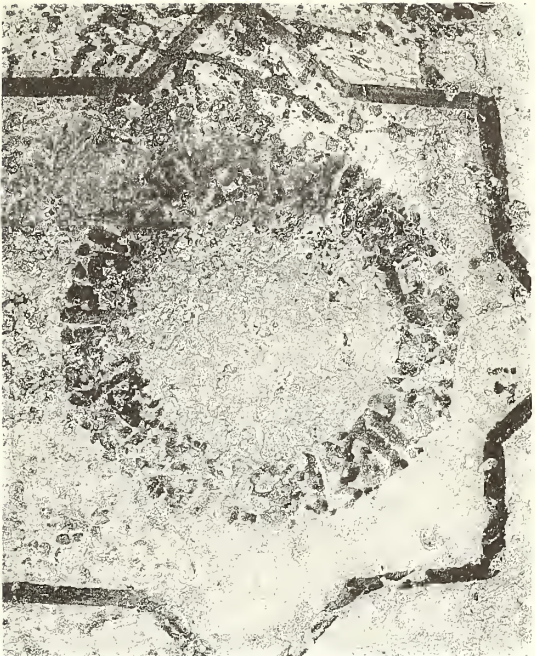


FIG. 40

FIGS. 39-40—DETAILS OF VASE REPRODUCED IN FIGURE 36. (Courtesy Freer Gallery of Art.)

the rabb al-qubbah (*pl. 3, fig. 9b*).²² The religious character of the tesserae and the frequent use of divine symbols make it most likely that this piece and others like it show the qubbah with the idol and not just a camel with an ordinary litter. Of the different representations of the qubbah on tesserae, it will suffice to point to a few other characteristic examples. On one the Arab god Aršū is symbolically represented by a resting camel with the qubbah and also by a crescent and star in the upper left corner (*pl. 3, fig. 10*).²³ A third tessera, inscribed with the name of the god Bēl, carries again the image of a camel, with the framework for the qubbah visible (*pl. 3, fig. 11*), while on the fourth example with the proper name 'Ogeilū ('GYLW), we observe a camel with a domed qubbah, two stars on bosses and, on the right, the figure of a stand-

²² First published after a specimen in the British Museum by M. I. Rostovtzeff, *The caravan gods of Palmyra*, Journ. Roman Studies, vol. 22 (1932), p. 113, No. 4 and pl. 27, 4. (*Pl. 3, figs. 9a and b*, were made after the better-preserved specimen in the Damascus Museum.) The first to identify the qubbah on this tessera was P. S. Ronzevalle, S. J., in *Le prétendu "cher d'Astarté"* (2^{me} partie), Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph, Beyrouth, vol. 18 (1934), pp. 125–126; this identification was accepted by H. Ingholt (*Inscriptions and sculptures from Palmyra*, Berytus, vol. 3 [1936], p. 86) and Starcky (*op. cit.*, p. 114). Here the qubbah is rendered differently from the normal-size hump of camels on other tesserae, where the animals are probably depicted as the sacrifice to be eaten later on, according to Arab custom (Seyrig, *Tessères*, p. 57).

After this article had been completed, M. Seyrig informed the writer that he now reads the inscription over the bull's head as TB'WT. Since this represents the name of an individual (as does the other inscription, TYM'MD), there would thus be no *epigraphic* foundation for the belief that one side of this tessera represents a camel-borne qubbah, though it can, of course, still be interpreted as such.

²³ First published by Rostovtzeff (*op. cit.*, p. 114, pl. 27, 7) and then identified by Ronzevalle, *op. cit.*, p. 125. The god whose name is mentioned on the tessera is the Evening Star.

ing priest offering incense in front of an altar or making a libation over it (*pl. 3, fig. 12*). Tesserae provide, however, not the only pictures of the qubbah. A sculptured beam from the sanctuary of Bēl (the same god mentioned on the tessera in figure 11) shows a sacred procession with the domed qubbah, which still shows traces of red paint and from which an object, possibly the betyl, is projecting; here the camel is again led by what might be the rabb al-qubbah, but, unlike the other more summary representations, it is followed by heavily veiled women attendants (*pl. 3, fig. 13*).²⁴

Finally, reference should be made to a basalt stele of the early centuries A.D., which was discovered by Daniel Schlumberger near the temple of Zeus at Qanawāt in the Jebel Druze (*pl. 3, fig. 15*). As interpreted by Père Mousterde, it shows a qubbah and within it the head (or symbol) of a solar deity surrounded by a radiating halo; the qubbah is recognizable as such by the folds of the leather covering stretched (at the sides) over the partly visible framework.²⁵

Palmyra has also yielded dedicatory inscriptions carved in stone and referring to the erection of a qubbah in honor of a deity.²⁶ In certain instances the sacred tent tabernacle or camel litter seems thus to have taken on a

²⁴ H. Seyrig, *Antiquités syriennes*, 17. *Bas-reliefs monumentaux du temple de Bēl à Palmyre*, Syria, vol. 15 (1934), pp. 159–165, and pl. 19, after which our illustration is made. The veiled figures are discussed by R. de Vaux, O.P., *Sur le voile des femmes dans l'Orient ancien; à propos d'un bas-relief de Palmyre*, Revue Biblique, vol. 44 (1935), pp. 397–412. The temple of Bēl was started in the middle of the first century A.D.

²⁵ Described in Ingholt, *op. cit.*, pp. 86–87. M. Schlumberger was kind enough to provide me with a photograph and to give permission to publish it here for the first time.

²⁶ Ingholt, *loc. cit.*, p. 84; H. Ingholt and J. Starcky, in D. Schlumberger, *La Palmyrène du nord-ouest*, Paris, 1951, p. 158, No. 43; see also Starcky, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

more permanent form in stone masonry perhaps not unlike the more recent qubbahs of the Muslim world, but with the ancient designation still persisting.

The custom of bringing a sacred object into battle and housing it in a portable tent antedates Palmyra, as we see from many incidents described in the Old Testament, especially those involving the Ark and its tent (I Samuel, 4:3 ff.; II Samuel 6:17; 11:11; Amos 5:26).²⁷ It would, however, lead too far to discuss the various biblical passages, which anyhow deal with an age far removed in time from the period we are trying to elucidate in this study.²⁸ But since we are specifically concerned with *figural* representations, our historical survey would be incomplete if we were not able to present here what amounts to one of the oldest known representations of the general type, if not perhaps the earliest one: a Syrian terracotta figurine, 78 mm. high, from M. Seyrig's collection, acquired in Aleppo and dated by him tentatively between the tenth and eighth centuries B.C. (*pl. 3, fig. 14*). Although it cannot be proved, there seems to be little doubt that we have in this piece a qubbah with its idol and not just a crudely shaped person in a camel-borne litter. It is also illuminating that in spite of the many centuries that separate this simple figure from the various representations of the qubbah in Palmyra, the domed litter in the early and the later examples is identical.

These literary references and figural representations show clearly that the cult of a mobile sacred stone or other divine object placed in a tentlike shelter and carried by a

camel lasted for many centuries during the pre-Islamic era. It is therefore not too surprising that a custom so intimately tied up with life in the desert continued in one form or another for a long time and has even come down to our own days in the shape of the *Abū 'l-Duhūr* or *Markab* of the Ruwalā (Rwala) Bedouins (وڤو). This consists of a simple open framework, wider on top than at the bottom and richly decorated with ostrich feathers, the whole put on top of a camel which is usually white (*pl. 4, fig. 16*). This sacred tribal palladium leads the Ruwalās in migrations and war (*pl. 4, fig. 17*) and is thought to have done so for indefinite periods of time, having been handed down from generation to generation, and to last forever. In major battles it is surrounded by the outstanding women of the tribe and becomes also the throne for the noblest and most beautiful of them, who, as in ancient times, stirs the warriors to the utmost bravery by her inspiring verses. While the *Abū 'l-Duhūr* is thus tied up with the victory and very existence of the tribe, it is also in strong measure the visible token of the chief's power, its possession meaning recognition by all the tribesmen. It is usually kept in the part of the tents reserved for the women and heavily guarded, so that no one will capture it and thus lay claim as the new leader. Due to its special religious character the *Markab* provides asylum and protection if a member of another tribe should manage to touch one of its poles. Its religious nature is also evident from the fact that it is used for divination based on the movements of its camel, the way it leans on the mount or the way its feathers flutter, and as Allah is thought to abide in the litter, these signs are interpreted as coming from him. After a victorious campaign or otherwise once a year, a white camel is sacrificed in front of the litter and while the poles are sprinkled with the blood of the animal the favor of *Abū 'l-Duhūr* is in-

²⁷ Even the word qubbah קבה occurs in Numbers 25:8. Ingholt assumed that this term designates here, as usual, the tent sanctuary (*op. cit.*, pp. 87-88).

²⁸ The biblical passages are dealt with in Julian Morgenstern, *The Ark, the Ephod and the "Tent of Meeting,"* Cincinnati, 1945, a publication brought to my attention by Professor G. Levi della Vida.

voked. This seems to indicate that the connection of the palladium with Allah is an Islamic veneer and that it is rather its innate magic power that gives victory in battle, serves for auguries and has to be propitiated by sacrifices.²⁹ Thus what was the housing for a divine object in pre-Islamic times has now absorbed divine qualities and has become an object of veneration in its own right. This is significant for our survey, as are the facts that in spite of all its tribal and religious associations it is also eminently the sign of authority and power within the tribe and that its shape is different from the usual covered camel litter as we find it on Palmyranian and medieval representations, thus indicating that the shape of the ceremonial litter can vary.

While the Abū 'l-Duhūr of the Ruwalā is the most complete survival of the ancient custom, it can nevertheless be traced in many other tribes, though it is there reduced to one major function and has less pronounced magic qualities. Here the camel litter is usually called 'uṭfah (though in some cases it has the ordinary name of a camel litter, such as *mak-*

sar or 'ammārīyah)³⁰ and it serves as the rallying point of the tribe in battle and as the seat of the noblest of the women (often likewise called 'uṭfah), who fires the valor of the warriors by her song. This emblem, too, is more than a mere flag, since its loss means the utter humiliation of the tribe in case of capture, and it has even been stated that the tribe cannot consider getting a new 'uṭfah litter until the old one, or at least part of it, has been recovered. In the literature are many reports of the continued use of such an 'uṭfah in battle;³¹ for instance, it is said to have been used during the battle of Jarāb (January 1915) when Ibn Sa'ūd fought against the Shammar of the house of Rashīd.³²

It is clear that official Islam could not accept the custom of the qubbah as it was current in the pre-Islamic period or even the slightly Islamized version as we find it among the Ruwalā, and as it probably existed in other tribes at an earlier time. Muhammad did away with the betyls, but he and his contemporaries, such as the false prophet Musailima or the poet 'Umar b. Abī Rabī'ah, kept the red leather qubbah as a symbol of authority³³

²⁹ Alois Musil, *The manners and customs of the Ruwala Bedouins* (American Geographical Soc., Oriental Explorations and Studies, 6), New York, 1928, pp. 571-574, 624, 625, 631, 632, figs. 58 and 59. Musil's classical account of the "Abu-d-Dhūr" has been confirmed and supplemented by the vivid report of Carl R. Raswan in his *Black tents of Arabia*, New York, 1947, pp. 97-99, 141-142. The German edition of this book (*Im Land der schwarzen Zelte*, Berlin, 1934) is accompanied by 2 good illustrations of the Abū 'l-Duhūr, lacking in the English version (after p. 80). H. R. P. Dickson is the last expert of Arabian affairs who (in 1945) has seen and written about the Abū 'l-Duhūr, which he, however, mentions only under its second name, Markab (*The Arab of the desert*, London, 1949, p. 104). For an evaluation of the accounts of Musil and Raswan see Morgenstern, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-38. The size of Abū 'l-Duhūr is: height 90 cm., 270 x 190 cm. on top, and about 50 cm. wide at the bottom (measurements after Musil, *op. cit.*, p. 571).

³⁰ Dickson, *op. cit.*, p. 104; or 'ammārīyah, see Caskel, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

³¹ The fullest account, with direct quotations and interpretations of the material, in Morgenstern, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-41; see also Dickson, *loc. cit.* The most famous historical instance of such a "maiden-standard" (as Doughty called it) is the role of 'Ā'ishah in the Battle of the Camel in 36 H./656; for a full account based on the sources see N. Abbott, *Aisha, the beloved of the Prophet*, Chicago, 1942, pp. 158-162.

³² According to Dickson (*loc. cit.*), on the oral testimony of the Shaykh of Kuwait, it was Ibn Sa'ūd who had used such a camel litter, while George Kheirallah, on the authority of an eye witness, the late Amīn Rayḥānī, states it was the Shammar who had brought " 'Amariyat, open hawdage frames decorated with ostrich feathers . . . where stood one or more of their beautiful virgins . . . to encourage the fighters . . ." (*Arabia reborn*, Albuquerque, N. Mex., 1952, pp. 96-97.)

³³ Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt*, pt. 2, sec. 1, ed.

and the qubbah in one form or another persisted then as such in Islam. This is not the place to give a history of this all-important adjunct and symbol of regal splendor and power. It suffices to mention that it appears not only as a richly decorated tent, but in the form of domed buildings or, in a reduced fashion, as a canopy raised over the seat or throne of the ruler.³⁴ It had also a movable form as sunshade or parasol carried by a servant; it was a symbol of authority even under this limited aspect and was still designated as qubbah (though there were also, of course, other terms for it).³⁵ All this tends to show that

J. Horovitz, Leiden, 1909, p. 88, lines 24–25. Further rich documentation is given in Lammens, *Le culte des bétyles*, p. 69, especially in footnotes 2 and 3, but the various editions were not available to the writer. Previously, several references to the qubbah as symbol of authority or sovereignty had been collected by E. Quatremère, (*Proverbes arabes de Meïdani*, Journ. asiatique, 3d ser., vol. 5 [1938], pp. 252–253). They usually do not indicate whether or not this tent could be placed on a mount.

That in Islamic times the qubbah could also be associated with a sacred object is shown by a custom of Muley Ismā'il of Morocco (1672–1727), as recorded by the eighteenth-century traveler Georg Höst. Whenever the sultan went on an important military expedition with his Negro troops he carried in a solemn procession and with proper ceremonies a copy of al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*; the book was placed in a fine box and had its own small tent, which was set up close to that of the ruler. This is a remarkable reappearance of the original concept of the qubbah in a distant country, more than a thousand years after its use in pre-Islamic Arabia (G. Höst, *Efterretninger om Marókos og Fes, Samlede der i landene fra Ao 1760 til 1768*, Copenhagen, 1799, p. 223, first referred to in a German translation in I. Goldziher, *Die Zahiriten, ihr Lehrsystem und ihre Geschichte*, Leipzig, 1884, p. 115, n. 1).

³⁴ R. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, 2d ed., Leyden-Paris, 1927, vol. 2, p. 297; see also A. Alföldi, *Die Geschichte des Throntabernakels* (La Nouvelle Clio, No. 10, Dec. 1950, pp. 537–566) for similar concepts in the other and earlier civilizations of the Near East.

³⁵ E. Quatremère, *Histoire des Mongols*, Paris,

yet another movable qubbah, namely the maḥmal, could and did take on a symbolic value, standing for the authority of the sultan, so that it was even compared to the throne.³⁶ In view of the old Arabic tradition, outlined above, it may not even be necessary to assume, on account of Baybars' ethnic origin, an influence from farther East in Asia, though it could have been possible, because in the Turkish-Mongol areas sacred tents on carts were customary.³⁷ Indeed, the symbolic meaning of the camel-borne maḥmal was perfectly understandable in the Arab world, as shown by the fact that the quickly appearing competition of Yemenite and other rulers took on the form of the maḥmal.³⁸ Its significance as a symbol of royal power was further emphasized by its being carried with a special flag and the history of the ceremonies at Mecca give ample evidence of the significance of the flag in early times and also later when the new form of the maḥmal appeared.³⁹ As in the case of other

1936, vol. 1, p. 206 ff.; *idem*, *Histoire des sultans mamlouks de l'Égypte*, Paris, 1845, vol. 1, p. 134; R. C. Devonshire, *An Egyptian Mameluke feature in a Persian miniature*, Apollo, vol. 14, pp. 279–282; Jomier (*op. cit.*, p. 24, n. 2) refers also to the French translation, still in the form of a typescript, of a study in Russian by M. Inostranzeff, *La sortie solennelle des khalifes fatimites*, p. xxiii, par. 17, p. xxvii, par. 20. In the Near East a corresponding use of the parasol is already to be found at the Achaemenid court (Erich F. Schmidt, *Persepolis I*, Chicago, 1953, pls. 75, 76, 138, 139, 178–181, and 194; for the use of the royal canopy in Persepolis see *ibid.*, pls. 77–79, 104, 105, 107).

³⁶ Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā*, Cairo, 1913–1918, vol. 12, p. 253, quoted by Jomier, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

³⁷ Jomier, *op. cit.*, p. 26. About the use of idols on carts among the Mongols of the middle of the thirteenth century, see Friar John de Carpene's testimony (*The Journey of William of Rubruck to the eastern parts of the world, 1253–55*, tr. William W. Rockhill, London, 1900, p. 59, n. 1); even Christians in that area had chapels on carts (*ibid.*, pp. xxxi and 215).

³⁸ Jomier, *op. cit.*, p. 43–45.

³⁹ For the early use of flags in Mecca see Ṭabarī,

variants of the tent, qubbah is again a synonym for maḥmal and this in spite of its pyramid roof,⁴⁰ so that it, too, is linked to the old tradition of the tent of the Arab ruler and the housing of the betyl; even the term maḥmal recalls the very word used for the carrying of the sacred stone in its red leather housing (*ḥamala*).⁴¹

While these facts seem to link the maḥmal to older Arab traditions, it should at the same time parenthetically be remembered that the maḥmal represents also the Near Eastern form of the widespread idea of symbolizing authority by an unoccupied seat. Of the different variations in Asia, Africa, and the Mediterranean world, probably the best known ones are the late Classical and early Medieval examples.⁴² Without having any direct connections with each other, the latter present a surprising parallel development to the Arabic-Muslim concept, especially since Baybars' time, both as to the placing of a political symbol in a religious context and its various uses. The custom to worship the empty royal throne on which were usually placed the monarch's insignia occurred first in the Hellenistic world where it imitated an earlier symbolism used for the gods. In Rome this symbol was known from Caesar's

time on. Here the empty throne was publicly exposed at the games, not unlike the maḥmal's presence at the pilgrimage rites. The homage paid to the empty throne by the Roman Senate in the Capitoline temple has its parallels in the attendance of the highest notables at the maḥmal's departure from Cairo and its arrival in Mecca. When the imperial symbolism was applied to Christian concepts after the new religion became recognized by the state, the empty throne with or without further attributes entered the religious art of Byzantium. Here it represents either God the Father or, more often, Christ, and the new authority established by him. There is only this basic difference: The Classical symbol grew up in an urban civilization and therefore showed a stationary chair or throne, while the Arabic world derived from nomadic origins in the desert uses as its symbol of power a movable seat in the form of a camel litter.

If we now return to the concept of the qubbah, two other developments should still be mentioned. A gold qubbah is mentioned by Abū 'l-Fidā' in his *History* as the emblem of the amir holding the office of jāwish.⁴³ A Mamluk coat-of-arms of this type, i.e., a not-too-high structure with a round top on a horse, is to be found on coins (*pl. 4, fig. 20*), on various objects (*pl. 4, figs. 18 and 19*) and buildings; finally, it occurs in a prominent position, within the assembly of court attendants, in

Annales, vol. 2, p. 782 and Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, pp. 29, 39, 83. For the use of royal flags at the Mamluk court see Quatremère, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 135, 136, 192, 225–228. About the significance of flags in connection with the protocol of the maḥmal and how questions of political precedence were settled by it see now Jomier, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

⁴⁰ Lammens, *Le culte des bétyls*, p. 60, n. 6, referring to *Aghānī*, vol. 3, p. 115, bottom; vol. 6, p. 73, line 17; Jomier, *op. cit.*, p. 26, quoting Qalqashandī, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, p. 57.

⁴¹ Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 1395, quoted by Lammens, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

⁴² A. Alföldi, *Insignien und Tracht der römischen Kaiser*, Mitteilungen d. deutsch. Archäol. Instituts, Röm. Abt., vol. 50 (1935), pp. 134–139; A. Grabar, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin*, Paris, 1936, pp. 199–200.

⁴³ Abū 'l-Fidā', *Annales Muslemici arabice*, ed. I. I. Reiske, Hafniae 1789–92, vol. 4, p. 380, quoted by L. A. Mayer, *Saracenic heraldry*, Oxford, 1933, p. 4; Dozy gives the following explanation for جاویش or جاووش (pl. جاوشية): "En Égypte sous les Mamlouks les جاوشية au nombre de quatre étaient des soldats de la milice, distingués par leur courage, et qui avaient l'emploi de chanter devant le sultan, dans ses marches solennelles. Ils se partageaient en deux chœurs, dont chacun répétait un refrain différent. Aussi, un officier d'un rang inférieur, qui était chargé de missions de plus d'un genre" (*op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 169).

the frontispiece of a *Maqāmāt* manuscript of 1337.⁴⁴ This emblem was originally interpreted by L. A. Mayer as a dome-shaped palanquin or ceremonial saddle, but he now identifies it with the *ghāshiyah*, the gold embroidered leather cover of the state saddle which was carried by a prince or grandee before the sultan. As a symbol of sovereignty⁴⁵ it appears first at the Seljuq court under Alp Arslān and was then employed by Saladin, the Ayyūbids, and later by the Mamluks. This indicates that the concept of the qubbah has developed even further, since it is now the dome-shaped cover of the ceremonial saddle which symbolizes the power and authority connected with an office.

The second special development of the ceremonial litter is of more "folkloristic" nature, and though hardly any evidence can be produced, this particular use might very well have a bearing on our discussion. As Snouck Hurgronje has pointed out in his *Mekka*, the various quarters of Jidda fashioned maḥmals to be used for the procession in honor of the

special holiday of each district, and they vied with each other in the splendor of these litters.⁴⁶ The origin, history, and extent of this custom is unknown to this writer and its special meaning and relation to the official maḥmal can only be surmised as perhaps being a symbol of the particular urban group. Be that as it may, it could very well be imagined that a similar popular practice (which is apparently analogous to the floats of Western civil parades) could have existed also in Baghdad or the towns of Iraq and could thus be reflected in the pottery decoration. The very elaborate decorative forms above the empty riding compartment of the litter on the Detroit bowl would, if this explanation should eventually prove to be correct, find an excellent explanation.

If we now sum up and draw our conclusions, we can state that in spite of the assumed connection between the maḥmal and the Arab custom of carrying portable sanctuaries, especially in major battles—a connection seriously considered by Burckhardt, Doughty, Snouck Hurgronje, Buhl, and several other orientalis—there has remained a "dark" period in the history of the ceremonial litter, roughly from the time of Muhammad until Sultan Baybars, who had himself represented at the pilgrimage ceremonies by the maḥmal and thus started a new tradition. For more than 600 years we therefore have no historical evidence for the practice in its various manifestations, be it as a religious or secular symbol or just as a civic showpiece, although the Abū 'l-Duhūr of the Ruwalā seems to indicate that it probably existed throughout the Muslim period. It is in this light that the tenth-century fragment from Madinat al-Zahrā' and its contemporary counterpart, the bowl in the Detroit Institute of Art, take on a special significance, because they and the somewhat later version

⁴⁴ Mayer, *op. cit.*, pp. 17–18; Mayer lists seven examples, the fifth of which, a stone basin in the Beyrouth Museum, is illustrated here (*pl. 4, figs. 18 and 19*), while the sixth, a Mamluk potsherd, has now been published by Cleves Stead, *Fantastic fauna, decorative animals in Moslem ceramics*, Cairo, ca. 1935, p. 139, No. 1. Thanks to the kindness of George C. Miles, we can now add to the coin in the Jordan Government Museum, Jerusalem, published by Mayer (*op. cit.*, *pl. 20*) another example, also inscribed *al-malik al-manṣūr* on the obverse, in the Museum of the American Numismatic Society, New York (*pl. 4, fig. 20*). For the *Maqāmāt* miniature (Bodleian Library, Marsh 458) see L. A. Mayer, *Mamluk costume*, Geneva, 1952, *pl. 20*, No. 1.

⁴⁵ L. A. Mayer's private communication is dated May 14, 1953; he refers also to his forthcoming study on the Oxford *Maqāmāt* miniature in *Oriental Notes and Studies*, vol. 6. For *ghāshiya* see in the meantime the discussions by Quatremère (*op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 5–7) and C. H. Becker (*Le "ghāshiya" comme emblème de la royauté*, Centenario della nascita di Michele Amari, Palermo, 1910, vol. 2, pp. 148–151).

⁴⁶ *Op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 84.

on the bowl in the City Art Museum of St. Louis seem to be the "missing links" in this development. The appearance of the design of a richly ornamented camel carrying an empty, elaborately decorated litter and a large flag on a luxury vessel made in one of the centers of the Arab world fits well in the overall picture. It seems, therefore, very likely that these ceramic decorations have preserved for us the *physical aspect* of an ancient practice and thus provide us with the evidence for the persistence of an age-old custom of the desert which was given various new meanings in Islam. What the exact *nature* or *meaning* of this ceremonial litter on the pottery pieces was, whether it still had religious connotations or, as it is more likely, was already purely secular, and if so whether it represented a prince residing in a capital city, a tribe and its shaykh in the desert, or an urban district, can only be decided in case we should be lucky enough to find more precise literary references to this custom antedating or contemporary with the pottery pieces under discussion.

II. THE EARLIEST OF THE "ALHAMBRA VASES"

Undoubtedly the most impressive ceramic vessels made in Muslim Spain are those referred to as the "Alhambra vases." It is therefore legitimate to ask the question: Which of the ones that have survived can be regarded as the oldest? This question was first posed by one of the earliest and most judicious investigators of Hispano-Moresque pottery, Friedrich Sarre, who called the vase in Leningrad "wohl das früheste und schönste Exemplar" (*pl. 5, fig. 21*).⁴⁷ Lane regarded the Leningrad and Palermo pieces (*pl. 5, figs. 21*

and 22) as the earliest,⁴⁸ while Mrs. Frothingham dates those of Leningrad, Palermo, and the "Jerez vase" in the Museo Arqueológico in Madrid (*pl. 5, figs. 21-23*) late thirteenth century, and the "Osma vase" in the Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan early fourteenth century (*pl. 5, fig. 24*).⁴⁹

A re-examination of the various early pieces (which alone will be considered here) resulted in the following observations, which supplement those made by earlier writers.

1. It has been noticed that the "Alhambra vases" of the second and later group (to which the celebrated piece in Granada [*pl. 8, fig. 35*] belongs) are more elongated and elegantly formed when compared with the earlier group (of which the vases in Leningrad and Palermo are the most famous). It has also been pointed out that in the later group the inscription takes on a less conspicuous place, that is to say, the originally wide, central register, with its large kufic inscription, is now reduced to a narrow band containing the much less decorative and showy writing in naskhi.⁵⁰ If we look at the earlier group with this observation in mind, we must come to the conclusion that the "Osma vase" stands at the beginning of the development, since its body has the most bulbous shape, is broadest in relation to its height, its neck has a shorter, more "stocky" appearance, and it has the widest kufic inscription band.

2. The large central inscriptions on the "Osma," Palermo, and Leningrad vases are painted in luster on the white glaze (*text figs.*

⁴⁸ A. Lane, *Early Hispano-Moresque pottery: a reconsideration*. Burlington Magazine, vol. 88 (1946), p. 250.

⁴⁹ Frothingham, *op. cit.*, pp. 27 and 36; in the captions for her figures 8, 10, and 11, the Leningrad, "Jerez," and Palermo vases are dated "late thirteenth-early fourteenth century," while the "Osma piece," (see her figure 13) is called "early fourteenth century."

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 27 and 36.

⁴⁷ F. Sarre, *Die spanisch-maurischen Lüsterfayencen des Mittelalters und ihre Herstellung in Málaga*. Jahrb. d. kgl. preussisch. Kunstsamml., vol. 24 (1903), p. 112.

1, 2, and 4), while that on the "Jerez vase" is reserved in the white of the glaze against the darker luster ground (*text fig. 3*). If we take the use of luster in eastern Islam as a parallel, we observe that the technique which reserves a design against a luster background is later than the simple technique which paints the luster on the glaze itself.⁵¹

large letters and the *lillāh* in smaller size between the two *lāms* in the space left above the small-size letter *mīm* (*fig. 1*). In contrast to it the Palermo and "Jerez" vases have only *al-mulk* ("the kingdom") which by itself is pointless⁵² and is applied only for its decorative value (*figs. 2 and 3*).

It is true that pottery found in Elvira,



FIG. 1



FIG. 2



FIG. 3



FIG. 4

FIGS. 1-3—KUFIC INSCRIPTIONS ON LUSTER VASES

1, Madrid, Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan; 2, Palermo, Museo Nazionale;
3, Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional.

FIG. 4—INSCRIPTION ON LUSTER VASE. LENINGRAD, HERMITAGE

3. When compared with the vases in Leningrad and Palermo, the "Osma vase" alone presents, in the wide central inscription band, a *complete* standard text as the repeat unit, namely *الله الملك* *al-mulk lillāh* ("the kingdom belongs to God"), with the *al-mulk* written in

Madīnat al-Zahrā', and Marrakesh from periods preceding the manufacture of the "Alhambra vases" shows the word *al-mulk* alone, either once or as a repeat pattern.⁵³ However,

⁵¹ Compare Lane, *Early Islamic pottery*, pls. 12, 13, 22, 23, and 28 with his pls. 25B, 52B, 53B and C, 54B and C, etc.

⁵² This single-word repeat could also be read as *al-malik* ("the king"), but this would present a less appropriate reading, because if applied to a mundane ruler there would most probably be additional royal epithets.

⁵³ M. Gomez-Moreno, *Arte árabe español hasta*

in these instances we are not confronted with wares that can compete in studied elaborateness and splendor with the "Alhambra vases." Furthermore, the fact that there is at least one vase that has the complete phrase *al-mulk lillāh* on two levels of writing within a very well-designed and unusually complete decorative repertory indicates that the correct phrase was known in the Malaga pottery workshops at that time, but was reduced to the simpler version on one level in most cases.

4. The large kufic letters of *al-mulk* on the "Osma vase" still show the restraint and purity of the classic kufic whose upright strokes end in arabesques (*fig. 1*). Only the smaller letters of "*lillāh*" show the beginning of a new development in which the upper ends of the letters turn either to the right or left at an obtuse angle. The large kufic letters of the Palermo and "Jerez" vases (*figs. 2 and 3*), although obviously very close to the forms of the corresponding letters of the "Osma" piece (particularly in the forms of the letter *kāf*), show already every second upright part of a letter turned to the left at an obtuse angle. The main inscription band on the Leningrad piece with a repeat of *al-ʿāfiyah* ("good health") shows this angular break in both directions in a very pronounced form (*fig. 4*).

5. Of the Palermo and "Jerez" vases, the latter represents a later form because here the *mīm* of *al-mulk* is, so to speak, set on a stilt, turning it into *ʿayin*, which no longer makes sense (*figs. 2 and 3*).

6. If we compare the spacing of the repeat units we find that in the "Osma vase" the individual words of *al-mulk* are clearly separated from each other and the same applies to the

Palermo piece, where the final *kāf* ends on a lower level than the *alif* of the next repeat; on the other hand, in the "Jerez vase" the words seem to flow one into the other and are separated only by a hair's breadth (*figs. 1-3*).

7. The wide kufic inscription band on the "Osma vase" alone, of all the known pieces, is twice interrupted by a big roundel with a geometric configuration of polygonal interlacing. Such decorative roundels in inscription bands are quite common in the art of the eastern Mediterranean, especially in metalwork. These configurations, composed as they are of straight and curved lines, are to be found in many variations in the art of western Islam of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries,⁵⁴ but they occur only occasionally later on. It might well be assumed that the rather complex and difficult roundel was applied only to the earlier pieces, possibly due to eastern influences, but was left out as not quite suitable in what was to develop into the standard scheme of vase decoration.

8. It is true that the large interlaced kufic inscription in every second panel on the neck of the "Osma vase" is composed of the word *al-mulk* alone, which, as we have seen, can occur by itself in western Islamic pottery, but even here a comparison of the corresponding panels on the other vases shows that, as a neck decoration in a narrow panel, this represents an earlier stage in the development than their equivalents on other pieces. The "Simonetti vase" in the Museum of the Alhambra and the now destroyed "Heilbronner vase"⁵⁵ have only sham kufic which can no longer be read, while

los Almohades, arte mozárabe, *Ars Hispaniae, Historia universal del arte hispánico III* (Madrid, 1952), *figs. 380 and 384*; J. Meunié, H. Terrasse, et G. Deverdun, *Recherches archéologiques à Marrakech*, Paris, 1952, pp. 72 and 77, pls. 63, No. 63; 68, No. 42; 72, No. 257.

⁵⁴ Leopoldo Torres Balbás, *Arte almohade, arte nazari, arte mudéjar*, Madrid, 1949, *figs. 47 and 242*; decorative frontispiece of a Maghribi Koran written on parchment, twelfth century, Freer Gallery of Art, No. 31.9nn (a complex rosette composed of circle segments).

⁵⁵ Frothingham, *op. cit.*, *fig. 15*, and F. Sarre and F. R. Martin, *Meisterwerke muhammedanischer Kunst in München*, Munich, 1912, vol. 2, pl. 118.

the corresponding panels in the Leningrad and Palermo vessels have discarded any pretense of presenting kufic and show only the interlacing of what would have been the upper parts of kufic letters. The Stockholm vase (*pl. 6, fig. 25*) reverts to the original concept because it presents a readable and proper word in kufic, i.e., غبطة *ghibṭah* ("happiness, well-being"), but the decorative rosettes, knots, and interlacing of the upper part of the letters are now much more elaborate than the corresponding forms on the "Osma vase" and they actually tend to overshadow the Kufic at the bottom of the panel.⁵⁶ These decorative features are more significant evidence for the late date than the use of *ghibṭah* itself, because when, in the fourteenth century, this word was employed as a repeat motif, it then showed similar elaborate interlacings and star designs for the hastae; we find it, for instance, on the rather late cope in the Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan, to whose decoration Mrs. Frothingham also refers.

9. The cufflike support of the hand symbol (*khamṣ*) on the wing-handles of the "Jerez vase" in Madrid is cut by the body, while in the Leningrad piece this design fits into the space provided by the handle (*pl. 5, figs. 21 and 23*).

One can conclude from these arguments that certain pieces seem to be at least relatively older or closer to the archtype and that they are perhaps even actually older. Not one of the above reasons alone would carry enough weight to prove the seniority of a piece, but since nearly every observation points in the same direction, their sum total makes it most likely that from the turn of the thirteenth to the fourteenth century to the end of the fourteenth century we have an age sequence as follows: The earliest piece seems to be the "Osma vase" of the Instituto de Valencia de

Don Juan; the second group contains the Palermo and Leningrad (possibly also the "Heilbronner" and "Simonetti" vases, though these two are too damaged to allow a more specific attribution). Definitely later than the pieces in Palermo and Leningrad, and of course the one in the Instituto, is the "Jerez vase" in the Museo Arqueológico Nacional in Madrid; finally, these are followed, as Mrs. Frothingham pointed out, by the more unusual Stockholm vase, which is the last to show luster exclusively for its decoration. Though this piece contains certain archaistic features, the often "scribbly" way of execution, lacking the force of earlier luster ornaments, points to a later date. The organization of its surface into many narrow bands with a variety of both delicate and dense patterns corresponds also to textiles of the end of the fourteenth century.

III. THE "KHAMṢ" OR HAND SYMBOL

One of the more unusual luster decorations is the use of conventionalized hands (in Arabic: *khamṣ*), usually emerging from a stylized cuff or extending as a finial from a standardlike support; they are to be found on the Leningrad and "Jerez" vases (*pl. 5, figs. 21 and 23, pl. 6, fig. 26*) and also on later Manises ware, such as several polygonal luster tiles in Don Gonzalo López de la Fuente's memorial chapel in the Convent of La Concepción in Toledo, completed in 1422 (*pl. 6, figs. 27 and 28*).⁵⁷ This symbol can hardly be called a "cabalistic sign of western Islamic origin,"⁵⁸

⁵⁷ Joseph Font y Gumá, *Rajoles valencianas y catalanas*, Vilanova y Geltrú, 1905, figs. 17, 24, and 26; the first and last figures of this publication are here reproduced; Frothingham, *op. cit.*, pp. 206-207.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 28. The word غبطة (*ghibṭah*) on the "cuff" of the Leningrad piece is so widely used as a good wish that it does not provide a proper clue to the meaning of this decoration. The word appears on

⁵⁶ Frothingham, *op. cit.*, fig. 20.

since it had already existed for a long time in the Near East before it reached the lands of western Islam. Its history is indeed so extensive that an account of it would go well beyond the scope of this note; it suffices to quote a few stages of this development, the sum of which is that in some cases the hand expresses divine power, in others divine blessing, while it has an apotropaic, magic quality, especially against the evil eye, in a third group.

An example from Ancient Egypt is to be found on a small stone altar relief from Amarna, now in the Cairo Museum, where many outstretched hands issue from the ends of the rays of the *Atôn* sun, as it shines on the figures of Amenôphis IV and his family.⁵⁹ In a different concept a single outstretched hand set on a square support appears like a divine image or symbol on a Babylonian seal of the Hammurabi dynasty.⁶⁰ In the Orient of the Late Classical period the symbol of the hand bestowing divine blessing, with all fingers extended, represents the Syrian goddess Atargatis,⁶¹ or, in the form of "the Latin benediction" (that is, with the ring and little fingers bent), it becomes the symbol of various Baals of the Syrian pantheon or of the Phrygian god Sabazios of a syncretistic Judaeo-pagan cult.⁶² A different iconographic setting is pre-

the same vase in each of the roundels above the main Kufic inscription, in the central band and as a repeat in the central inscription, and on the neck of the Stockholm vase (*pl. 6, fig. 25*).

⁵⁹ H. Schäfer and W. Andrae, *Die Kunst des alten Orients*, Berlin, 1925, color plate 12.

⁶⁰ H. Seyrig, *Antiquités syriennes*, 28. *Représentations de la main divine*, Syria, vol. 20 (1939), p. 190, fig. 10.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 189-190, fig. 9.

⁶² F. Cabrol-H. Leclercq, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, Paris, 1907 to date, vol. 10, pt. 1, cols. 1206-1207; vol. 15, pt. 1, cols. 212-213. Recently H. P. L'Orange has given a new interpretation to the hand in the Sabazios cult: he regards it as the Late Classical speech gesture of the raised hand with three or four fingers extended; in

sented by several of the paintings of the mid-third-century synagogue in Dura where God is represented by a hand with outstretched fingers pointing from the sky,⁶³ presaging countless similar representations in medieval Christian art from the fourth century on. Again, a different context is provided by a hand holding the emblem of lightning on a relief in the entrance of a private home in Dura which has been assumed to have been used to counteract the evil eye.⁶⁴ In pre-Islamic Iran the hand symbol occurs also on Sasanian seals, apparently as the only separate part of the human body, though here its exact meaning has not yet been ascertained.⁶⁵

The symbol occurs also in pagan Arabia, as sgraffiti of the hand with outstretched fingers occur, scratched on rocks, sometimes to-

the case of Sabazios, this expression of the spoken word could have been a magic formula or benediction (*Studies on the iconography of cosmic kingship in the ancient world*, Instituttet for Sammenlignende Kulturforskning, ser. A, No. 23, Oslo, 1953, pp. 184-187 and fig. 131).

⁶³ Comte du Mesnil du Buisson, *Les peintures de la synagogue de Doura-Europos*, 245-256 après J.-C., Rome, 1938, pp. 38-39, 41-42, 95, 114, pls. 16, 17, 19, 39, 49. The pertinent biblical texts illustrated in the Dura paintings either refer to the all-powerful hand of God and His power of intervention expressed by His hand (Ex. 15: 6 and 12; Ez. 37: 1; Kings 17: 22) or to the word of God (in Ex. 3: 4-6; Ez. 37: 3-6; 12-14). See also L'Orange, *op. cit.*, pp. 159-162, 171-197, fig. 132.

⁶⁴ M. I. Rostovtzeff, *The excavations at Dura-Europos. Preliminary report of the fifth season of work, October 1931-March 1932*, New Haven, 1934, p. 236, pl. 18; Seyrig, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

⁶⁵ Paul Horn-Georg Steindorff, *Sasanidische Siegelsteine* (Mitteilungen aus d. orientalischen Sammlungen. . . Hft. 4), Berlin, 1891, pl. 2, Nos. 1129-30; H. H. von der Osten, *The ancient seals from the Near East in the Metropolitan Museum. old and middle Persian seals*, The Art Bulletin, vol. 13 (1931), pl. opp. p. 226, Nos. 59 and 60. In three of these designs the index finger is turned to, or even touches, the thumb; on two representations ribbons are placed below the hand.

gether with Thamudic inscriptions.⁶⁶ In one instance the hand appears together with crude representations of human figures either praying or offering something to a deity.⁶⁷ In these figures the hands on the lifted arms are strongly indicated, stressing the religious significance of the symbol.

In Islam the symbol of the hand has received three different settings or expressions within the sphere of religious worship or veneration. There are first the medieval Shi'ite sanctuaries which contained so-called imprints in stone of the hand of Ali (Persian: *panjeh-e 'Alī* or *kaff-e 'Alī*; Arabic: *athar al-kaff*). They are to be found in Iraq (in and near Baghdad and in Mosul) and occasionally in Iran and Syria (Damascus) and reveal a cult at least from the eleventh-twelfth centuries on.⁶⁸

In Iran the symbol of the outstretched hand occurs commonly as finials of standards carried around in the Muḥarram processions or as amulets worn by small boys in the same period (*pl. 6, fig. 29*). It is a popular belief in the country that this custom was instigated by Shi'ite devotion to the memory of Abū 'l-Faḍl 'Abbās, a son of Ali and a martyr whose hand was cut off in the battle of Kerbela before he was killed.⁶⁹ The actual objects of

this Shi'ite veneration, for which no older ones than the seventeenth century are known to the writer, are still widely used and often of fairly recent origin; the beginnings of this devotion are not explored and therefore still unknown.

Unlike the predominate Shi'ite character of the two types of hand symbolism so far discussed, the third is of apotropaic nature and chiefly (but far from exclusively) used in North Africa (and common among both Muslims and Jews). Here the emblem called *khams* and usually of gold and silver is used as an amulet on a person,⁷⁰ or the design is

sanés, Paris, 1938, vol. 1, pp. 127, n. 1, 133, 134. Two other such hands from the Art Institute in Chicago were exhibited in the London exhibition of 1931 (Cat. No. 309.0); they are illustrated in the *Illustrated London News*, vol. 78, No. 4787 (Jan. 17, 1931), p. 91; they probably date from the eighteenth century. Sometimes the hand becomes so stylized that it takes on the form of five radiating spikes without any indication of a thumb, etc. (*Collection Henri Moser-Charlottenfels, Oriental Arms and Armour*, Leipzig, 1912, p. 18, pl. 42, No. 991); Celal Esad Arseven, *Les arts décoratifs turcs*, Istanbul, n.d., fig. 92.

The hands appear also on small molded discs (*mohr*) made of the sacred earth of Kerbela and often with an inscription referring to the tomb of the martyr (e.g., *turbat-e a'lā* "The most high mausoleum"). Such a disc is placed on the ground and touched with the forehead during the prayer. One can therefore see many of them on the floor of Persian mosques.

⁷⁰ Paul Eudel, *Dictionnaire des bijoux de l'Afrique du Nord, Maroc, Algérie, Tunisie, Tripolitaine*, Paris, 1906, pp. 15-16, 81-82, 176, 200; H. A. Winkler, *Siegel und Charaktere in der muhammedanischen Zauberei*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1930, p. 174 and pl. 3, No. 5 (example from Egypt); Donaldson, *op. cit.*, p. 208 (about the use in Iran); Du Mesnil du Buisson, *Peintures*, fig. 114 (a Jewish example of the nineteenth century with Hebrew inscriptions); E. Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Algiers, 1909, pp. 325-227. The symbol is called "Hand of Fatimah" (or its equivalent in other European languages), but, as we shall presently see, it has nothing to do with the person of Fatimah. The open metal hand is not used against the evil eye in

⁶⁶ A. Jaussen et R. Savignac, *Mission archéologique en Arabie*, Paris, 1909, vol. 1, pp. 122 and 279, pl. 32, No. 50. A Punic example first published by J. Euting has been reproduced in Edvard A. Westermarck, *Pagan survivals in Muhammedan civilization*, London, 1933, fig. 70.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, fig. 80.

⁶⁸ F. Sarre-E. Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise im Euphrat-und Tigris-Gebeit*, Berlin, 1911-20, vol. 1, pp. 24-26 (M. van Berchem), vol. 2, pp. 197 and 276, vol. 3, pl. 7 (with further references); occasionally such "imprints" of the hand are also to be found in Sunnite shrines, e.g., two under a little domed canopy opposite the qiblah wall in the Mausoleum of Qāyṭbāy, Cairo.

⁶⁹ Bess Allen Donaldson, *The wild rue*, London, 1938, p. 208; H. Massé, *Croyances et coutumes per-*

applied to objects or found on buildings (as on the Puerta de la Justicia of the Alhambra) for protective purposes, especially against the evil eye. It is in this form and apotropaic function that this symbol seems to have existed already in pre-Islamic times in Arabia.

The examination of the Koranic inscriptions on a modern piece (which happened to be of aluminum) seems to indicate that such emblems are also used for the protection of soldiers, especially those engaged in the *jihād*.⁷¹ It is therefore not astonishing to find this symbol on flags of the Osmanli Turks, e.g., on those captured after the unsuccessful siege of Vienna in 1683⁷² or during later campaigns against them.⁷³

The connotation of power and victory may also be the reason why the hand became a secular Mughal insigne which was carried on a

Modern Iran (Massé, *op. cit.*, p. 127, n. 1). About the possible existence of the belief in medieval Iran, see below, n. 78.

⁷¹ By using such Koranic sentences as "If Allah is your Helper, none can overcome ye" (3, 160); "The hand of Allah is above their hands" (48, 10); or of non-Koranic quotations such as: "Bring the actions to Allah, the Holy war is in the path of Allah."

⁷² Now in the Historical Museum of that city, according to the kind information of its Director, Dr. Glück.

⁷³ One such flag is preserved in the "Türkenbeute" of Margrave Ludwig Wilhelm of Baden (1655-1707), one of the great generals of the period, and is now in the Badisches Landesmuseum in Karlsruhe (No. D23; see Ernst Petrasch, *Die Geschichte der türkischen Trophäensammlung des Markgrafen Ludwig Wilhelm von Baden*, Zeitschr. f.d. Geschichte des Oberrheins, vol. 100 [1952], pp. 653 and 691). This flag (total size 154 x 152 cm.) has a field of yellowish faded linen with applications and a border of green silk (*pl. 6, fig. 30*). The odd drawing of the double-pointed sword Dhū 'l-Faqār, and even the crude stylization of the hand, indicate that this is not a true Ottoman Turkish flag made in Constantinople, but probably a product from the Balkans. This serves us as yet another indication for the wide distribution of the motif.

staff by a courtier⁷⁴ and thus is occasionally represented on miniatures depicting an imperial court scene. Plate 7, figure 31, illustrates a "*Darbār* of Jahāngīr" in the Freer Gallery of Art (No. 31.20) and there, in the upper right corner, we find an attendant with this emblem. It seems worthwhile to point out that the hand emerges from the same kind of cuff as found in a stylized form on the vases in Leningrad and Madrid and on one of the tiles in Toledo.

One of the sources of the belief in the apotropaic qualities of the motif is the concept of the divine hand as the fountainhead of power and bounty. In Islam it is based on the Koranic references to the hand of Allah (*yad Allāh*);⁷⁵ this is further reinforced by the magical character of the number five, derived from the five basic tenets of Islam, the five daily prayers, and the five members of the Prophet's family, i.e., Muhammad, Ali, Fatimah, Hasan, and Husain, who are in themselves helpmates in need.⁷⁶ On a different,

⁷⁴ Two actual examples (apparently rather late) from the collection of the Maharaja of Jodhpur are illustrated in Abdul Aziz, *Arms and jewellery of the Indian Mughuls*, Lahore [1947], pl. opp. p. 92. Such an insigne, among others, was also observed by Peter Mundy when he saw Shah Jahān ride out in state at Agra in 1632 (*ibid.*, pp. 90/91).

⁷⁵ "In thy hand is the good" (3,27); "The bounty is in Allah's hand" (3,73); "His hands are spread out wide with bounty; he bestoweth as he will" (5,64); "The hand of Allah is above their hands" (48,10); "... bounty is in Allah's hand to give to whom he will" (57,29); "Blessed is he, in whose hand is the sovereignty and he is able to do all things" (67,1).

⁷⁶ C. Huart, *Khams(a)*, Encyclopaedia of Islām, Leiden, London, 1913-38, vol. 2, p. 897; Donaldson, *op. cit.*, pp. 21, 27, 56, etc. In the Arab world, Thursday, "the fifth day of the week is also particularly favorable for any transactions in the course of which one has to combat the evil eye" (Doutté, *op. cit.*, p. 327; Westermarck, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-29); this preference for Thursday, e.g., in connection with the Prophet's travels, is already mentioned in Qazwīnī,

more primitive, and therefore perhaps more basic level the hand is the natural weapon to avert danger and thus, long before Islam (as in many countries), the outstretched hand has been used against the evil eye, to dispel the projection of the magic force, to shut it off, to throw it back, or if possible, even to destroy it. In view of this, the quickest method to counteract the evil eye in personal contact is to say *khamṣ fi 'aynak* ("five [fingers] in your eye") with or without the gesture, while the long-range protection of persons, animals, buildings, or objects consists of the applied image of the hand or any of its abbreviated or symbolic forms, all based on the idea of "five."⁷⁷

There is thus no doubt about the apotropaic character of the hand on the various pieces of Spanish ceramics. This is clear not only from the widespread use of the hand against the evil eye, of which we have just spoken, but the symbol is, in addition, reinforced in two characteristic ways to heighten its effectiveness. First there is, as Mrs. Frothingham already observed, the simplified representation of one or two eyes on most of these symbols. They were applied because the eye is another neutralizing magic medium against the evil eye and has been used as such in several civilizations.⁷⁸ Furthermore, the hand is

⁷⁷ *Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt*, Cairo, Maḥmūd Tawfiq, n.d., p. 65, line 4ff.; tr. H. Etté, Leipzig, 1868, vol. 1, p. 135.

⁷⁸ Westermarck, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-36, 49, and figs. 1-32.

⁷⁸ The combined hand and eye symbols occur already in the ninth century in large stylized wall paintings found in a Nishapur palace. Here "strangely crude hands are stretched out toward orbs or pyramids of fruit." The excavators believed that the ensemble of forms in these paintings "seems to be trying to express the frustrated strivings of a human being without actually representing him"; but the use of the combination of hand and eye in other places points rather to a magic, apotropaic function, at least for this part of the design (Walter Hauser and

stylized to taper toward a sharp point. In this form it serves like other pointed elements, and in particular the index finger, as a magic defense and even as an offensive weapon to pierce

Charles K. Wilkinson, *The museum's excavations at Nishāpūr*, Bull. Metropolitan Museum of Art, vol. 37 [1942], p. 100, figs. 28-29). Pairs of eyes occur also in other painted designs of Nishapur (W. Hauser, J. M. Upton, and C. K. Wilkinson, *The Irānian expedition, 1937. The museum's excavations at Nishāpūr, ibid.*, vol. 33, No. 11, sect. 11 [Nov. 1938], p. 10, figs. 4-5).

On the use of one or two eye images as another potent charm against the evil eye, either alone or in conjunction with the hand symbol, see Westermarck, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-46, 49-52, figs. 33-74. As Westermarck deals mostly with Morocco, he does not refer to the eye designs used on the prows and sterns of ships, especially in Turkey, South Arabia, and East Africa (Richard LeBaron Bowen, Jr., *Primitive watercraft of Arabia*, The American Neptune, vol. 12 [1952], pp. 211 and 214, figs. 6 and 10, pl. 19a). The earliest dated use of the eye motif on boats, apparently, is in the *Maqāmāt* manuscript of 634 H./1237, in the Bibliothèque Nationale, arabe 5847 (G. F. Hourani, *Arab seafaring in the Indian Ocean in ancient and early medieval times*, Princeton, 1951, pl. 7, and E. Blochet, *Musulman painting . . .*, London, 1929, pl. 25; see also E. Kühnel, *Islamische Miniaturmalerei*, Berlin, 1923, pl. 7), but even in these paintings it has already turned into a decorative rosette, which is applied in several places on the boat. Similar stylizations and arrangements can be found on boats painted in Persian miniatures, where these *oculi* likewise form a regular pattern which is no longer understood (e.g., the miniature "Kay Khosrow crossing the China Sea," in Turkoman style, of about 1480, in the possession of the Kevorkian Foundation [pl. 7, fig. 32], and in manuscripts dated 1438 and 1527, see L. Binyon, J. V. S. Wilkinson and Basil Gray, *Persian miniature painting*, London, 1933, pl. 53A, and A. Sakisian, *La miniature persane*, Paris-Bruxelles, 1929, pl. 67A). Such eye designs occur already on boats in the Ajanta paintings (J. Griffiths, *The paintings in the Buddhist cave-temples of Ajantā*, London, 1896, vol. 1, figs. 58, 59 and pl. 34; Bowen, *op. cit.*, p. 214). On the use of the eye on the outstretched hand in the indigenous art of North and South America see G. V. Callegari, *Occhi lagrimanti e mani veggenti nella ceramica antica d'America*, Faenza, vol. 39 (1953), pp. 82-83, and pl. 23.

and extinguish the source of the dreaded evil.⁷⁹ These secondary features are still preserved on the tiles of 1422 in Toledo.

While the nature of the khamis symbol is clear, the question of how and when the Hispano-Moresque potters got the idea of applying it on their products has still to be investigated, especially as this is a rare motif in pottery decoration throughout the Muslim world and so far not traced in the earlier wares of Spain. Luckily, some clues to an answer are preserved on Egyptian pottery. There is first an unpublished Fatimid luster bowl (*pl. 8, fig. 33*), probably of the twelfth century, in the Detroit Institute of Arts, which shows this feature in an otherwise unexplained scene; it consists of two figures seated on either side of a large hand affixed as finial on the same cufflike support, as also used on the two vases in Leningrad and Madrid. It will be noticed that we find here already the tendency to elongate the three central fingers so as to mark them as part of a pointed hand; we have also the half-rounded crescent on the little finger which is also found on the Leningrad piece and just slightly indicated on the "Jerez vase." It does not seem likely that this is a representation of a finger ring because some further decorations such as stones or bosses would probably have been indicated on the rather large-scale representation of the Fatimid bowl and also a complete ring would very likely have been indicated around the finger. It will also be noticed that on the Detroit bowl this feature is not actually round but rather angular. The explanation that most readily comes to one's mind is that this is an adaptation of the Arabic word "Allah" to the hand symbol, with the ringlike feature on the little finger forming the final *hā*. This is also the reason why, in certain representations, the thumb is given like something apart, because it is not necessary in the forma-

tion of the word "Allah." The idea of this equation of "Hand" and "Allah" is only natural in view of the fact that the power and bounty of God is expressed by His hand. This identification may have been soon forgotten; in any case in the Mudejar tiles in the convent chapel of Toledo, this Muslim equation of Allah with the hand symbol has long been lost, and all we find is a mere decorative design with possibly an apotropaic undertone. However, even these late representations incorporate earlier features such as the pointed formation of the hand and the turning over of the thumb, the inclusion of the line at the bottom of the finger, and the white dot in the palm standing for a protective eye. That the hand symbol on the Detroit bowl is not unique is indicated by a fragment of what was probably a Fatimid bottle, painted in luster, in the Pope-Ackerman collection in New York, on the neck of which the pointed hand symbol is applied three times (*pl. 8, fig. 34*).

It has been assumed that luster pottery in Spain owes its beginning and later flowering to an influx of potters from Egypt, especially after the fall of the Fatimid dynasty.⁸⁰ So far, only a certain group of luster pottery of "sub-Fatimid provincial appearance" has been tentatively thought to be an early product of Egyptian potters in Spain, possibly made in Calatayud,⁸¹ but so far no definite link between Hispano-Moresque and Egyptian pottery has come to light. It would be tempting to assume that the hand symbol provides this connection, as it is first found on Fatimid pottery and then in practically identical fashion on later pieces from Malaga and Manises. The rarity of the

⁸⁰ Ali Bey Bahgat and Felix Massoul, *La céramique musulmane de l'Égypte*, Le Caire, 1930, p. 67; Frothingham, *Lustreware of Spain*, p. 12.

⁸¹ Gaetano Ballardini, *The bacini of S. Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna*, Burlington Magazine, vol. 32 (1918), pp. 128-135; A. Lane, *Early Hispano-Moresque pottery; a reconsideration*, *ibid.*, vol. 88 (1946), pp. 246-250.

⁷⁹ Doutré, *op. cit.*, pp. 325-326; Westermarck, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

motif in Egypt—in contrast to its frequency in the Maghrib, at least later on—speaks, however, against the supposition that it migrated from east to west. It seems rather more likely that this design was brought to Egypt by the Fatimids when they left Tunisia in A.D. 969. If this should be so, the use of the motif in the Maghrib would go back at least to the tenth century and it may even be assumed that it occurred on pottery antedating the “Alhambra vases.”

IV. THE “FREER VASE”

Since this writer has had unusual opportunities to study this comparatively little-known piece in the later series of the large “Alhambra vases” (*pl. 8, fig. 36*), a few observations about its decoration and technique are here presented. The significance of the Freer vase lies in the fact that it is the only other vessel which, like the famous one in the Alhambra itself (*pl. 8, fig. 35*), shows on each of the two sides of the upper part, confronted quadrupeds on both sides of an arabesque decoration (*pl. 9, fig. 39*).⁸² On the other hand, the two octagonal stars with complex geometrical configurations and the roundels with arabesques between them have their parallels in similar octagonals and roundels on the vase fragment in the Islamische Abteilung of the Staatliche Museen in Berlin (*pl. 9, fig. 37*). The Berlin vase in its turn is closely connected with the vase in the Alhambra on account of

⁸² The animals are very similar but not identical, e.g., only one pair has the word العافية inscribed on the body. They are not an identifiable species and their doelike heads and rabbit ears differ from the more birdlike heads of the Alhambra vase. The arabesques (or Spanish: *atauriques*) on the Freer piece are much coarser and less articulated than those of the Alhambra vase (*ataurique* is derived from التوريق [al-tawriq]; its connotation is with ورق [“leaves”] and it designates, therefore, leaf forms (cf. Dozy-Engelmann, *Glossaire*, p. 214.)

its neck designs in the two preserved bands, and to a lesser degree with the neck fragment in the Hispanic Society of America, on account of its series of roundels (*pl. 9, fig. 38*). These four pieces, therefore, form a group. The Alhambra and New York pieces and even the Berlin fragment seem to be of better workmanship, which would indicate that they are either by a better master or slightly earlier than the Freer vase. The Freer vessel seems to include all the possible types of decoration—animals, geometric designs, arabesques, a large poetic inscription (not yet fully deciphered) in cursive naskhi and a more formal naskhi for good wishes. More than any piece of this series it therefore looks like a “sampler” in which the artist tried to apply the whole workshop repertory, which might be another indication of the rather late date of its fabrication.

This vase now shows practically only the cobalt blue decorations, which, in many places, has run into the white glaze, making it a lighter blue with a greenish tint. The glaze has greatly suffered through hard use in the tavern of the Albaicín in Granada, where Mariano Fortuny found it. On close examination, however, there are still to be found areas of the original luster ornamentation (especially on the lower part), which varies from a dark brown to a light yellow. In view of its technical deficiency it is worth pointing out that Sarre stated that the Berlin vase also was not too successfully fired, since in many places its glaze has chipped off and on one side the luster painting has become very pale. There is one peculiar feature of the Freer vase, however, which has not been noticed anywhere else, namely, the application of gold paint, which is found in many places, though only in traces. It always forms a narrow edging for the design, that is, for the arabesques, the octagons, the cursive naskhi inscription, and even the animals (see areas marked by arrows

on *pl. 9, fig. 39*). The painting is old but whether it is contemporary with the vase or was applied later to make up for the practically lost luster decoration one will probably never be able to say definitely.

The large octagons under the wing handles contain in circular form a repeat of the word العافية or العافيا, a slight corruption of the usual العافية *al-'āfiyah* ("health, safety") written in large letters (*pl. 9, fig. 40*). If one tabulates the various spellings of the word *al-'āfiyah* from the late thirteenth century to the middle of the fifteenth, one finds a definite pattern of deterioration:

alif introduced toward the end of the word, with or without the final *tā marbūṭah*. It is this additional *alif* that made possible a common stylization of the word in the fifteenth century. From then on the new *alif* is nearly always preserved in Malaga wares, but the *yā* can be dropped. In Valencia (Manises) the correct spelling might have been used first, although the main piece of evidence⁸³ (an inscription on a plate from the end of the fourteenth century) is partially blurred. For the early fifteenth century up to ca. 1425-30, potters keep the added *alif* of the Malaga workshops with which they terminate the word and

Date	Place	Spelling	Script	Collection	Figures *
Late 13th-early 14th c.	Malaga	عافه	Kufic	Hermitage	<i>Pl. 5, fig. 21</i>
Late 14th c.	"	العافا	Naskhi	Hisp. Soc. America	<i>Pl. 9, fig. 38</i>
Late 14th-early 15th c.	"	العافاه (or العافا)	"	Berl. Staatliche M.	<i>Pl. 9, fig. 37</i>
"	"	"	"	Freer Gallery	<i>Pl. 9, fig. 40</i>
"	"	"	"	Inst. de Valencia de Don Juan	F. 43
"	"	"	"	"	S. 7
Early 15th c.	"	العافاه	"	Lond., Guildhall	F. 45
About 1400	Valencia?	العافية (?)	"	Berl. Schlossm.	K. 13 ⁷⁹
About 1400	"	عافية	"	Vict. & Alb. M.	F. 51
Early 15th c.	"	العافيا	"	Inst. de Valencia	F. 139
About 1430	"	العافية	"	"	F. 135
About 1428	"	العافيا	"	Fund. Lázaro	F. 58
				Sèvres, Musée	F. 59-60
				Hisp. Soc. America	F. 61
First half 15th c.	"	فه فا	"	Inst. de Valencia	F. 74

* Source of illustrations:

F., Frothingham, *Lustreware*.

S., Sarre, *Lüsterfayencen*.

K., Kühnel, *Daten*.

This survey shows that in a Malaga piece of about 1300 the writing is correctly given in kufic and as yet without the article. This appears for the first time at the end of the century in the naskhi version of the word. Here one finds also the first misspellings with an

they introduce yet another *alif* before the *fā*, which makes the second syllable similar to the first and nearly symmetric. About 1428 the

⁸³ E. Kühnel, *Daten zur Geschichte der spanisch-maurischen Keramik*, Jahrbuch der asiatischen Kunst, vol. 2 (1925), p. 175 and 13.

decorators are satisfied with the first syllable alone, composed of *lām-‘ayn-alif*, which is symmetrical, easily written, and as such provides a good repeat pattern. On the other hand, two versions of the detached *final* syllable also manage to constitute a decorative pattern in a dish of the first half of the fifteenth century.

The continuous use of these variations

seems to indicate a lasting belief in the magic and propitiatory effects of Arabic writing expressing a good wish, at a time when the correct spelling was no longer mastered, and this even in Mudejar civilization. This belief vanished, however, owing to the spread of Christianization in the middle of the fifteenth century.

EXCAVATION REPORTS

SEDRATA. UN CHAPITRE NOUVEAU DE L'HISTOIRE DE L'ART MUSULMAN. CAMPAGNES DE 1951 ET 1952

PAR MARGUERITE VAN BERCHEM

INTRODUCTION

LES RUINES DE LA VILLE DE SEDRATA (Sedrâtah), aujourd'hui ensevelies dans les sables du Sahara algérien, sont situées en plein désert, à environ 800 kilomètres au sud d'Alger et à 14 kilomètres au sud de l'oasis de Ouargla, le chef-lieu militaire des Territoires du Sud (*fig. A*).

L'accès n'en est pas facile. De Ouargla on emprunte d'abord, dans la direction du sud, la mauvaise piste qui conduit à l'oasis d'El Goléa. Puis on bifurque à l'est et bientôt, quelques kilomètres plus loin, apparaissent les premières chaînes de dunes qui recouvrent toute cette région, jusqu'à la Gara Krîma, montagne tabulaire isolée qui domine le désert, à environ 20 km. au sud de Ouargla (*pl. I, fig. 1*).

Les dunes de sable sont particulièrement élevées sur les ruines de l'ancienne capitale ibâdite, les restes de ses constructions et de ses murs éboulés ayant servi de noyau à leur masse. Elles y atteignent parfois jusqu'à 15 mètres de haut. On comprendra aisément la somme de difficultés que comporte une campagne de fouilles sur un pareil terrain, loin de toute habitation humaine, dans un pays constamment balayé par des vents de sable qui anéantissent en quelques jours des semaines de travail. Cette entreprise nous l'avons conduite d'abord entièrement seule, au printemps 1951, n'ayant aucun Européen à nos côtés, aucun moyen technique moderne à notre disposition et dans des conditions météorologiques défa-

vorables, la saison étant déjà trop avancée.¹ Nous n'avions pour toute main d'oeuvre qu'une vingtaine d'ouvriers arabes inexpérimentés et une dizaine d'ânes pour évacuer le sable. Chaque jour le camion militaire, mis obligeamment à notre disposition pour la durée d'un mois par le Commandant des Territoires du Sud, nous transportait à l'aube de Ouargla à notre chantier. Chaque soir il nous ramenait à Ouargla où il fallait s'approvisionner en eau pour nos hommes et nos ânes, la région désertique où se trouve Sedrata étant aujourd'hui totalement privée d'eau.

Commencée en février 1951 cette première campagne de fouilles dû être interrompue au bout d'un mois faute de moyen de transport. Elle avait été précédée, pendant le mois de janvier, d'une prospection hydrologique du site effectuée avec le concours des Services de l'Hydraulique et de la Colonisation à Alger.²

Une seconde campagne de fouilles de plus longue durée a pu être entreprise pendant les mois de décembre 1951 et janvier 1952. Les résultats de cette campagne ont dépassé toute attente. Ils apportent à l'histoire de l'art musulman des éléments entièrement nouveaux

¹ Nous avons perdu plus d'un mois à Alger en démarches pour l'organisation de cette campagne.

² Nous ne saurions assez remercier la Direction de ces importants Services et particulièrement M. Gautier, Chef du Bureau des Etudes Scientifiques, d'avoir mis si libéralement à notre disposition pendant plusieurs semaines un de ses ingénieurs hydrauliciens, un camion et un chauffeur.

chroniqueur ajoute : "Et les gerbes d'eau, d'une puissance incroyable, qui s'échappent des puits creusés par les fugitifs, font bientôt fleurir tout ce désert." ⁴

Sedrata, la capitale ibāḍite, qui connut au X^e et au XI^e siècles une grande prospérité, eut la vie courte. La date de sa fin est encore incertaine. On a dit que la ville avait été ruinée vers 1077 par le seigneur de la Qal'a des Beni Ḥammād.⁵ Nous sommes tentée de croire qu'elle a vécu plus longtemps. Un manuscrit arabe, rapporté de Ouargla par H. Tarry et que nous avons vainement cherché à retrouver, donne l'année 1274 comme celle de la destruction de Sedrata par un chef de troupes, un certain caïd al-Mansūr al-Mashriq dont la nationalité est inconnue.⁶

Quelle que soit l'année de leur fuite, nous voyons les Ibāḍites expulsés à nouveau de leur capitale et contraints de se réfugier sur le plateau aride du Mzab, plus facile à défendre et où ils sont restés.

Ainsi naquirent les cinq villes saintes du Mzab qui, héritières de Sedrata, ont su conserver jusqu'à nos jours la foi pure des ancêtres : Ghardaia, Beni Isguen, Melika, Bounoura et El Ateuf. Construites sur des éminences, à une petite distance les unes des autres, de telle sorte que de certains points élevés voisins le regard les embrasse toutes les cinq à la fois, leur masse compacte, ceinturée de remparts, leurs petites ruelles étroites, dominées par ces hauts et curieux minarets mozabites, leur donnent un aspect moyennâgeux impressionnant. Ainsi devait apparaître autrefois Sedrata avec ses différents *Ksour* (*qṣūrs*), ses remparts et ses tours.

Une fois abandonnée par ses habitants

⁴ Il est probable qu'il existait déjà à cet endroit un ancien établissement berbère.

⁵ P. Blanchet, *L'oasis et le pays de Ouargla*, *Annales de géographie*, t. 9 (1900), pp. 141-158.

⁶ M. H. Duveyrier, *Isedraten et le schisme ibadite*, *Revue d'Ethnographie*, t. 2 (1883), pp. 203-212.

Sedrata fut rapidement recouverte par les sables. Mais les Ibāḍites dont la communauté, demeurée vivante, compte toujours de nombreux et fervents adeptes en Afrique du Nord, vénèrent encore aujourd'hui le souvenir de leur ancienne capitale. Chaque année, à la fin d'avril, ils s'en viennent en pèlerinage, Ibāḍites d'Algérie, de Tunisie, de l'île de Djerba. Franchissant à dos d'âne ou à pied les hautes dunes de sable ils vont s'agenouiller sur l'emplacement de leur mosquée primitive qu'ils ont marqué d'un tas de pierres. Puis ils vont à 500 mètres de là prier sur le tombeau de l'Imām Ya'qūb. Et, bien que les tempêtes de sable fassent disparaître d'une année à l'autre les points de repère qu'ils ont établis, ils retrouvent sans hésitation la place qui leur est devenue sacrée.

C'est ainsi que de père en fils, siècle après siècle, le souvenir de Sedrata s'est conservé.

PREMIERE MISSION DE RECONNAISSANCE. MARS 1950

Survol de la zone archéologique. Vues photographiques aériennes. Les ruines apparaissent nettement sous le sable.

Nous ne reviendrons que rapidement sur cette première reconnaissance du site déjà décrite ailleurs,⁷ au cours de laquelle nous avons

⁷ Marguerite van Berchem, *La découverte de Sedrata*, *La Nouvelle Clio*, III^e année, Nos 9-10 (Bruxelles, 1951), pp. 389-396, pls. 1-5, figs. 1-17; *idem*, *A la recherche de Sedrata*, *Archeologica Orientalia*—In Memoriam Ernst Herzfeld (Locust Valley, N. Y., 1952), pp. 21-31, pls. 2-4; *idem*, *Uncovering a lost city of the Sahara*, *The Illustrated London News*, vol. 222, N° 5937 (Jan. 31, 1953), pp. 165-167, figs. 1-13; *idem*, *Sedrata, une ville du Moyen-Age ensevelie dans les sables du Sahara algérien*, *Documents Algériens-Monographie* N° 11 (Alger, 1^{er} septembre 1953), pp. 1-6, figs. 1-3; *idem*, *A la recherche de Sedrata*, *Algeria*, XXI^e année, N° 33 (Alger, juillet-octobre 1953), pp. 5-12, figs. 1-16; et *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* (Paris, avril-juin 1952), pp. 242-246.

pu, grâce au généreux concours de l'Aviation Militaire d'Algérie, survoler plusieurs fois la zone archéologique en prenant une série de vues aériennes.

Orientée du N.O. au S.E., la ville, que l'on distingue très nettement de l'avion sous le sable qui la recouvre, s'allonge sur plus de deux kilomètres alors qu'elle n'a guère plus de 600 mètres de largeur. Des restes de remparts et de tours de défense sont visibles par endroits (*pl. 1, fig. 2*).

Elle est formée d'agglomérations distinctes, sortes de *Ksour*, construits sur des éminences et reliés entre eux par des routes qui partent dans plusieurs directions, traversant la zone de cultures située au dehors de la ville. Cette zone de jardins, dont les enclos se dessinent sous le sable, s'étend surtout dans la vaste plaine qui sépare, à l'est, la cité en ruines de l'oasis de Rouissat, située à 6 km. de distance.

A côté des routes, nous avons distingué clairement de l'avion le réseau serré des *sequia* ou canalisations à ciel ouvert, aujourd'hui ensablées, qui irrigaient ces jardins et qui s'en vont bien loin dans la plaine. On peut en suivre les traces jusqu'à Rouissat et à Ouargla. Ainsi se trouvent confirmées les traditions verbales et écrites des Ibādites. L'eau était si abondante à Sedrata, disent les anciennes chroniques, qu'elle arrosait aussi, grâce aux puits creusés lors de la construction de la ville, les palmeraies de Ouargla, de Rouissat et celles d'autres oasis sur un rayon de plusieurs kilomètres.⁸

PROSPECTION HYDROLOGIQUE.

JANVIER 1951

Recherche de l'Ain Sfa. Détermination du centre de la zone autrefois irriguée. Les *sequia*.

En revenant pour la seconde fois à Ouargla, en janvier 1951, avec la mission des Ser-

⁸ Les auteurs arabes du Moyen Age affirment, non sans exagération, que Sedrata au temps de sa splendeur, c'est-à-dire au X^e et au XI^e siècles, se composait de 125 villages, arrosés par 1051 sources.

vices de l'Hydraulique, notre intention était non seulement d'établir le plan de la ville et celui du réseau d'irrigations qui nous était apparu si visiblement de l'avion, mais aussi de rechercher l'Ain Sfa ('Ayn al-Şafā), le puits célèbre vanté par les auteurs du Moyen Age.

L'Ain Sfa avait été retrouvé en 1881 par un membre de la Commission du Transsaharien, H. Tarry, qui le premier fit des fouilles à Sedrata en utilisant ce puits pour le ravitaillement en eau de son chantier. Malheureusement Tarry n'a laissé aucune indication qui permette de retrouver l'emplacement de cet important point d'eau.

Ces fouilles, interrompues au bout de quelques semaines, nous sont connues par des notes fort intéressantes parues dans la Revue d'Ethnographie de 1883 et de 1884⁹ mais qui manquent complètement de précision au point de vue topographique.

Tarry recueillit une grande quantité de fragments sculptés en plâtre provenant de la décoration murale d'un palais situé au nord de la ville (*v. pl. 1, fig. 2*) et qu'il dégagait partiellement. Il rapporta tout ce butin à Alger et à Paris où, malgré de nombreuses recherches, il nous a été impossible d'en retrouver aucune trace.

En 1898, le Prof. Paul Blanchet exhuma à nouveau, pour le compte de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, quelques salles de ce même palais, qui comptait, dit-il, 34 pièces,¹⁰ et la mosquée dont Tarry avait déjà dégagé la partie supérieure. Mais Blanchet mourut peu de temps après sans laisser aucune publication et le résultat de ses travaux est perdu pour nous.

⁹ H. Tarry, *Excursion archéologique dans la vallée de l'Oued Mya*, Revue d'Ethnographie, t. 2 (1883), pp. 21-34, fig. 10; *idem*, *Les villes berbères de la vallée de l'Oued Mya*, Revue d'Ethnographie, t. 3 (1884), pp. 1-44, figs. 3-9, et 17.

¹⁰ Cf. Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, quatrième série. t. 26 (1898), pp. 46, 61-62, 509 et 520-521.

Enfin, pendant la dernière guerre, les militaires cantonnés dans la région firent sur l'instigation du Service des Antiquités de l'Algérie quelques fouilles sur l'emplacement de ces deux monuments. Ils en rapportèrent des fragments de plâtre sculpté, aujourd'hui exposés au Musée Stéphane Gsell, à Alger, quelques croquis et photographies qui servirent de point de départ à nos travaux. Mais, à l'exemple de leurs deux prédécesseurs, ils ne semblent pas s'être préoccupés de protéger et de consolider ce qui venait d'être mis au jour. Il est à craindre qu'abandonnés aux déprédations du temps et des hommes ces deux monuments n'aient beaucoup souffert.

Par suite d'un malheureux concours de circonstances il nous fut impossible d'obtenir à cette époque des photographies aériennes verticales du site, sur lesquelles nous avions cru pouvoir compter et qui nous auraient permis d'établir un relevé topographique de la ville et de ses environs.¹¹

L'absence d'un plan précis et l'insuffisance des cartes—déjà anciennes—de la région ont considérablement gêné notre prospection. Quant aux indications verbales données par les indigènes, arabes ou ibâdites, que nous avons souvent emmenés avec nous dans l'espoir d'en tirer quelque indice qui pût orienter nos recherches, elles se sont toujours avérées fantaisistes et nous ont fait perdre beaucoup de temps. Les points d'eau qui ont cessé d'être utilisés n'intéressent plus personne au Sahara et le souvenir en est vite perdu.

Si l'emplacement de l'Aïn Sfa, qui se trouve très probablement sous une dune, n'a pu encore être repéré faute de documents nécessaires, nous avons néanmoins réussi à déterminer le centre de la zone d'irrigation en remontant le cours des principales *sequia*. Celles-ci conver-

gent toutes vers un espace relativement restreint situé à la périphérie est de la ville.

Au cours de cette prospection, rendue particulièrement pénible par la nature du sol et par la difficulté qu'on éprouve à suivre ces *sequia* qui disparaissent toujours sous de hautes dunes, nos sondages nous ont fait retrouver plusieurs anciens fours à *timchent*, le plâtre gris du pays, mélangé de sable, déjà en usage à Sedrata comme il l'est encore de nos jours dans les oasis sahariennes.

A proximité de la zone fouillée en 1952 nous avons trouvé aussi, à 1 m.70 de profondeur, un radier dallé qui semble être le seuil d'une très ancienne *sequia*, posé probablement dès le X^e siècle. La présence de couches de vase noire, mélangée de coquillages (*Striatella Striata* et *Planorbis* sp.) alternant avec des couches de sable lavé, très fin et très blanc, dissipe tout doute quant à la nature de cet ouvrage.

Les *sequia* principales ont une largeur considérable qui varie entre deux et trois mètres. Elles se distinguent des anciennes routes par la quantité de petits coquillages d'eau douce qui en recouvrent encore aujourd'hui les bords. Leur orientation est sensiblement nord-est—sud-ouest, dans le sens inverse de la pente. Elles partent toutes d'un point haut situé à une vingtaine de mètres de la station que nous avons fouillée en dernier lieu, à la périphérie est de la ville. A partir de ce point commencent les *Ksour* et toute trace d'adductions disparaît. Cette zone, qui forme entre deux chaînes de dunes comme une petite vallée, est sillonnée d'un réseau serré de petites canalisations qui indiquent qu'il y avait là des cultures maraîchères. Nous y avons retrouvé, sous le sable, des restes de terre arable et le sol est couvert de coquillages qui donnent à cette région l'aspect d'un terrain ayant subi pendant longtemps l'action d'eaux stagnantes. On se trouve très certainement là près de l'origine du départ des eaux vers la plaine, donc près de

¹¹ Il fallut nous borner à tracer le canevas trigonométrique de la ville à l'aide des points de repère que nous avons établis sur le sol.

l'orifice de jaillissement de la nappe artésienne. Les travaux exécutés récemment sur ce point sont venus le confirmer en nous faisant découvrir, à l'extérieur du mur d'enceinte de la ville, un système de bassins carrés, probablement des bassins collecteurs et des fontaines, peut-être aussi des bains (*fig. C, plan 2, H*).

PREMIÈRE CAMPAGNE DE FOUILLES. FEVRIER 1951

Mise au jour d'une vaste maison d'habitation à la périphérie ouest de la ville. Premiers sondages effectués à la périphérie est. Découverte de nombreux fragments de décoration murale en plâtre sculpté et d'un *mihrāb*.

Nous avons déjà donné ailleurs¹² un aperçu sommaire de cette première campagne qui n'a duré qu'un mois, faute de moyen de transport et sur laquelle nous ne reviendrons que rapidement.

Une vaste maison d'habitation, située à la périphérie ouest de la ville et déjà dégagée par Tarry en 1881 a été exhumée du sable qui la recouvrait entièrement. Le début de nos travaux a été considérablement gêné par de violents vents de sable. Ce n'est qu'après avoir protégé notre fouille en l'entourant d'une haute palissade de *djérids*¹³ qu'elle a pu être poursuivie.

Les maisons de Sedrata, comme les maisons berbères en général, sont asymétriques; les angles droits, les lignes droites et les murs parallèles n'existent pas et les plans sont difficiles à établir.

Les murs, dont l'épaisseur varie entre cinquante et soixante centimètres, sont faits de moellons liés avec du "timchent." Ils sont

revêtus, à l'intérieur des monuments, d'une couche de cet enduit qu'il est difficile de maintenir en place lors du dégagement. C'est à trois ou quatre mètres de profondeur qu'il faut toujours descendre pour trouver le sol des pièces.

La demeure que nous avons mise au jour est spacieuse. Elle mesure dix-huit et vingt mètres de longueur sur dix et onze mètres de largeur (*fig. B, plan 1*). Sur une cour centrale s'ouvrent plusieurs pièces communicantes, longues et étroites (elles n'ont guère plus de deux mètres de largeur sur environ sept mètres de longueur). La pièce A se termine par deux petites alcôves, sortes d'*iwāns*, délimités par deux arcs en fer à cheval, que soutiennent deux fines colonnettes rondes dont une seule est intacte (*pl. 3, fig. 8*). A environ 1 m.40 de hauteur des niches sont ménagées dans la paroi.

Le sol en *timchent* est conservé sur toute l'étendue de la pièce. Une corniche, ornée d'une bordure en dents de scie, motif fréquent à Sedrata, est encore visible par places.

Les colonnes sont surmontées d'un chapiteau très simple à pans coupés (*pl. 2, fig. 3*). Une imposte s'intercale entre le chapiteau et la retombée des arcs. Dans la pièce voisine, (B) probablement une antisalle, trois arcades en fer à cheval, supportées par des piliers cantonnés de colonnettes engagées (*pl. 2, fig. 4*) communiquaient avec la cour. Les piliers sont posés sur une base carrée et se terminent dans le haut par une sorte de double imposte sur laquelle retombe l'arc.¹⁴

De l'autre côté de la cour s'ouvriraient trois pièces dont l'une (E) servait de magasin à provisions. Nous y avons mis au jour deux jarres encastrées dans un massif de maçonnerie et qui servaient pour la conservation des dattes (*pl. 2, fig. 5*). Deux échelons permettaient de se hisser jusqu'à l'orifice. Des jarres identiques

¹² M. van Berchem, *op. cit.*

¹³ Branches de palmiers coupées après la récolte des dattes. C'est par ces palissades que les indigènes protègent leurs cultures contre l'envahissement des sables. La nôtre a parfaitement bien résisté d'une année à l'autre, nous l'avons retrouvée intacte ayant préservé notre fouille de l'ensablement.

¹⁴ Ces piliers évoquent ceux de la mosquée d'Ibn Tūlūn, au Caire (IX^e siècle).

ont été retrouvées dans d'autres maisons lors de la fouille de 1952. On en voit encore de semblables dans les demeures aisées de Ouargla.

Au cours de ces travaux notre attention avait été attirée par un monticule assez élevé, sorte de tell, situé en bordure de la ville, à l'est, à environ un kilomètre de notre chantier et près de l'ancien point de départ des eaux

creuser une tranchée dans ce tell. Ceci nous a amenés dans une maison d'habitation qui semble avoir subi, au cours des siècles, quelques remaniements. Plusieurs pièces murées (*fig. C, plan 2, A et B*) contenaient des ossements, de nombreux fragments de poteries rustiques et des traces de cendres. Dans l'une de ces pièces (*A*) nous avons exhumé un squelette entier

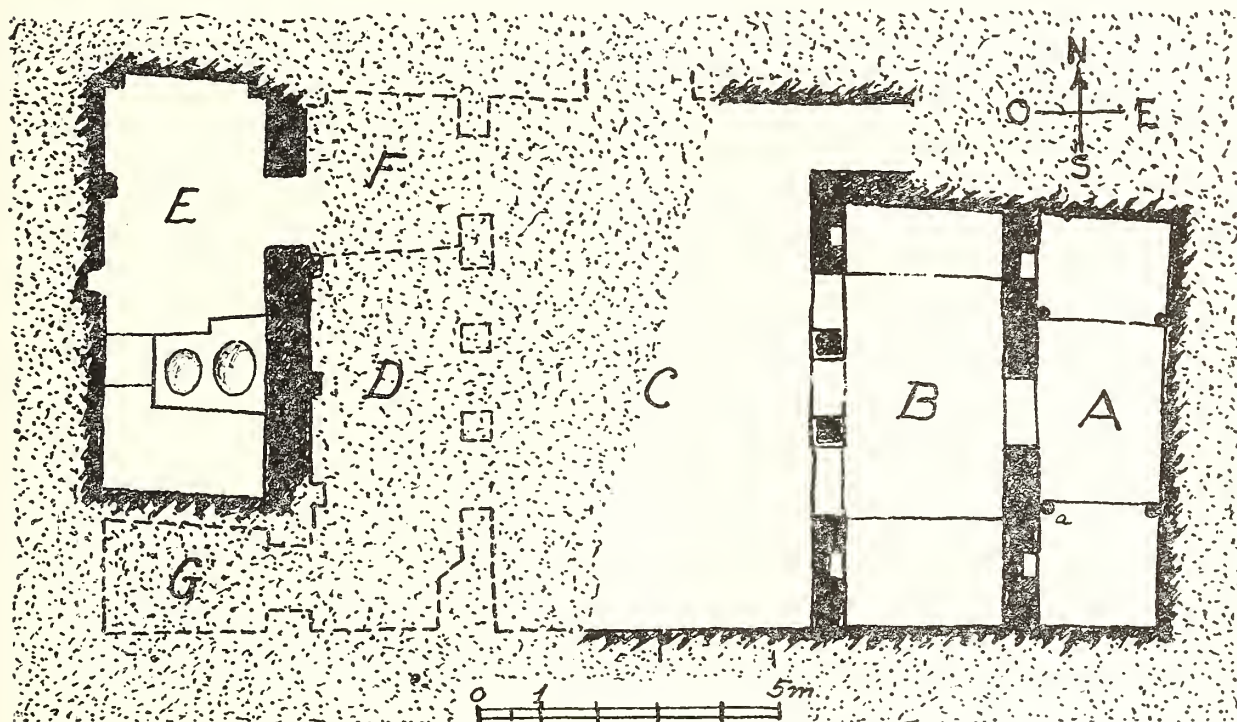


FIG. B—PLAN I. MAISON FOUILLEE EN 1951

(Etabli par Charles van Berchem, architecte.)

vers la plaine de Rouissat. Ce tell occupait l'angle nord-est d'une grande enceinte fortifiée, de forme rectangulaire qui, bien que recouverte de sable, forme encore de hauts remblais. Sur les flancs de ce tell nous avons ramassé à plusieurs reprises des fragments de plâtre sculpté d'un travail très fouillé et très fin, qui promettaient un site intéressant. Bien que le moment fut proche où notre camion militaire allait nous être repris, ce qui nous obligeait d'interrompre nos travaux, nous avons fait

mesurant 1 m.80 de longueur. Il était étendu dans la direction de La Mecque, selon la coutume musulmane, la tête posée sur le côté.¹⁵

¹⁵ Pour ne pas froisser nos ouvriers et courir le risque de nous attirer des ennuis nous l'avons enterré de nouveau à une petite distance de là, après avoir constaté que toutes ses dents étaient cariées. A moins que ce squelette soit d'origine plus récente on peut supposer que les Ibādites du XI^e siècle étaient souvent aussi sous-alimentés que les indigènes le sont aujourd'hui.

A quelques pas de la pièce murée où se trouvait le squelette, qui est peut-être celui du propriétaire de la maison, un petit *mihrāb* (pl. 6, fig. 27), occupant le fond d'une pièce carrée et minuscule, a été mis au jour (fig. C, plan 2). Cette niche, bien conservée, est identique, avec sa petite tablette horizontale, placée à la naissance de l'arc, au *mihrāb* original de la mosquée de N'goussa (oasis située à 20 km.

sommes soudain tombés sur une grande quantité de fragments de plâtre sculpté (*timchent*), qui gisaient pêle-mêle, brisés en de multiples morceaux, mais paraissant avoir tous fait partie du même décor. La beauté et la variété de ces décors nous ont décidée à arrêter là nos recherches et à consacrer à ce monument une prochaine campagne de fouilles. Ayant enseveli de nouveau ce qui venait d'être mis au jour,

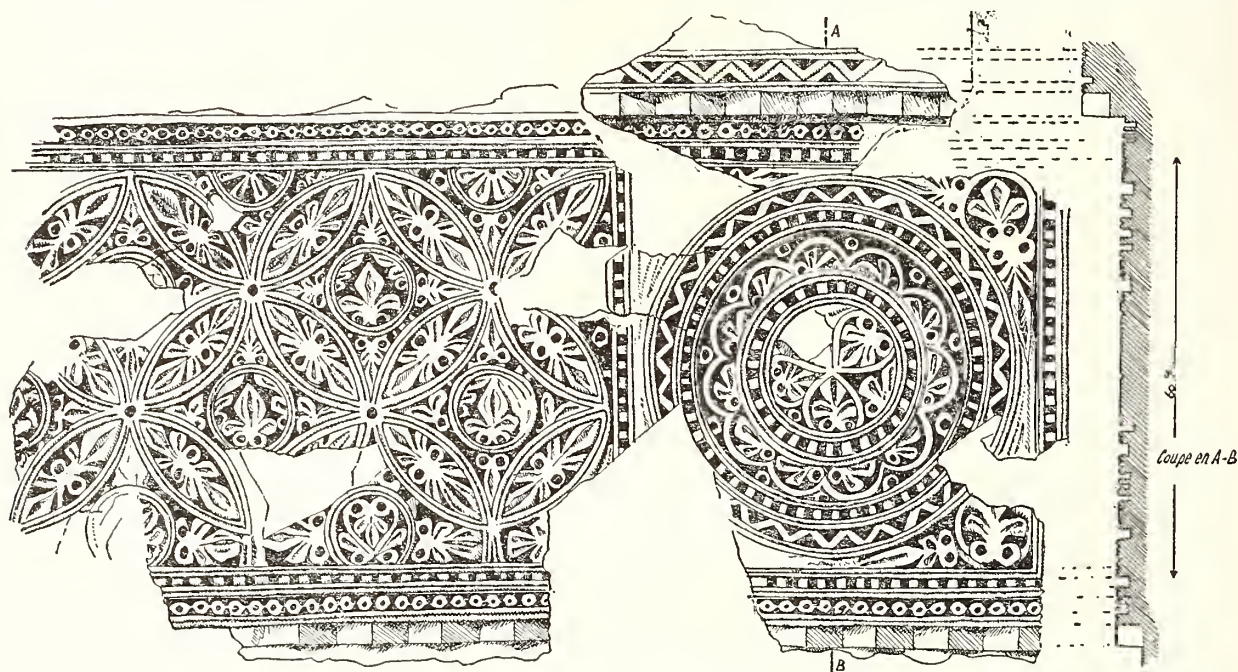


FIG. D—RECONSTITUTION D'UN PANNEAU ORNE DE GRANDES ROSACES ET DE DISQUES ENTRELACÉS. (SALLE C.)

Ce décor est encadré, en haut et en bas, d'une bordure saillante en dents de scie. Le carré dans lequel est inscrit la grande rosace mesure 60 cm. de largeur. (Dessin de M. Barde et Ph. de Chastonay.)

au nord de Ouargla), qu'on dit être la plus ancienne mosquée ibāḍite connue.¹⁶

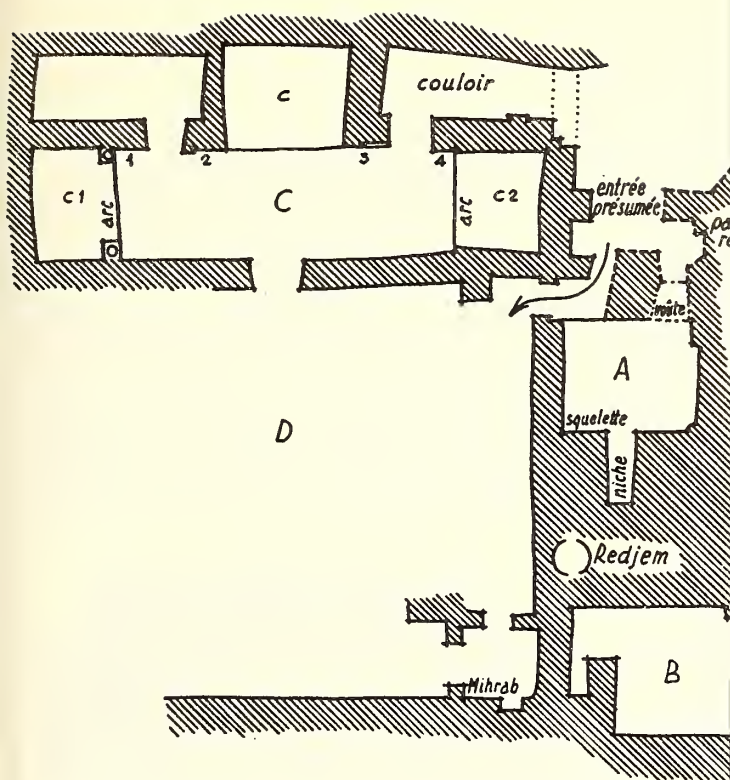
La découverte la plus intéressante a été faite dans cette même maison, à quelques mètres de là (fig. C, plan 2, chambre C), où nous

¹⁶ Cette mosquée appartient aujourd'hui aux Malékites qui lui ont ajouté un deuxième *mihrāb* car, nous a expliqué le cheikh de N'goussa, les Ibāḍites (ou Mozabites) ne respectent pas la direction de La Mecque et orientent généralement leurs *mihrābs* trop au sud.

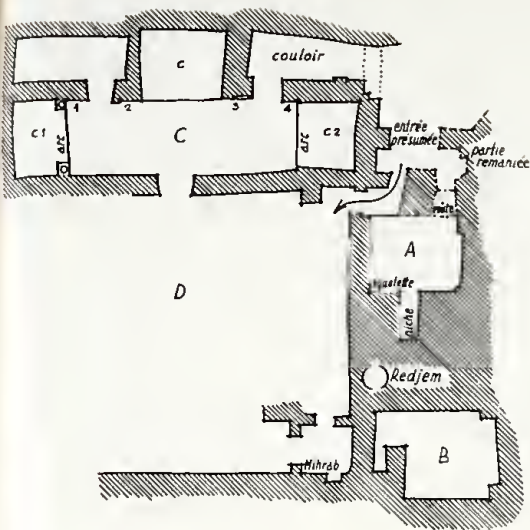
pour éviter des vols ou des déprédations, nous n'avons rapporté que quelques pièces à Alger avec l'espoir d'obtenir les moyens nécessaires à la reprise des travaux.

DEUXIEME CAMPAGNE DE FOUILLES. NOVEMBRE 1951 A FIN JANVIER 1952

Photographies aériennes verticales. Dégagement d'une salle de palais entièrement décorée de sculptures. Transport de ce décor à Alger. Ex-



ENCEINTE ET CONSTRUCTION ATTENANTES



PALAIS (COMPRIS DANS L'ENCEINTE)

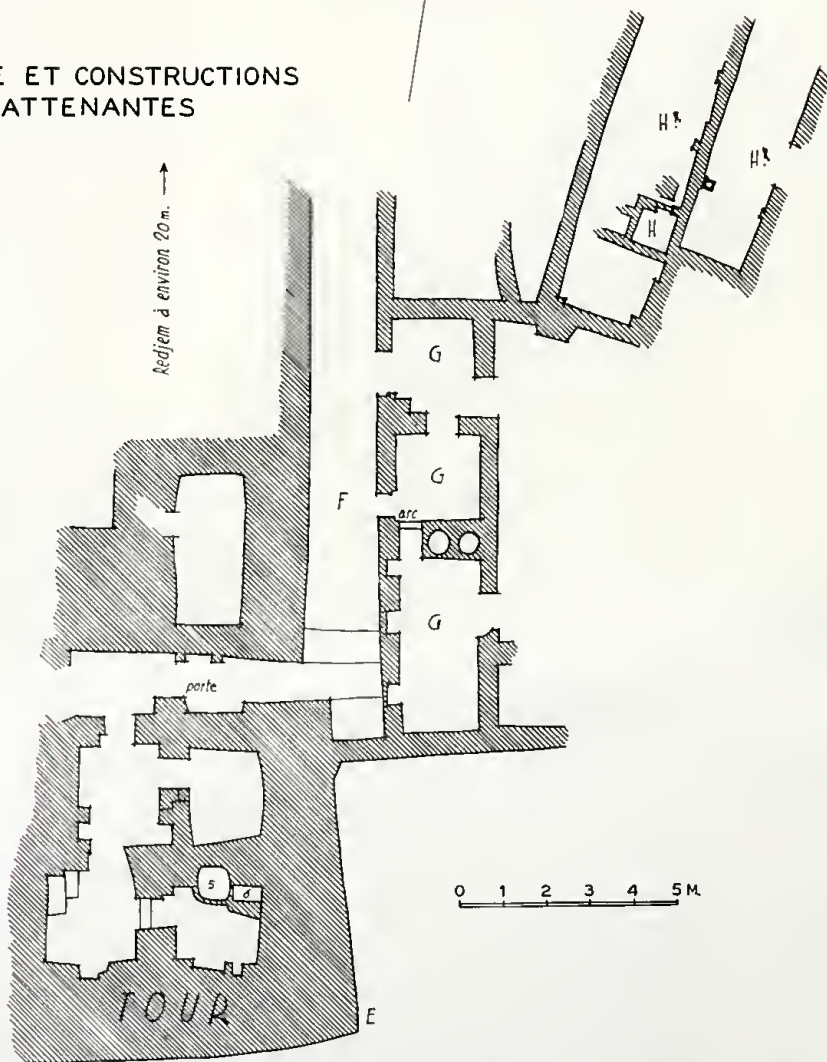
PALAIS

- A. Pièce murée contenant un squelette et des fragments des poteries.
- B. Pièces murées; à côté *mhrāb* (voir fig. 27).
- C. Salle contenant les décorations murales (voir figs. 8 à 25, 28, et 29).
- c, c' (voir fig. 8), et c', *iwān*.
- D. Cour du Palais.

ENCEINTE ET CONSTRUCTIONS ATTENANTES

Fondouk

Kedjem d'environ 20 m.



- E. Angle sud-est du mur d'enceinte.
- F. Voie d'accès (voir fig. 7).
- G. Habitations à l'extérieur de l'enceinte: remarquer les silos à dattes (voir fig. 6).
- H. Groupe des bassins collecteurs ou fontaines.
- Nos 5 et 6, auges à l'intérieur de la tour.
- L'entrée à l'intérieur de l'enceinte et dans le fondouk est à angle droit avec la voie d'accès F.

FIG. C—PLAN 2. GRANDE VILLE FORTIFIÉE. DEUXIÈME CAMPAGNE DE FOUILLES 1951-1952
(Établi par M. Barde et Ph. de Chastonay.)

La mise en page nous a obligés de rapprocher d'une distance d'environ 12 mètres et perpendiculairement à la ligne en pointillé les deux groupes des monuments ci-dessus.

traction de deux amphores. Mise au jour d'une partie du mur d'enceinte, d'une tour d'angle et d'un système de bassins collecteurs.

De nouveaux crédits nous ayant été obligeamment accordés les fouilles purent reprendre dès le mois de novembre 1951. Nous avons pu nous assurer cette fois une aide européenne dans la personne de Mlle. Mireille Barde, attachée aux Services Géologiques du Maroc, à Rabat, à qui nous devons les photographies et les croquis faits au cours de cette mission.

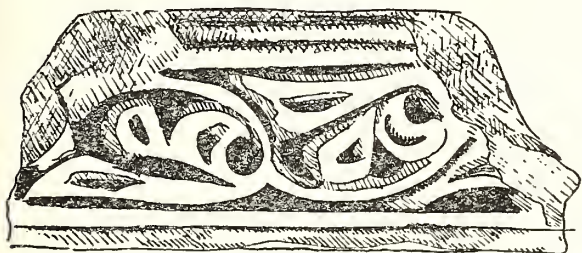


FIG. E—BORDURE DE PALMETTES. (SALLE C.)

Peu de jours après notre arrivée à Ouargla et grâce à la généreuse initiative de M. Pierre Averseng, Président de l'Aéroclub de Blida, un avion spécialement équipé pour la photographie verticale nous fut envoyé d'Alger avec un excellent photographe à bord. Après deux ans d'efforts nous obtenions enfin cette couverture photographique verticale, indispensable à nos recherches et à l'établissement du plan de l'ancienne capitale ibâdite.¹⁷

Les travaux ont repris à l'endroit précis où ils avaient été interrompus quelques mois plus tôt. Cette importante habitation, qui devait être un palais, commande au sud l'étroite vallée sillonnée de nombreuses traces de petites *seguia*, dans laquelle nous avons trouvé à peu de profondeur des restes de terre arable provenant de cultures maraîchères et de la vase noire

¹⁷ C'est avec une profonde gratitude que nous remercions M. Averseng, qui a tenu à prendre tous les frais de cette mission à sa charge, d'être venu si spontanément à notre aide.

encore imbibée d'eau. Elle était donc favorisée par sa situation, au cœur d'une région abondamment irriguée et l'on imagine volontiers, appartenant à quelque seigneur, cette riche demeure au milieu des jardins dont les auteurs anciens ont vanté la douceur.

C'est, chose curieuse, un des rares points de Sedrata qui ne s'ensable pas. Nous avons retrouvé cette petite vallée et les ruines de cette maison telles que nous les avions laissées avec tous nos points de repère intacts.

La salle dans laquelle nous avons pénétré précédemment a été dégagée jusqu'au sol (*fig. C, plan 2, chambre C*). C'est le modèle de pièce bien connu : longue et étroite (environ 8 mètres de long. sur 2 mètres 10 de larg.), elle prend jour sur une cour carrée, (D) par une porte percée au milieu d'un des grands côtés, tandis que sur le côté opposé s'ouvre un large *iwān* (c sur le plan) formant une petite pièce surélevée. Recouverte autrefois d'une voûte en berceau, que nous avons retrouvée en partie effondrée sous le sable, la salle était divisée en trois parties par deux grands arcs en plein cintre (v. *fig. 9*), supportés par deux colonnettes rondes dégagées dont nous avons recueilli quelques morceaux. Ces arcs délimitaient à chaque extrémité un *iwān* auquel on accède encore par une haute marche (*c¹* et *c²* sur le plan; *pl. 3, fig. 8*).

Quatre niches, ornées d'une coquille gemmée et nervée et d'un arc lobé, occupaient les angles supérieurs de la pièce, formant trompes d'angle, elles étaient brisées mais de nombreux fragments en ont pu être recueillis. Des niches semblables ont été retrouvées par Tarry et Blanchet dans le palais qu'ils ont fouillé.¹⁸

Les parois de cette salle étaient entièrement recouvertes, tout au moins dans leur partie supérieure, d'une magnifique ornementa-

¹⁸ Nous en avons donné ailleurs une reproduction. Cf. M. van Berchem, *La découverte de Sedrata*, figs. 2 et 3, et *A la recherche de Sedrata*, figs. 1 et 2.

tion en plâtre sculpté dont la richesse et la variété sont étonnantes. Cette oeuvre d'art témoigne d'un raffinement et d'une culture qu'on est surpris de trouver en plein désert, art bien supérieur à tout ce que nous connaissons jusqu'ici des oeuvres berbères.

Cette décoration gisait brisée sous le sable. Seuls quelques panneaux sur les encadrements des portes et des *iwāns* sont demeurés en place (Chambre C, 1, 2, 3, 4), Ils descendent jus-

sont terminés, d'un très léger badigeon à la chaux.

Les écoinçons des arcs (*pl. 3, fig. 9*) étaient ornés de grandes rosaces se détachant sur un réseau d'alvéoles très profondément fouillées. Ces alvéoles, qui sont souvent utilisées comme fond à de grandes compositions ou comme bordures (*pl. 5, fig. 24* et *pl. 6, fig. 28*) ont parfois jusqu'à deux centimètres et demi de profondeur. Elles sont sculptées en oblique,

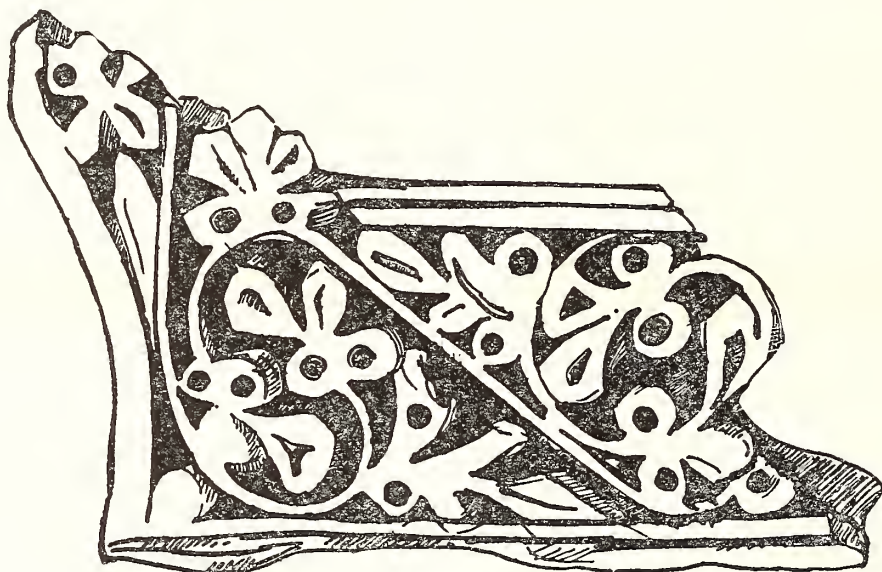


FIG. F—RINCEAUX DE VIGNE. DETAIL DE LA BORDURE D'UN ARC (VOIR *fig. 13*)

Largeur de la bordure environ 9 cm. (Dessin de M. Barde.)

qu'au sol tandis qu'il semble bien que les autres parois n'étaient décorées que dans la partie supérieure, le bas étant garni de panneaux lisses, parfois entourés d'un encadrement sculpté ou traversés verticalement de bandeaux convexes. Des traces d'un léger badigeon blanc à la chaux ont subsisté par places. Ce même badigeon se retrouve parfois sur les motifs sculptés.

A El Oued, la seule oasis saharienne où la tradition de ces décors de plâtre sculpté ait subsisté, les artisans qui travaillent avec de petits outils de bois ou de fer qu'ils fabriquent eux-mêmes, recouvrent ces décors, lorsqu'ils

dans l'axe visuel du spectateur placé au sol et leur orientation est un indice précieux pour retrouver la position du panneau.

Les arcs étaient encadrés chacun d'un charmant bandeau que nous avons pu reconstituer presque en entier. Sur l'un de ces bandeaux (*pl. 3, fig. 9* et *pl. 4, fig. 13*) courent des rinceaux composés d'une tige et de feuilles à trois lobes qui semblent bien être dérivées de la feuille de vigne. Leur pédoncule recourbé se referme en anneau. G. Marçais¹⁹ souligne fort

¹⁹ *Manuel d'art musulman*, Paris, 1926-27, t. 1, pp. 88 et 89, figs. 51 et 52.

justement l'analogie de ce type avec ceux des décors coptes du Musée de Boulaq, au Caire. Le second bandeau (*pl. 4, fig. 14*) est orné d'alvéoles que bordent une succession de petits enroulements faisant partie du décor de l'intrados.

Ce décor (*pl. 4, fig. 15*) en forme de tuyaux d'orgue, évoque les modillons à copeaux de la Grande Mosquée de Cordoue (IX^e siècle), motif fréquemment employé dans l'architecture moresque et qui a fait couler beaucoup d'encre.²⁰

Il est impossible de décrire ici tous ces panneaux que nous avons l'espoir de pouvoir reconstituer en grande partie et qui sont tous

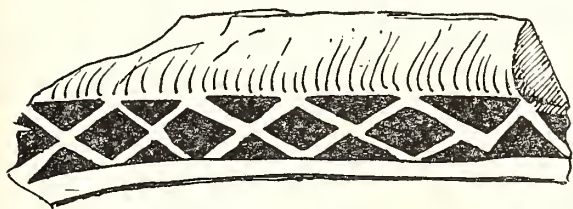


FIG. G—BORDURE D'ALVEOLES

variés. Nous en reproduisons quelques-uns ici. Les plus originaux présentent des sortes de palmiers stylisés (*pl. 3, figs. 10 et 11*) qu'il est impossible de rattacher à aucun art décoratif connu ou de fantaisistes arcatures ornées de rinceaux et coiffées d'arcs en forme de fer à cheval (*pl. 3, fig. 12*). La palmette apparaît partout sous des formes toujours diverses, ou bien ce sont de grandes rosaces ou disques, inscrits dans des carrés ou des rectangles, motifs qui se répètent en plus petit dans des cercles et des losanges, rappelant ceux qu'on retrouve de nos jours encore sur les bois sculptés, les objets en métal et les tissus berbères (*pl. 5, figs. 21 et 24, pl. 4, figs. 18 et 19*).

Les panneaux sont encadrés de petites mou-

lures ou de filets plats, de grainetis ou d'oves, dans le haut et le bas, de bordures en dents de scie.

Entre les panneaux et la corniche couraient des inscriptions en beaux caractères coufiques dont quelques parties ont pu être reconstituées (*pl. 6, fig. 28*). Elles ne comportent que des formules de bénédiction et jusqu'ici nous n'avons pas trouvé de dates. D'après le style des caractères il ne semble pas qu'elles puissent remonter plus haut que le XI^e ou le début du XII^e siècle.

Le décor entier de cette salle a été rapporté au Musée Stéphane Gsell, à Alger, où notre espoir est d'obtenir la place nécessaire pour reconstituer cette salle dans son ensemble.

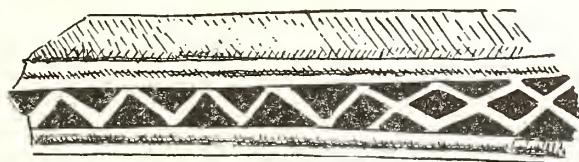


FIG. H—BORDURE D'ALVEOLES

Il est difficile d'imaginer, pour qui ne les a pas vécues, la somme énorme de difficultés qu'a présenté le transport d'une cinquantaine de caisses contenant ce fragile décor à travers huit cents kilomètres de désert et sur de mauvaises pistes. Dans un pays sans bois, sans matériel d'emballage, la confection de ces caisses a exigé des prodiges de patience et d'ingéniosité. Après bien des aventures, grâce à l'énergie et au dévouement de M. Claude Richoz, que nous avons attaché à la mission pendant un mois, tout est arrivé finalement à bon port à Alger, en excellent état.

Dès les premiers coups de pioche donnés dans la cour de ce palais une quantité de tessons, de fragments de poteries sont apparus. Enterrées profondément au-dessous du niveau du sol nous avons exhumé deux belles et grandes amphores, l'une en terre cuite ordinaire, l'autre vernissée d'un joli ton de bleu turquoise, est ornée à la base du col d'une torsade et ses

²⁰ *Idem, op. cit.*, p. 263, fig. 144 et *idem, Sur trois formes décoratives de la Mosquée de Cordoue*, Actes du XIV^e Congrès des orientalistes, Paris 1906, t. 2, pp. 3 et seq., figs. 5A, 5B, 6B.

anses se terminent par une sorte de petit crochet (*pl. 6, figs. 30 et 31*). Ces deux amphores ont été rapportées à Alger.

Le nombre de ces tessons, de qualités très diverses, est tel qu'après en avoir transporté quelques caisses à Ouargla nous avons renoncé



FIG. I—DETAIL DE LA FIGURE 23. (SALLE C.)
(Dessin de Ph. de Chastonay.)

à en poursuivre l'extraction qui pourra être reprise dans une prochaine campagne et devra faire l'objet d'une étude spéciale.

Des fragments d'arcs, de colonnes et de panneaux sculptés, ramassés dans la cour, nous ont montré que celle-ci était entourée d'arcades et ornée, comme la salle, de sculptures murales. Les restes d'une petite canalisation maçonnée

qui amenait l'eau dans la cour ont aussi été mis au jour. Mais notre butin étant déjà trop abondant nous avons interrompu là les travaux et recouvert ces trouvailles de sable.

L'extraction de ces revêtements de plâtre a exigé des précautions infinies. Les panneaux se sont généralement effondrés les uns sur les autres, la face contre le sol. Ils adhèrent fortement les uns aux autres et un geste trop brusque achève de les briser. Ce travail ne peut être exécuté que par des mains expertes à l'aide de petits outils très fins. Il faut parfois plusieurs journées d'efforts continus pour dégager à peine un mètre carré. En outre, le plâtre qui a séjourné longtemps dans le sable est imprégné d'humidité et se disloque au moindre toucher. Avant de pouvoir être déplacés ces morceaux doivent sécher au moins vingt-quatre heures au soleil et sur place, ce qui ralentit beaucoup la marche des travaux.

Tandis qu'un nombre très restreint de nos hommes, que nous avons nous-mêmes formés, étaient absorbés dans cette opération délicate, le reste de nos ouvriers avaient commencé à dégager, à environ cinquante mètres de là, l'angle sud-est de la muraille d'enceinte (*fig. C, plan 2, E et F*).

Cette enceinte, que nous avons tout d'abord cru être celle de la ville, s'est révélée être une enceinte privée qui entourait le palais et ses dépendances. On se trouve très probablement ici devant une grande villa fortifiée, située sur la périphérie est de la ville et qui semble avoir été indépendante.

Une vaste cour (*Fondouk*), à l'intérieur de l'enceinte, sorte de *fondouk*, est entourée de bâtiments d'habitation et probablement de ferme. Elle a servi sans doute de caravansérail. Bien que le sommet des murailles soit éboulé celles-ci s'élèvent encore à quatre et cinq mètres au-dessus du niveau du sol. Elles sont faites de gros blocs non équarris, liés avec du *timchent*, les seuls blocs de pierre que nous ayons trouvés dans la région. Une voie large

(F), s'élevant par des marches, longe la muraille à l'extérieur et pénètre en tournant à angle droit dans la cour (*pl. 2, fig. 7*). Les linteaux de la porte d'entrée et les gros trous percés dans le mur pour y fixer les troncs d'arbre qui fermaient cette porte ont subsisté.

À l'intérieur de l'enceinte, à l'angle sud-est, nous avons dégagé les restes d'une tour carrée, aux murs très épais, dans lesquelles nous avons retrouvé des auges (*fig. C, plan 2, n^{os} 5 et 6*) bien conservées, des traces de feu et d'anciens fours à poteries.

L'épaisseur de ces murailles, leur aspect et leur appareil ne laissent subsister aucun doute sur le caractère défensif de cet ouvrage.²¹

Au dehors de l'enceinte et directement sous l'entrée, en contrebas, les restes d'une maison privée ont été mis au jour : quelques murs percés de niches (*pl. 2, fig. 6 et G* sur le plan.) sont encore debout, au pied desquels nous avons recueilli des fragments de plâtre sculpté, des poteries recouvertes d'un vernis vert ou noir et ornées de dessins en zigzags. À quelques pas de là, au nord-est (H, H, H), se trouve un système de bassins carrés maçonnés, probablement des bassins collecteurs ou des bains, des restes de voûtes, d'arcades et de colonnes, et les nombreux fragments brisés d'une large corniche à gorge très profonde, que nous avons prise d'abord pour une canalisation. La couleur foncée du *timchent* de ces bassins et de ces débris indique qu'ils ont stationné longtemps dans l'eau.

Une autre découverte est venue confirmer que nous étions bien là sur l'emplacement d'un ancien point d'eau important, celle de blocs de *timchent* découpés de chaque côté en festons réguliers et qui ne sont autres que des restes de vannes, semblables à celles encore en usage aujourd'hui dans les palmeraies de l'oasis d'Adrar. Or ce point est situé à quelques pas

²¹ L'angle de l'enceinte est appuyé par de gros blocs formant contreforts.

de celui que notre prospection hydrologique, peu de mois plus tôt, avait fixé comme étant le centre de la zone d'irrigation, celui vers lequel convergent les larges *sequia* qui remontent de la plaine.

Ainsi se sont trouvées confirmées les déductions auxquelles nous étions arrivés au prix de tant de difficultés. Si cet emplacement n'est pas celui de l'Aïn Sfa, ce dont nous ne sommes pas encore certaine, du moins a-t-il été autrefois un point d'eau très fréquenté.

Nos crédits étant presque épuisés, après deux mois et demi de fouilles et les vents de sable devenant de plus en plus gênants, nous avons renoncé à dégager tout le pourtour de l'enceinte, nous limitant à désensabler encore quelques pièces situées contre la muraille à l'intérieur, pièces qui n'ont rien révélé de leur usage mais où nous avons recueilli de nombreux tessons.

Le croquis ci-joint (*fig. C*) donne une vue d'ensemble des travaux exécutés en 1952.

On s'étonnera peut-être qu'au cours de ces deux campagnes nous ayons limité nos efforts à deux points situés l'un et l'autre à la périphérie de la ville. Il y a plusieurs raisons à cela : le centre, le cœur de la cité est occupé par la mosquée et les édifices qui l'entourent. Nous croyons, après les sondages que nous y avons faits et vu leur apparence plus fruste, que c'est par ces monuments que la construction de Sedrata a commencé. La mosquée qui, on l'a vu, a été par trois fois partiellement dégagée, puis laissée à l'abandon, doit être de ce fait en mauvais état. Or c'est un lieu de pèlerinage très vénéré et les Ibādites, qui seraient heureux de voir leur mosquée primitive dégagée, verraient de mauvais œil que les travaux ne soient pas poussés cette fois jusqu'au bout, avec le maximum de soin et de précautions pour sa conservation. Nous n'avions ni les crédits ni l'outillage nécessaires pour mener cette entreprise à bien.

En outre, l'évacuation du sable sur un pa-

reil terrain pose de graves problèmes lorsqu'on ne dispose, comme c'était notre cas, que de moyens de fortune. L'incessant va-et-vient des hommes et des ânes sur des ruines aussi fragiles que celles de ces mauvaises constructions aurait amené la démolition de tout ce qui émerge encore du sable.

C'est ce que nous avons voulu éviter dans l'espoir que l'intérêt pour ces monuments s'éveillant peu à peu les fouilles puissent être reprises un jour avec des moyens plus perfectionnés. Nous ne saurions assez souligner combien il importe de les poursuivre. Quand on songe à tout ce qui vient d'être découvert, alors que seuls deux monuments ont été visités, dans une ville dont les ruines couvrent plus de deux kilomètres de longueur, on conçoit ce que le dégagement des points importants de cette cité peut réserver de surprises.

Nous ne voulons pas terminer ce compte-rendu, forcément très incomplet, de nos travaux à Sedrata sans exprimer notre gratitude au Colonel Thiriet, Commandant Militaire des Territoires du Sud et à ses services, pour l'aide qu'ils ont bien voulu nous donner. Avec une inlassable obligeance les Officiers de la Compagnie portée des Oasis se sont chargés de l'entretien de notre voiture, entretien qui exige, dans un pareil terrain, une révision constante.

CONCLUSION

La mise au jour de Sedrata ne fait que commencer. Il est donc prématuré de se prononcer sur l'origine d'un art aussi imparfaitement connu et dont on ne saurait nier l'originalité et la nouveauté. En donnant ici le résultat de nos récentes découvertes notre intention est avant tout de permettre à ceux que le sujet intéresse de leur consacrer une étude plus poussée. Qu'on nous autorise toutefois à formuler, telles quelles nous viennent sous la plume au cours de nos pensées, quelques réflexions.

L'art de Sedrata a été considéré parfois,

lorsqu'on ne connaissait ses ruines que par les travaux de Tarry et de Blanchet, comme un des derniers survivants de l'art chrétien d'Afrique. Cette définition ne saurait suffire. Si l'on peut rapprocher, en effet, certains ornements de Sedrata avec les décors sculptés exposés au Musée Copte du Caire, cette parenté s'explique aisément par une vieille origine commune. Mais dans l'étonnant décor qui voit à nouveau le jour, après des siècles d'oubli, il y a plus que cela.

Comme l'a fait observer M. G. Marçais, dans l'excellente étude qu'il a consacrée à Sedrata,²² si l'art des Aghlabides nous est relativement bien connu, grâce surtout à la Grande Mosquée de Kairouan, l'une des plus belles créations de l'Islam, nous sommes par contre fort peu renseignés sur les monuments élevés par les Rostémides, dont rien en dehors de Sedrata ne nous est resté. Mais les a-t-on suffisamment cherchés? Nous ne le croyons pas.

Dans la citadelle encore vivante du vieux schisme berbère on ne retrouve aucune trace de l'ancienne splendeur de Tāhart ou de Sedrata. C'est en vain qu'on cherchera dans les ruelles étroites et les maisons aisées, mais austères, des villes du Mzab un détail d'architecture ou un décor qui rappellent même de loin les beaux panneaux des demeures ibāḍites.

Il est difficile de savoir sous quelles influences cet art s'est formé ou celles qui ont pu le renouveler après la chute de Tāhart. Plusieurs traits rattachent, on l'a vu, l'architecture de Sedrata à celle de l'Ifriqiyah: l'arc en fer à cheval et l'imposte qui en reçoit la retombée, les niches à coquilles avec leur arc découpé en lobes, rappelant les trompes de la coupole de la Grande Mosquée de Kairouan. Mais la parenté avec l'art aghlabide ne s'impose pas

²² *Manuel* . . . t. I, pp. 81-93, figs. 45-52. Voir aussi du même auteur *Album de pierre, plâtre et bois sculpté*, prem. fasc., Alger, 1909, pp. 3-8, pls. 1 et 2, figs. 1-4.



FIG. 1—LA GARA KRIMA À 5 KM. AU SUD DE SEDRATA: AU SOMMET LE Puits ET LE CHEMIN DE HĀLAGE.



FIG. 2—SEDRATA, EXTRÉMITÉ NORD DE LA VILLE. LE PALAIS OU "MAḤAKMA," RUES, REMPARTS ET TOURS DE DÉFENSE.

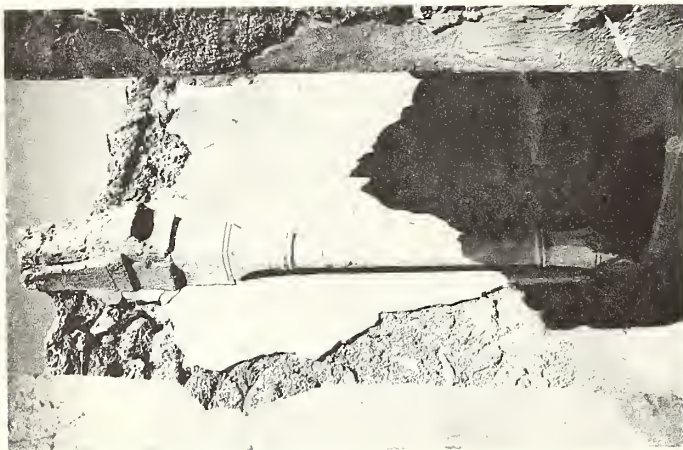


FIG. 3—MAISON FOUILLÉE EN 1951. CHAMBRE A, COLONNE ET CHAPITEAU (voir *Plan I*).



FIG. 4—CHAMBRE B, PILIERS CANTONNÉS DE COLONNETTES ENGAGÉES (voir *Plan I*).



FIG. 5—CHAMBRE E, MAGASINS À DATTES. LES JARRES ONT 1,70 ET 1,60 MÈTRES DE PROFONDEUR (voir *Plan I*).

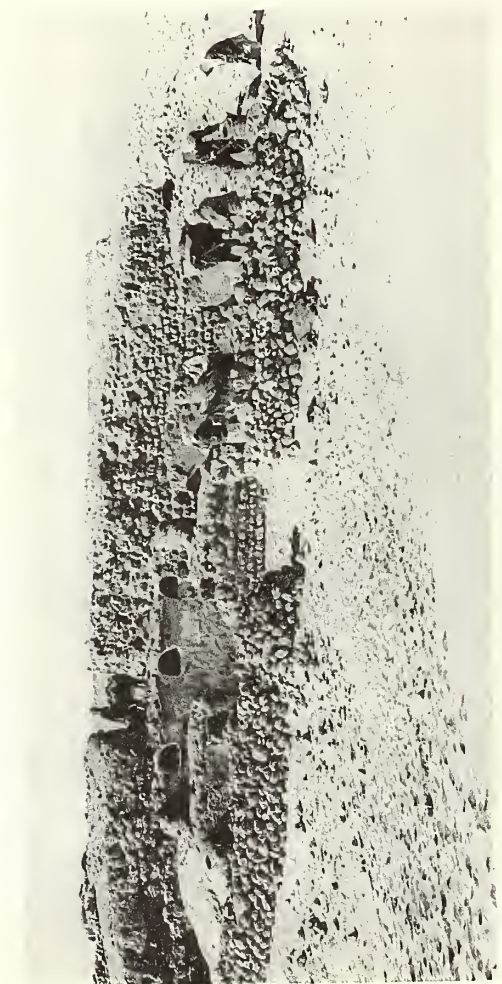


FIG. 6—FOUILLES DE 1952. RUINES D'UNE MAISON SITUÉE EN DEHORS DE L'ENCEINTE. NOTER LES 3 NICHES À L'INTÉRIEUR D'UNE CHAMBRE (*Plan 2*, G, G, G). AU FOND, PARTIE DU MUR D'ENCEINTE AVEC ENTRÉE DANS LE "FONDOUK."

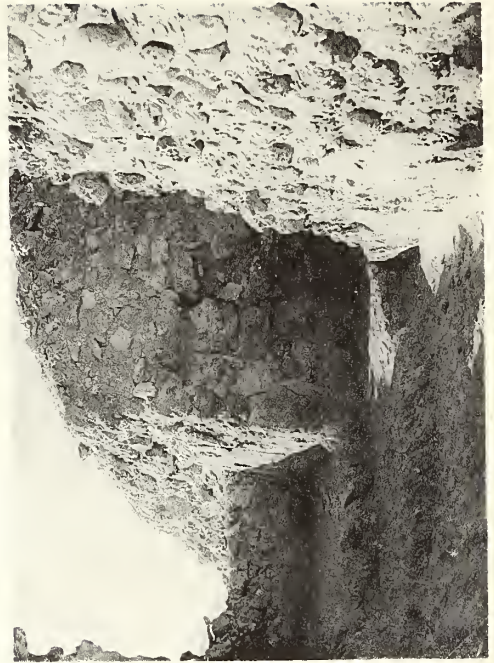


FIG. 7—VOIE À DÉCRÈS LONGEANT LE MUR D'ENCEINTE À L'EXTÉRIEUR. LA PORTE SE TROUVE À QUELQUES MÈTRES DE L'ANGLE DU MUR, À DROITE (*Plan 2*, couloir F).

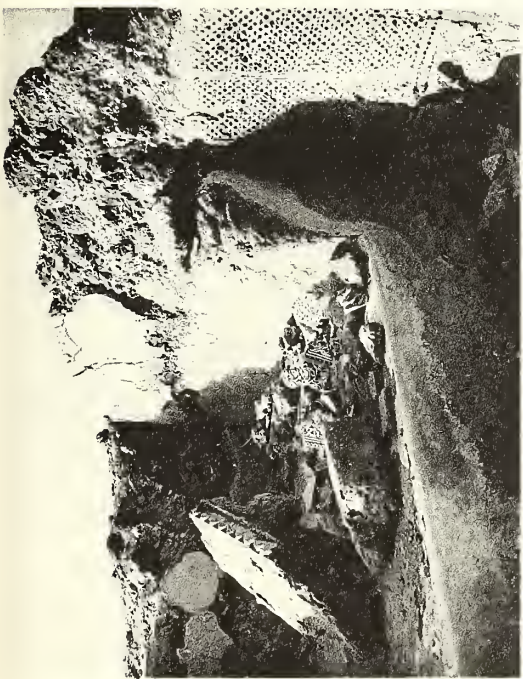


FIG. 8—"Īwān" (Plan 2, salle C, c'). À DROITE UN PANNEAU SCULPTÉ RESTÉ EN PLACE. SUR LE SOL DES FRAGMENTS DU DÉCOR DE L'ĪWĀN."



FIG. 9—RECONSTITUTION PARTIELLE DE L'ARC QUI SURMONTAIT L'ĪWĀN" (fig. 8). ROSACES SE DÉTACHANT SUR UN FOND D'ALVÉOLES ET BORDURES DE RINCEAUX.

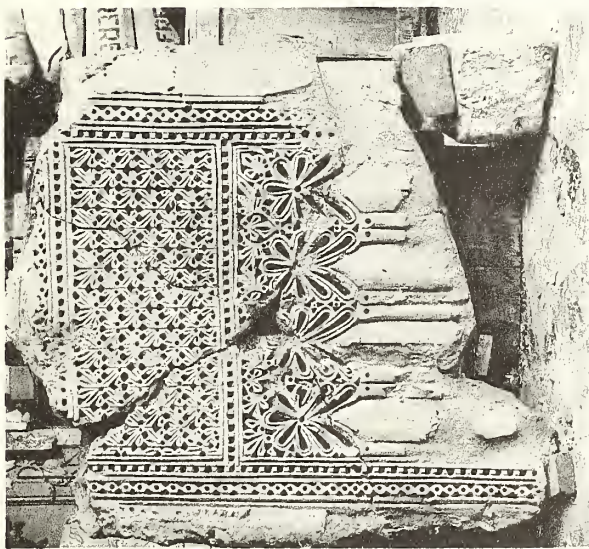


FIG. 10—JEU DE FOND DE PALMETTES. AU-DESSOUS: DES PALMIERS STYLISÉS (largeur de la partie sculptée environ 70 cm.).

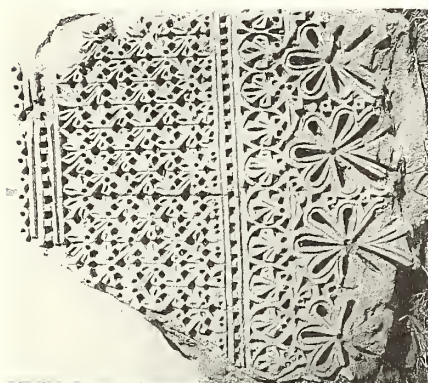


FIG. 11—UN AUTRE PANNEAU ORNÉ DE MOTIFS SEMBLABLES AUX PRÉCÉDENTS.

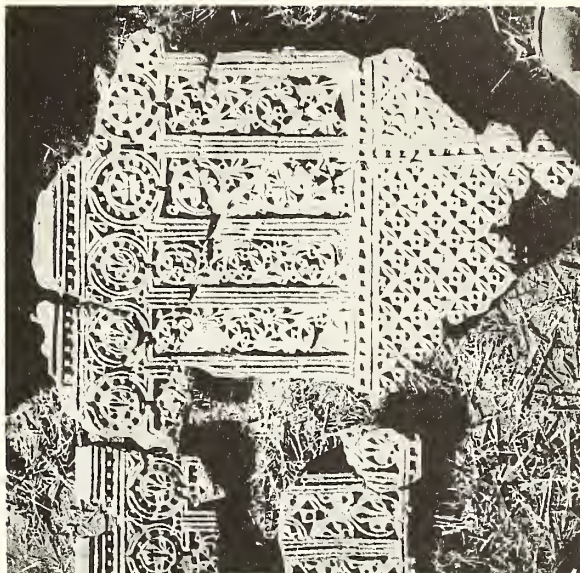


FIG. 12—BANDES VERTICALES QUI SEMBLENT ÉVOQUER DES ARCATURES.

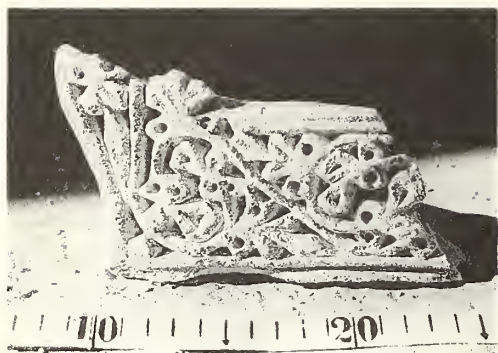


FIG. 13—DÉTAIL DE L'ENCADREMENT DE L'ARC—
RINCEAUX DE VIGNE (voir fig. 9).

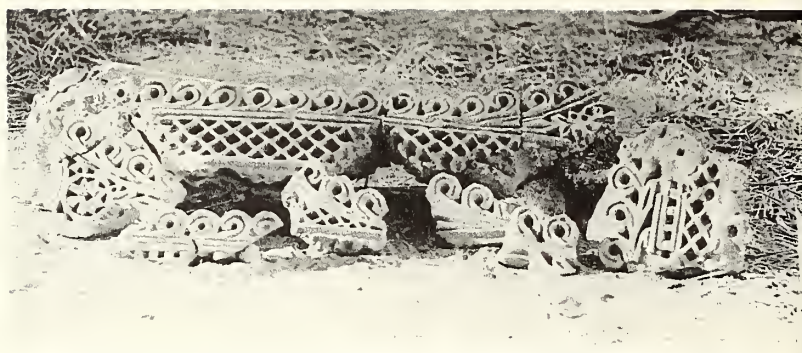


FIG. 14—ENCADREMENT DU DEUXIÈME ARC (*Plan 2, Īwān c²*). BORDURE
D'ALVÉOLES ET PETITS ENROULEMENTS PAR LESQUELS SE TERMINENT LES
ROULEAUX QUI ORNENT L'ENTRADOS (voir fig. 15).



FIG. 15—FRAGMENTS DU MÊME ARC (*fig. 14*). A DROITE, DÉCOR DE
L'INTRADOS.

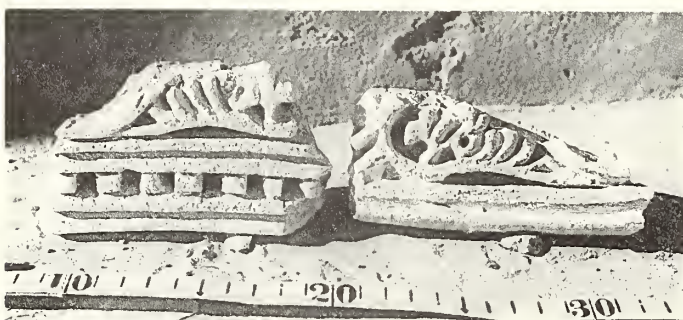


FIG. 16—FEUILLES D'ACANTHES TRAHISSANT DES SURVIVANCES
HELLÉNISTIQUES.



FIG. 17—JEU DE FOND DE PALMETTES.
TRACES D'UN BADIGEON À LA CHAUX
SUR LA PARTIE INFÉRIEURE DU PANNEAU.

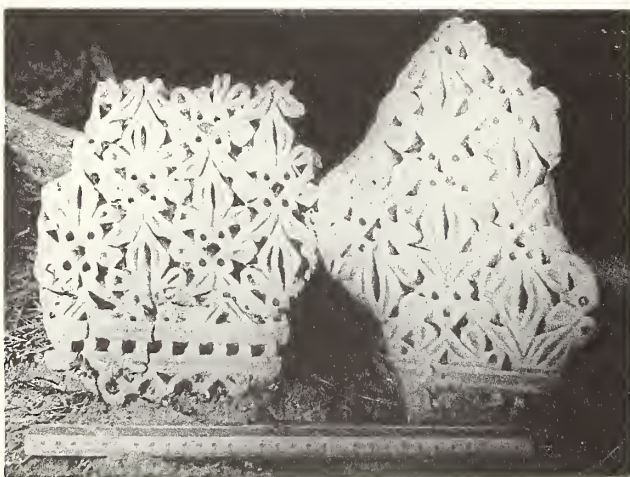


FIG. 18—PALMETTES DANS DES LOSANGES.



FIG. 19—PALMETTES DANS DES CERCLES.

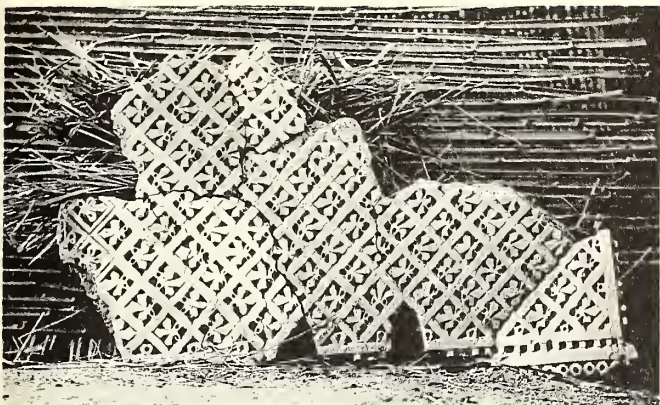


FIG. 20—JEU DE FOND DE FLEURS DE LYS.

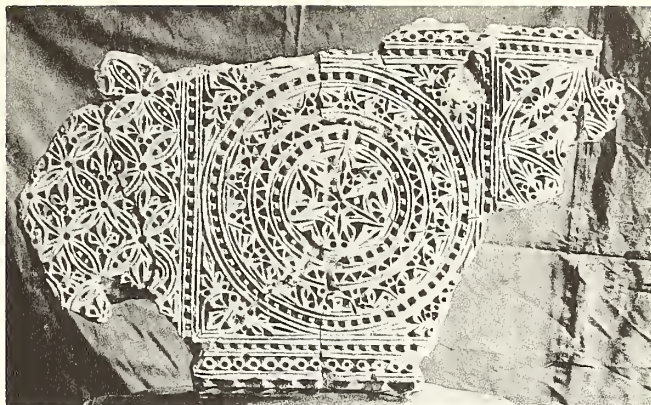


FIG. 21—GRANDE ROSACE FAISANT PARTIE DU PANNEAU
REPRODUIT À LA fig. D.

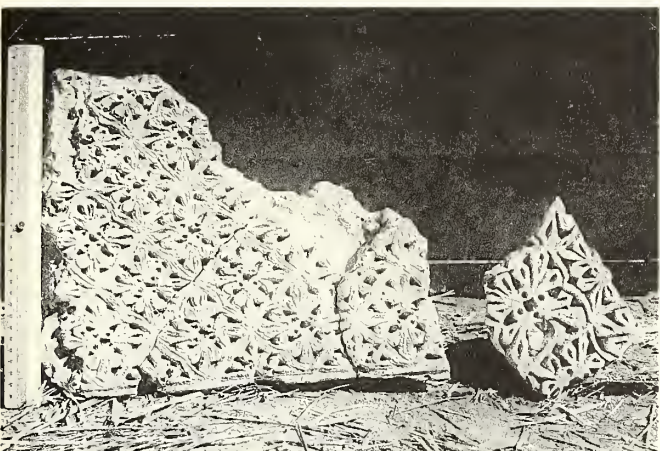


FIG. 22—MOTIFS COMPOSÉS DE QUATRE FLEURONS RAYONNANTS.

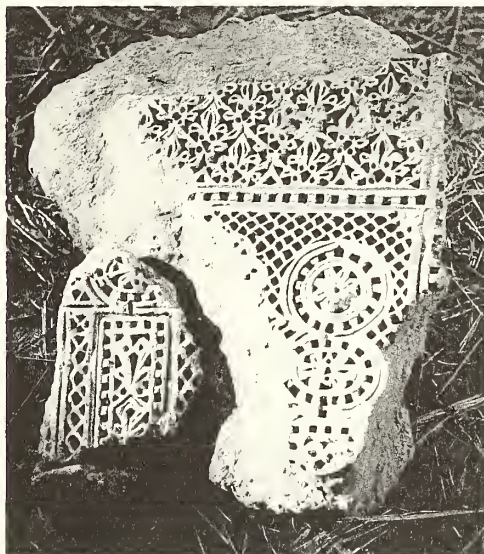


FIG. 23—MOTIF ELLIPTIQUE ET DISQUES SUPERPOSÉS
SUR FOND D'ALVÉOLES.

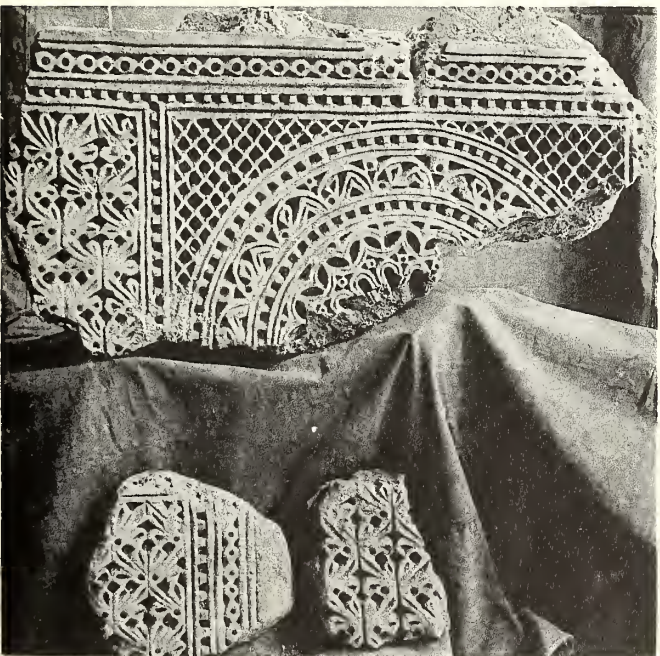


FIG. 24—GRANDE ROSACE SE DÉTACHANT SUR UN FOND D'ALVÉOLES.

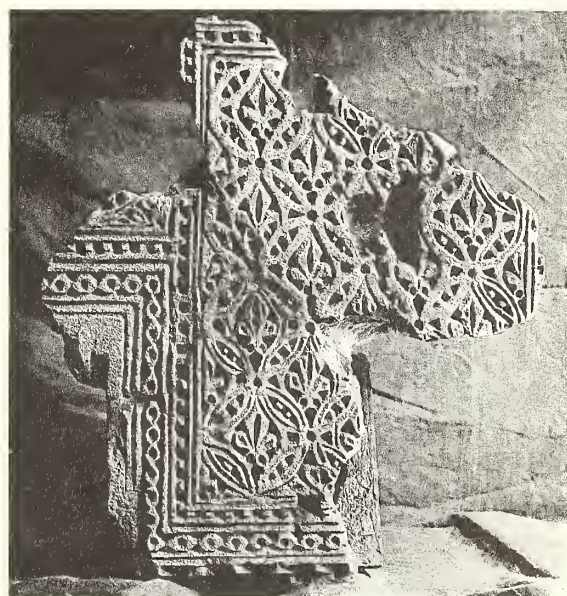


FIG. 25—PALMETTES DANS DES CERCLES ENTRELACÉS,
ENCADREMENTS DE GRAINETIS ET D'OVES.



FIG. 26—Voûte sur pendentifs découverte au cours des fouilles de 1951.



FIG. 27—"Mihrāb" (voir fig. C, Plan 2).



FIG. 28—Salle C. Fragment d'inscription coufique: "BARAKAH, BARAKAH, BARAKAH," FORMULE DE BÉNÉDICTION.



FIG. 29—FRAGMENTS DE CORNICHES.



FIG. 30—GRANDE AMPHORE EN TERRE CUITE TROUVÉE DANS LA COUR DU PALAIS (cour D), ENVIRON 1,70 MÈTRES DE HAUTEUR.



FIG. 31—AMPHORE BLEUE VERNISSÉE DANS LA POSITION OÙ ELLE VIENT D'ÊTRE DÉCOUVERTE (cour D). LE COL EST ORNÉ D'UNE PETITE TORSADE.

NOTE concernant les Planches 1 à 6: Les figs. 1 et 2 sont des prises de vue de l'Aviation Militaire d'Algérie. Tous les autres clichés, sauf les figs. 3, 4, 5, 20, 26 et 29 qui sont de l'auteur, sont dûs à Mademoiselle Mireille Barde.

dans le décor. On ne voit jamais un fruit à Sedrata, aucun de ces supports verticaux le long desquels s'enroulent symétriquement des volutes.²³ Les motifs, l'esprit et le style sont différents.

Quant à l'élément géométrique proprement dit, tel qu'il figure par exemple à Kairouan, nous n'en avons pas trouvé d'exemple au cours de nos fouilles.

Si la flore de Sedrata s'apparente, mais par certains traits seulement, à celle de l'art chrétien d'Afrique, parce qu'elle dérive d'un même fond, si quelques rares souvenirs de l'Espagne Omeyyade s'y retrouvent aussi, d'autres éléments, comme les palmiers stylisés (*pl. 3, figs. 10 et 11*), dont nous ne connaissons pas ailleurs d'exemple, les semis serrés de palmettes ou de fleurons et surtout l'aspect "tapissant" de cet art ont une autre origine.

Le réseau d'alvéoles, que nous venons de voir orner aussi les motifs floraux et les encadrements de certains panneaux de plâtre sculpté à Sāmarrā (Mésopotamie, IX^e siècle)²⁴ et à Nishapur, en Perse (X^e siècle).²⁵ Des apports orientaux sont venus se mélanger, à Sedrata, à des survivances d'un art proprement africain, peut-être proprement berbère. C'est ce vieux fond berbère que nous voudrions connaître et auquel on doit peut-être la vigueur de cet art. Force et finesse, tout à la fois, alliées à une richesse d'invention et à une technique très sûre, telle est l'impression qui se dégage du décor ibāḍite. Ce décor est un ensemble unique, qui ne peut encore être rattaché

à aucun art connu, autrement que par des éléments de détail. Aussi ne chercherons-nous pas ici à faire des rapprochements avec les nombreux revêtements de plâtre sculpté que l'on trouve en Orient et en Occident dans des monuments musulmans de même époque ou qui ont précédé et suivi ceux de Sedrata. Lorsque la décoration murale qui vient d'être rapportée à Alger aura pu être reconstituée dans son ensemble, lorsqu'on aura sous les yeux la salle d'un palais ibāḍite, construit vraisemblablement au XI^e siècle,²⁶ l'heure viendra de pousser cette étude plus loin. Cet art apparaîtra alors —et ceci implique déjà une certaine maturité— comme un tout homogène, malgré tous les apports du dehors dont il a pu être formé.

On ne saurait sousestimer l'apport oriental. Il suffit pour s'en convaincre d'interroger l'histoire.

Celle-ci nous apprend qu'au VIII^e siècle Tāhart rivalisait de splendeur avec Balkh (Bactres), si bien que les Ibāḍites lui avaient donné le nom de "Balkh de l'Occident." De nombreux marchands venus de l'Iraq et de l'Iran y étaient installés. Lorsque Tāhart fut mise à sac et que les Ibāḍites l'abandonnèrent, en 909, pour venir fonder Sedrata, ils cherchèrent sans doute à faire une autre Tāhart qui put à son tour rivaliser avec la Balkh persane. Ainsi s'expliquerait le luxe des palais de Sedrata qui sont peut-être en partie l'oeuvre d'artisans persans et irakiens venus en Afrique du Nord à la suite des émirs rostémides.

Mais tandis que Tāhart, l'actuelle Tiaret, dans la province d'Oran, était située non loin du littoral méditerranéen, à Sedrata nous sommes à huit cents kilomètres au sud d'Alger, c'est-à-dire à quatre cents kilomètres au sud

²³ Motif si cher aux mosaïstes de la Coupole du Rocher, à Jérusalem (fin VII^e siècle de notre ère) et qui apparaît souvent dans la Grande Mosquée de Kairouan.

²⁴ K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim architecture*, Oxford, 1932-40, t. 2, pl. 52.

²⁵ Un panneau composé de motifs floraux, recouvert d'alvéoles et provenant de Nishapur est exposé au Metropolitan Museum of Art à New-York. Sur les fouilles de Nishapur, cf. *Bull. Metropolitan Museum of Art*, Oct. 1937, Nov. 1938 et April 1942.

²⁶ Les monuments de Sedrata s'échelonnent sur plusieurs dates. Nos travaux sont encore trop peu avancés pour que nous puissions les fixer, mais la salle en question forme un tout homogène que les caractères de l'inscription coufique permettent de dater vraisemblablement du XI^e ou du début du XII^e siècle.

du limes romain au delà duquel on ne se serait pas attendu à trouver une civilisation aussi raffinée et un centre aussi important.

Cette découverte pose de troublants problèmes. Non seulement elle ouvre un chapitre nouveau de l'histoire de l'art musulman mais, sur un plan plus vaste, elle viendra combler une lacune et permettra de reconstituer un

chaînon qui jusqu'ici a manqué dans l'histoire des civilisations.

NOTE: Au moment de mettre sous presse nous apprenons avec émotion la mort de M. Louis Leschi, Directeur des Antiquités de l'Algérie. La disparition prématurée de ce savant si probe et fin, auquel l'Algérie doit beaucoup, sera douloureusement ressentie par ses collaborateurs et par ses nombreux amis.

TRAVAUX DE LA MISSION ARCHÉOLOGIQUE FRANÇAISE DE SUSIANE

PAR ROMAN GHIRSHMAN

LA CAMPAGNE DE L'HIVER 1952/1953 A ÉTÉ partagée entre deux sites: Tchoga-Zanbil¹ et Suse. Le premier, situé à quelque 50 kilomètres au Sud-Est du second, se trouve au bord de l'Āb-e Dīz, principal affluent du Kārūn. Bâti au XIII^e siècle avant J.-C. par le roi élamite Untash-Huban, le site comprend deux enceintes concentriques dont l'intérieure délimite le temenos, ou quartier sacré. Au centre de celui-ci s'élève une ziggurat qui conserve encore 25 mètres de hauteur. Les recherches commencèrent par ce quartier; deux des faces de la ziggurat, celles qui regardent le Nord-Est et le Nord-Ouest, se trouvent actuellement dégagées sur les deux-tiers de leur longueur, ce qui a permis à la Mission de reconnaître les traits généraux de la conception de cette tour (*fig. 1*). Jusqu'à ce jour, il a été mis au jour deux massifs superposés, posés chacun sur un socle peu élevé. On peut présumer que, primitivement, il existait un troisième massif, doté, lui aussi, de son socle, et qui supportait, au sommet de la ziggurat, le temple "supérieur." Ainsi, la hauteur totale de ce monument pouvait atteindre à l'origine entre 45 et 50 mètres et compter, en fait, six étages.

Chaque côté dégagé de la ziggurat comprend, prise dans le massif inférieur, une chapelle à laquelle on accédait par un large escalier (*fig. 3*). Derrière la chapelle, un escalier à double révolution menait à la terrasse du

premier massif. On ne connaît pas encore le moyen par lequel se poursuivait l'ascension.

De vastes parvis dallés de briques cuites séparaient la ziggurat des temples qui l'entouraient (*fig. 4*). Un certain nombre de ceux-ci, faisant face au côté Nord-Ouest et à l'angle Nord de la ziggurat, ont été dégagés sur une superficie dépassant 3.000 mètres carrés. Le plus important est celui du dieu Ishni-qarab, qui est doté de deux cours, d'une cella, de chambres de service et de cuisines (*fig. 2*). Ses murs, en briques crues, ont conservé près de 3m., 50 de hauteur, et certaines portes leurs voûtes. La façade de ce temple regardant la ziggurat était bâtie en briques cuites; d'autres briques cuites, portant des inscriptions du roi Untash-Huban, se trouvaient noyées dans la plupart des pieds-droits des portes de ce vaste ensemble.

Au temple de Ishni-qarab se trouve accolé un petit sanctuaire dédié à la déesse Kiririsha, probablement sa parèdre. Il ne comprend qu'une ante-cella et une cella. Enfin, face à l'angle Nord de la ziggurat, et séparé du complexe précédent par une rue coudée, la Mission a mis au jour le temple du dieu Huban, dont la cella, les pièces secondaires et la cuisine donnent sur une cour centrale.

C'est dans la cella du sanctuaire de Kiririsha que fut découvert par nous un ensemble de près de deux cents objets, ayant probablement appartenu à divers temples, et qui ont été rassemblés là par des pillards qui avaient l'intention de les emporter. Sous un amas de plus de cent masses d'armes (*fig. 5*), pour la plupart inscrites, en marbre, bronze, hématite, albâtre et pierre calcaire, se trouvaient, en bloc compact, des objets en bronze soudés les uns aux autres par l'oxydation. Nous y avons

¹ Cf. R. Ghirshman, *Where the Elamite King Untash-gal built a city in the 13th century B.C., Evacuating the great ziggurat at Choga-Zanbil in Khuzistan*, Illustrated London News, No. 5929, vol. 221 (December 6, 1952), pp. 954-956; *Fouilles de la mission archéologique française en Susiane*, 1951-1952, Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, vol. 2 (Budapest, 1952), pp. 185-187.

détaché plusieurs haches dont le talon de l'une d'elles est orné d'un sanglier en ronde bosse, en électrum, coulé et repris au burin; des poignards, des couteaux, des plaques ornées de sujets au repoussé, des éléments de cuirasse, des coupes, des vases, de petits animaux (*fig. 6*) et des cylindres. Le sujet de ceux-ci est presque toujours le même: une scène de banquet dont les personnages tiennent à la main des coupes à haut pied, identiques aux coupes en terre cuite qui ont été découvertes dans les mêmes temples.

Près de l'escalier menant à la chapelle Nord-Est de la ziggurat, et au pied d'un postament en briques émaillées polychromes, la Mission a mis au jour plusieurs fragments d'un animal en ronde bosse, en terre cuite émaillée. Reconstituée par Mme Ghirshman, cette bête (dont la tête et les pattes manquent) pourrait être un taureau (?) mesurant 0 m.80 de longueur qui porte une longue inscription élamite de 16 lignes gravée sur son dos. Son étude préliminaire laisse supposer que l'animal était l'attribut du grand dieu Inshushinak, à qui la ziggurat était dédiée. Près de l'escalier de la chapelle Nord-Ouest de la ziggurat, furent découverts des fragments d'un autre animal, toujours en terre cuite émaillée, de dimensions à peu près semblables, et dont actuellement nous ne possédons que l'extrémité de deux pattes à puissantes griffes, deux ailes, et le bout de la queue à plumes. Deux petits fragments couverts de signes indiquent que cette bête, elle aussi, devait porter une inscription.

Le matériel épigraphique découvert ne manque pas, et si la plupart des inscriptions qui ornent les masses d'armes ne portent que le nom de Untash-Huban, sur l'une d'elles, qui est en marbre, se trouve gravé, d'après le Dr. H. Paper, celui de Attar-Kittak, grand-père du bâtisseur de Dur-Untashi (nom ancien de Tchoga-Zanbil). Sur deux cylindres, le Dr. H. Paper croit pouvoir reconnaître le nom du roi Kidin-Hutran (?), second successeur de Untash-Huban. Une autre masse en pierre calcaire comprend huit lignes de texte avec dédicace aux dieux Inshushinak et Ishniqarab, de même qu'un pommeau en terre cuite émaillée bleue.

La seconde partie de la campagne fut consacrée à la poursuite des travaux sur le chantier stratigraphique de la "Ville Royale" de Suse, ouvert il y a sept ans. La septième ville (en partant de la surface) a été dégagée: elle doit dater du début de l'époque hellénistique, et les objets qui y furent trouvés illustrent le caractère composite de la population. C'est ainsi qu'à côté des figurines de pur style hellénistique représentant tantôt un Héraclès, tantôt une joueuse de lyre, se trouvaient des cavaliers ou des déesses nues. Des particularités d'ordre architectural, qui ne manquent pas d'intérêt, furent observées; elles indiqueraient une époque où la façade classique mésopotamienne, ornée de niches et de pilastres, voisine avec l'emploi de la colonne engagée qui en dérive, et dont l'usage, semble-t-il, reste inconnu sous les Achéménides.



FIG. 1.—TCHOGA-ZANBIL. DÉGAGEMENT DE LA ZIGGURAT, FACE N. O.



FIG. 2.—TCHOGA-ZANBIL. DÉGAGEMENT DES TEMPLES DES DIEUX ISHNI-QARAB, HUBAN ET DE LA DÉESSE KIRIRISHA

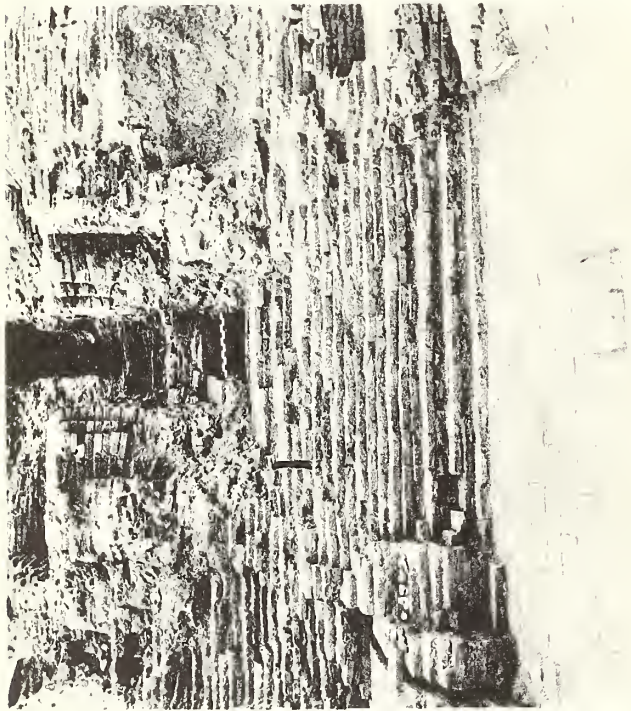


FIG. 3—TCHOQA-ZANBIL. ZIGGURAT. ESCALIER ET PORTE D'ENTRÉE
DE LA CHAPELLE N.E.



FIG. 4—TCHOQA-ZANBIL. ZIGGURAT PARVIS N.E. VU DU SUD

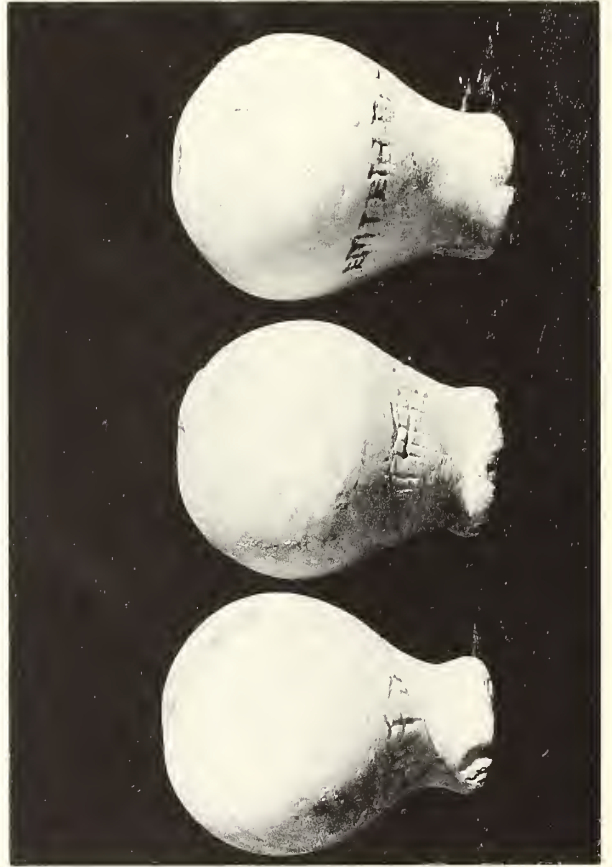


FIG. 5—TCHOQA-ZANBIL. MASSES D'ARMES EN ALBATRE GRAVÉES AU NOM DU ROI
UNTASH-HUBAN



FIG. 6—TCHOQA-ZANBIL. OBJET EN BRONZE AVEC UN CHEVAL

EXCAVATION OF A MING TOMB IN SINING

BY RICHARD C. RUDOLPH

I. INTRODUCTION

WHILE VISITING NEOLITHIC SITES IN CHING-hai Province, northwest China, in March of 1949, I also attempted to locate and examine other sites of interest. The members of the German Catholic Mission in Sining, in reply to inquiries about local archeology, had told me that a short distance outside the south gate of the city wall there was a large and very ancient tomb which was known as the *Nan Liang Wang Mu*. Father Cwik, who was extremely helpful during my three-week stay there, led me to this tomb. It was beyond the remains of the old Mongol wall, about one mile southeast of the south gate of the present city wall, in the midst of an ancient cemetery covering many acres along the base of some low hills. Local Chinese scholars and officials also assured me that this was the tomb of Nan Liang Wang, the Prince of Southern Liang, and that it dated from the early fifth century.

Reference to the local Gazetteer in the library of the large Confucian temple in Sining, where the printing blocks for this work are still preserved, gave support to these statements. The Gazetteer simply states that the tomb of Nan Liang K'ang Wang (T'u-fa Li-lu-ku), was at the foot of a hill southeast of the city and that the same tomb was referred to in the *Chin shu*, where it states that T'u-fa Li-lu-ku was buried to the southeast of Hsi-p'ing, (Sining).¹

Prince K'ang was the second of three brothers of Hsien-pi stock to call himself Nan Liang Wang. They controlled the Sining-Lanchow region from 397-414 and died in 399, 402, and 415, respectively.²

¹ *Hsi ning fu hsien chih*, 1747, ch. 7, p. 8a.

² *Chin shu* (Ssu pu pei yao ed.), ch. 126, *passim*,

It was obvious that the tomb of either of these princes, with its contents preserved by the dry climate of that region, would be of great archeological value and well worth study. Thus, although doubting the reputed age of the tomb, mounting arguments in favor of its antiquity induced me to make a rough survey of the tomb site on the 4th of April, with the help of Father Cwik, the American explorer Leonard Clark, and Tsedan Dorje, a German-educated Mongol princeling, and steps were initiated the same day to seek permission to excavate. Governor Ma Pu-fang sponsored my request, and official permission was obtained from the Provincial Assembly on the 12th of April.³

Inasmuch as I have been unable to find any report of the excavation of a similar tomb, perhaps the following notes may be of interest to students of Chinese archeology.

II. EXTERNAL APPEARANCE

The surface elements of this tomb consist of a tumulus and avenue of approach delineated by 11 large stone figures of men and animals (*pl. 1, fig. 1*). These figures were a disturb-

and Otto Franke, *Geschichte des chinesischen Reiches*, Berlin, 1930-37, vol. 2, pp. 113, 186, 372.

³ I wish to record my thanks to the Mohammedan general, Ma Pu-fang, then governor of Chinghai Province, whose hospitality I enjoyed during my stay in Sining. It was only with his aid that I was allowed to excavate, a privilege not often granted to Westerners. I am also indebted for much help to other members of his cabinet, such as Ma Hsien-shu and Kao Wei-yuan, and to many of the German missionaries in Sining and Lanchow. Miss Ruth Ingram, stationed in Sining, was kind enough to take most of the photographs appearing in this article. The excavation was made during my residence in China as a Fulbright Research Scholar in 1948-49.

ing factor because they cast considerable doubt on the age of the tomb; it was not their presence alone, for they were so used earlier than the fourth century, but rather their condition and style. The style especially recalled similar figures I had seen at small Ming tombs around Nanking some months earlier. The area over which these objects were spread was originally enclosed by a wall of pounded earth measuring 315 x 125 feet. Traces of the wall can be seen all around the area, and sizable portions of it still stand on the north side. It appears to have been about 10 feet high and the tumulus is near the western end of the rectangular enclosure.

One would have expected the entrance to be in the center of the eastern wall (i.e., away from the mound) in line with the central axis, and so it may have been, although there is no trace of an entrance there now, but it is evident that there was some kind of an entrance, formed by the configuration of the walls, in the northeast corner. (The longitudinal axis of the scheme lies 20° north of west.)

The mound, approximately 40 feet in diameter and 12 feet high, is now in the shape of a cone, but surface evidence at its base leads one to suspect that originally it may have been four-sided. There is an earthen terrace about 1 foot high projecting from the eastern perimeter of the mound. This platform of pounded earth is 15 feet long and 5 feet wide at the narrowest point formed by the intersecting base of the tumulus. At the juncture of terrace and mound there are three large sandstone slabs which probably formed a sort of altar for offerings.

All the 11 stone figures marking the *shen tao*, or avenue of approach to the tomb, have been moved from their original antithetical positions and have suffered from weathering and vandalistic mutilation to a greater or less degree. All of them, with the exception of the

tortoise and one ram, have been thrown over and some of them are practically buried. Their original order, as one approaches the tumulus from the east, is as follows:

1. Tortoise (*pl. 1, fig. 2*). This had been completely buried and its head broken off. Across its back is a flat pedestal intended to hold a tablet, no trace of which could be found.⁴ Length, 40 inches.

2-3. Lions (*pl. 1, fig. 3*). The common type with collar and one forepaw resting on a ball. These were not only on their sides, but were almost completely buried. There was so much doubt about their identification that one of them was dug out and placed upright. The side that had been protected by the earth appeared to be in its original state. Height, 43 inches.

4-5. Rams or sheep. Hardly recognizable. The one on the north is still standing but facing east instead of south and is some distance east of its mate. Height, 50 inches.

5-6. Probably tigers. Badly weathered and chipped. Height, 24 inches.

7-8. Saddled and caparisoned horses, in good condition. Height, 50 inches; length, 70 inches.

9-10. Civil officials, with flowing robes holding *hu* in the usual respectful position (*pl. 1, fig. 4*). Their heads have been knocked off and removed, but otherwise they are in excellent condition. Height, 50 inches.

It seems probable that the figures of the officials and horses are relatively recent additions. These four figures are made of red sandstone and are in good condition, while the other figures, although made of granite, are all badly weathered.

⁴ According to local rumor, many such objects had been removed during a recent building campaign and were used in the construction of public buildings, bridges, and roads. It is possible that this particular tablet may some day be found in Sining.

III. EXCAVATION

A test trench was started in the most promising place—straight into the eastern face of the mound from the three large sandstone slabs. Before much earth had been moved, we encountered isolated bricks and tile fragments and I began to suspect that a predecessor had used the identical route. On each side of the trench, at surface level and 3 feet west of the slabs, we found brickwork in its original condition. These bricks were laid without mortar (*pl. 2, fig. 5*).

As we proceeded, many fragments of sculptured, unbaked clay were found. When enough of them had been assembled they fell into two categories: a dragon, and floral arabesques. The workmanship on the dragon seemed to be of excellent quality, while that on the flowers was somewhat inferior. The clay was very soft, and considerable damage was done to some of the pieces by workmen who did some of the digging, but most of the breaks were obviously old. When these fragments were exposed to the sun and wind they soon dried, developed cracks, and became quite friable. The largest fragment of the dragon was a beautifully modeled head 7 inches long, with retracted lips and partly open mouth. Judging from the size of this head, the original dragon must have been some 3–5 feet long. Two fair-sized fragments of some baked-clay objects were also found in the same area. These were mostly covered with carved scales the size of a thumbnail, suggesting another dragon or the legs of a *ch'i-lin*.

These fragments, plus the fact that the walls of our trench clearly showed areas of soft, disturbed earth adjacent to hard-packed, undisturbed earth, substantiated my opinion that this tomb had been entered before.

Five feet in from the slabs and four feet below the surface we ran squarely into a red sandstone block which reached almost from

wall to wall of the trench. It measured 11 x 11 x 27 inches. Behind and extending above this block was a 2-foot wall of loose bricks. On top of these bricks and face up were two baked-pottery slabs. These were designed to fit end to end, and when in proper placement formed a floral frieze surrounding the entire perimeter. On each slab were two characters in high relief, and from right to left they read *Ch'i kung chih mu* (*pl. 2, fig. 6*). The combined measurement is 13 x 26 x 3 inches.

Back of these bricks and slabs was a large vertical cavity. At first glance it could be seen that this well-like chamber was without any support whatsoever. This was additional proof of previous entry because it was obvious that such a cavity could be made only after the building of the mound. After the entrance was enlarged, this cavity measured some 8 feet high and 4 feet in diameter. The initial penetration was 2 feet from the top. At the bottom, about 6 feet below ground level, was a small square hole in some brickwork. This proved to be the entrance knocked through the top of the subterranean tomb by the robbers. Our rope had broken when we were moving the sandstone block, so descent into the tomb had to be postponed until the next day.

This opening, 12 feet above the floor of the tomb, had to be enlarged, and even then it was only with great difficulty that entrance could be effected by being lowered on a rope. Exit proved to be even more difficult. The floor of the tomb was about 18 feet below ground level.

IV. THE TOMB

The main subterranean chamber measures 23 feet 4 inches by 10 feet 9 inches, with its long axis running north and south. The ceiling, vaulted by a pointed arch, is 11 feet 6 inches above the floor at the highest point.⁵

⁵ When Sirén wrote his monumental work on

The floor was paved with bricks in a herring-bone pattern and was free of mud. There was a small recess with a round arch on either end. These recesses measured 3 feet 2 inches high, 2 feet 9 inches wide, and 3 feet 6 inches deep. The bottom was $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches above floor level.

Opening off the west side of the main chamber were three uniform burial crypts with vaulted ceilings 8 feet 8 inches high, 6 feet 4 inches wide, and 9 feet 8 inches deep. Lintels made of heavy wooden beams, flush with the walls, were across the openings, 5 feet 6 inches above the floor. These beams supported floral plaques of baked clay covering the upper 3 feet 2 inches of the arched entrance of the crypts. These plaques were backed with brickwork. The lower part of the openings, underneath the plaques, were originally sealed with brickwork. Practically all this brickwork had previously been removed from the northern and central crypts. As a result of the lack of this additional support for the lintel, the arabesque and brickwork of the tympanum of the central crypt had fallen to the floor and were in fragments. The plaques on the other two crypts, the northern and southern, appeared to be in their original condition (*text fig.*).

The southernmost crypt seemed to be practically in its original condition. Just below the lintel, in the upper right-hand corner of the brickwork sealing the crypt, was a small triangular hole. This hole was obviously made by the plunderers. But they abandoned their work after looking through this opening and discovering that the crypt, although sealed up like the other two, was empty.

Chinese art it was not known that this type of brick tomb existed in the latter part of the Ming period. See Osvald Sirén, *A history of early Chinese art*, London, 1929-30, vol. 4, pp. 37, 52, pl. 90 B. This plate illustrates a small Ming vaulted stone tomb, parts of which are now at the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto. Unfortunately, the subterranean vault is lacking and no details concerning the excavation or size of this tomb are available.

The central crypt, and apparently the northern one, had wooden doors behind the brickwork. On both sides of the entrance to the central crypt there were upright planks about one foot in width extending from the floor to the lintel. These were painted red and mounted on vertical pivots in the same manner as modern Chinese doors.

In the center of the far (western) wall of the crypts were small niches 11 inches high, 9 inches wide, and 9 inches deep (*text fig.*, floor plan). The top of the niche extended about 2 inches above the lid of the unopened coffin in the northern crypt. These niches were designed to hold lamps. In the middle of each of the walls separating the crypts there were small, rectangular connecting holes.

In the center of the eastern wall of the main chamber was a tunnel leading outward. Its arched roof was the same height as that of the opposite, central crypt; it was 8 feet 6 inches wide, and extended eastward 6 feet 9 inches. The outer end of this tunnel was filled with earth. The outside entrance to it must have been sealed when the tomb was last used officially, so this earth may have been the result of an attempt by the robbers to dig their way out, rather than to ascend through the hole in the roof of the main chamber. The entrance to the tunnel was a little to the right (north) of the avenue marked by the stone sculptures, owing to the fact that the axis of the tunnel was east and west, while that of the avenue was 20° north of west. There is a depression there now, probably caused by the earth's sinking into the subterranean excavation made by the robbers from within the tomb. I had digging started in this depression shortly after I started the trench into the mound, but after a considerable amount of earth had been removed without result, work on this was abandoned.

The entire structure, except for the wooden lintels, was built of burnt bricks and mortar.



FIG. 1—GENERAL VIEW OF THE TOMB SITE



FIG. 3—ONE OF A PAIR OF LIONS



FIG. 2—DAMAGED STONE TORTOISE



FIG. 4—ONE OF A PAIR OF CIVIL OFFICIALS



FIG. 6—POTTERY SLABS FROM TUMULUS



FIG. 5—TUMULUS AND TRENCH



FIG. 8—WOODEN CANDLEHOLDERS FROM TOMB

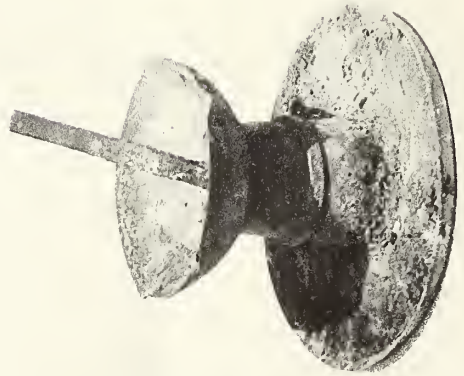
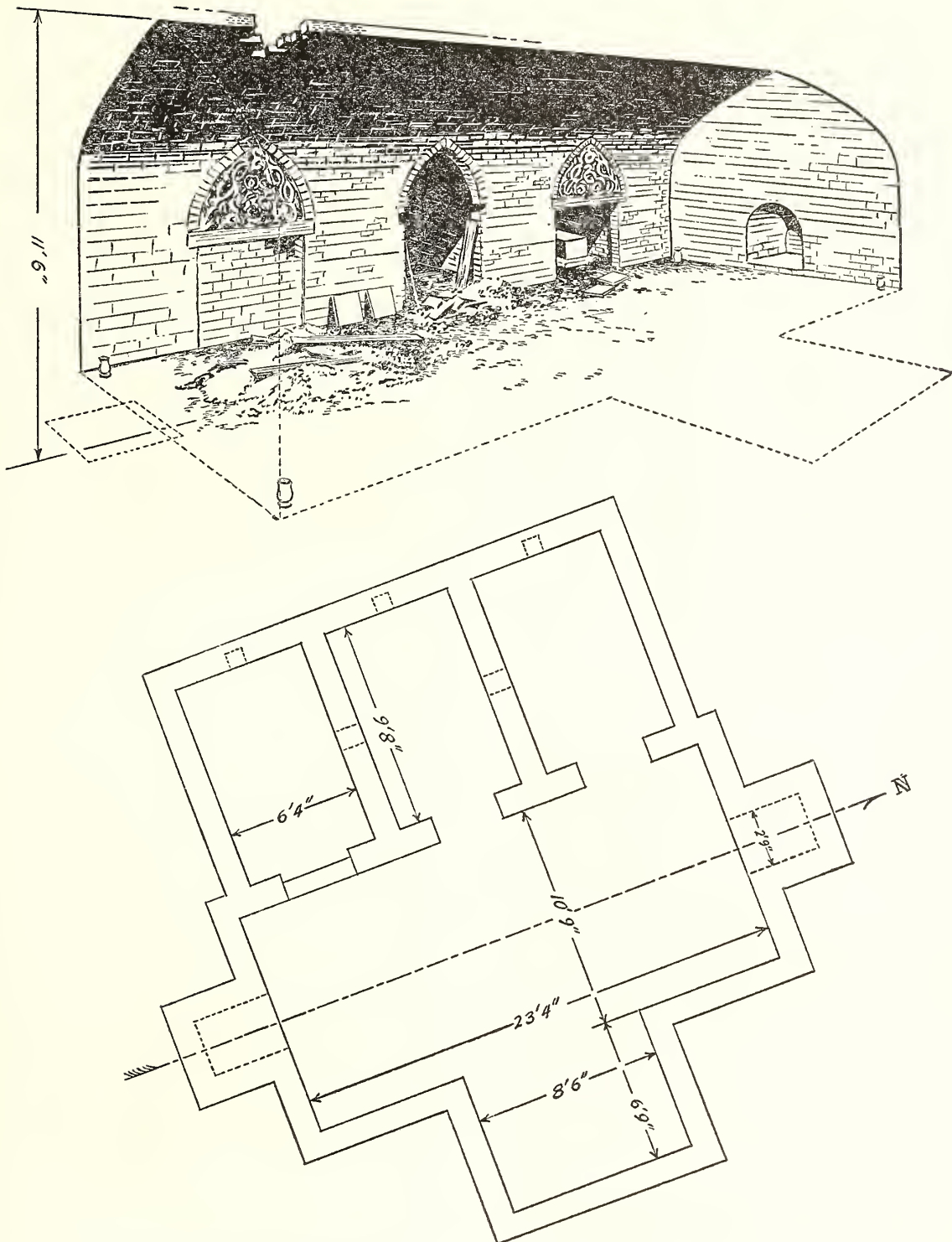


FIG. 7—BRONZE LAMP FROM TOMB



PERSPECTIVE DRAWING AND FLOOR PLAN OF CH'I PING-CHUNG'S TOMB

The interior was finely finished and the work appeared to have been done by expert architects and craftsmen. The walls, judging from the thickness of the small entry hole broken through the ceiling, were about 16 inches thick.

V. CONTENTS

My first quest after having been lowered into the tomb was for some inscription that would give definite information on its date and occupants. In this I was rewarded by the discovery of four stone tablets measuring 2 feet 4 inches square. Two of these were found at the entrance of the northern crypt and the other two leaning against the wall between the central and southern crypts.

Each pair consisted of one tablet with a few large seal characters and another with a text of shallowly incised small characters. The first, a protective cover for the principal tablet, gives notice that here is the eulogy of the deceased; the second contains the eulogy.⁶ From these I learned that this was the tomb of Ch'i Ping-chung, the Ch'i Kung of the clay tablet found in the tumulus, and his wife, of the Ming dynasty.

The covering tablet of Ch'i's wife, the first one found, reads as follows:

Tomb inscription and eulogy of our illustrious deceased mother and principal wife of the Junior Guardian, *Ch'i, née Wang*, on whom the title of Lady of First Rank has been conferred by the Ming house.

His is of similar nature. The eulogy of Ch'i is dated the fourth year of the T'ien-ch'i period (1624), and that of his wife the second year of the Ch'ung-chen period (1629).

The coffin of Ch'i's wife, in the northernmost crypt, had not been opened and was in perfect condition. The outer coffin was 2 feet

8 inches wide, 8 feet 2 inches long, and 2 feet high. The ends and sides were skillfully mortised and rested on an elaborately carved wooden dais 1 foot 2 inches high, slightly larger than the coffin. The entire outside of the coffin was covered with painted ornamentation. The principal colors were red, blue, green, and white, which still looked quite fresh.

The upper area of the coffin was covered with stylized clouds, with rocks and waves below.⁷ This motif is clearly related to the designs on court and other official robes. Similar designs can be seen on robes dating from the Ch'ing dynasty. The ponderous lid, which was nailed down with large iron spikes, was carefully removed with considerable anticipation because the relative dryness of the tomb, as well as the good condition of the coffin, led me to hope that it would contain a well-preserved and datable example of Ming dynasty official costume. But when the lid was removed, a second coffin was encountered. Between the inner and outer coffins was a space all around of about one inch. The lid of the inner coffin was crudely decorated and was not nailed down.

Inside was a perfectly articulated female skeleton, with the head pointing toward the west. There was absolutely no trace of clothing, with the exception of two small silk slippers which had fallen from her bound feet. There was no other object to be found either on the skeleton, in its mouth, or anywhere else in the coffin.

The construction of the inner coffin is of special interest. The skeleton was lying on a false bottom of thin wooden slabs pierced at regular intervals by dollar-size holes. This false bottom is raised from the actual bottom of the inner coffin by three horizontal ribs

⁶ In general these tablets correspond to those shown in the article by William Hung, *Ming . . . erh mu chih k'ao*, Yenching Hsueh Pao, vol. 3, pp. 521-536.

⁷ Traces of similar designs may be seen on the carved and painted fragments of an imperial Liao coffin in Ryuzo Torii, *Ryō no bunka zufu*, Tokyo, 1936, vol. 3, pls. 224-226.

1½ inches high. This space was filled with charcoal and ashes, apparently in order to absorb moisture and preserve the coffin and the body.

The coffin in the central crypt had been badly smashed, much of it having been thrown into the large antechamber. The robbers had wrapped most of the bones of Ch'i's skeleton in some of his clothing and placed them in the westernmost end of the damaged coffin. Both bones and clothing were clammy to the touch and the textile was in poor condition, but one garment was good enough to preserve. The bottom of this coffin also contained charcoal and ashes, although the false bottom had been removed by the plunderers in their search for loot.

In one of the small wall niches mentioned above, that behind Ch'i's coffin, there was a bronze lamp (*pl. 2, fig. 7*). Its base is 8 inches in diameter, and the height from the base to the lip of the oil cup is 5 inches. This cup is slightly over an inch deep and its lip has five niches for wicks, some of which still remained. Hinged to the bottom of this cup is a small bronze bar 4½ inches long and pierced at its upper end for suspending the lamp. The hollow stem of the lamp tapers very slightly and has a plain raised band around the center; the diameter at this point is 2¾ inches. The lamp was originally gilded, but is now largely covered with patina and accretions from the oil and remains of burned wick.

In all four corners of the large rectangular chamber were wooden lathe-turned candle holders. They have holes in the top for insertion of the holding stick of Chinese candles. Two of these were in good condition, but the other two were in fragments. They are decorated with butterflies painted in white watercolor. The top flange and the base bear traces of red paint. These objects are of irregular size but average about 7 inches in height and 4 inches in their largest diameter (*pl. 2, fig. 8*).

Near the recess in the northern end of the main chamber there was also a candle frame identical with the three-candle type used in present-day ceremonies.

Besides the above objects, there were scattered fragments of woodwork which appeared to have been furniture of some sort, but the original objects had been destroyed beyond recognition. Under the opening in the ceiling of the tomb the robbers had formed a pile of lumber in order to shorten the distance they had to be pulled up by rope. This was composed of planks, probably the wooden doors of the crypts, and parts of the damaged coffin. This makeshift elevation and the surrounding area were partly covered by a great amount of loess that had fallen through the opening.

Ceramics were entirely lacking. The only thing found in this line was the base of a tapering stoneware vase. The material was coarse and of a light brown color; the glaze was very heavy and a deep brownish-black color.

VI. CH'I PING-CHUNG

Ch'i Ping-chung, a native of Shensi, was appointed lieutenant colonel in charge of the defense of the district of Yung-ch'ang, Kansu, in 1616 (Wan-li 44). At that time 2,000 mounted bandits invaded the region but were halted by Ch'i Ping-chung with only 300 men. After fighting with the bandits for two days and nights, reinforcements arrived and the invaders were put to flight. Ch'i was praised for this action and soon was promoted to brigadier general of Liang-chou. General Yuan Ying-t'ai⁸ commended him for his skill and courage and sent him to guard the P'u River in Liaotung. Liaoyang had just fallen (1621) to the Manchus when he reached that

⁸ *Ming shih* (Ssu pu pei yao ed.), ch. 259, pp. 3b-4b. Arthur Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing period*, Washington, 1943-44, vol. 2, p. 957.

region, and he subsequently aided such leaders as Hsiung T'ing-pi,⁹ Wang Hua-ch'en,¹⁰ and Tsu Ta-shou¹¹ in the defense of Kuang-ning. Efforts to oppose the Manchus were unsuccessful and Kuang-ning fell to the invaders in March 1622. Some of Ch'i's superior officers fled, for which they were later executed, but he fought to the end, receiving two sword and three arrow wounds. His followers helped him to mount his horse and escorted him to safety, but he died of his wounds on the road, on March 2, 1622, and Kuang-ning was occupied by the Manchus two days later.¹² He was posthumously awarded several titles, including that of Junior Guardian to the Heir Apparent, and was granted a state burial.

Most accounts of his life are concerned with his defeat of the band of marauders.¹³ Only the *Ming shih* tells of his other exploits, and this is incidental to the biography of Lo I-kuan.¹⁴ The above account of Ch'i Ping-chung's life comes from the latter source.

VII. CONCLUSION

Several of the provincial officials accompanied me both days to the tomb site, but none of them actually entered the tomb. When I returned to the surface and described the

⁹ *Ming shih*, ch. 259, pp. 4b-13b, and Hummel, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 308.

¹⁰ *Ming shih*, *loc. cit.*, sub Hsiung T'ing-pi, *passim*, and Hummel, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 823.

¹¹ Hummel, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, pp. 769-770.

¹² See Erich Hauer, *Huang-Ts'ing k'ai-kuo fang-Lüch*, Die Gründung des mandschurischen Kaiserreiches, Berlin, 1926, p. 115.

¹³ *Hsi-ning-fu hsin chih*, ch. 7, pp. 21a-b, and *Chia-ch'ing ch'ung hsiu yi t'ung chih* (Ssu pu ts'ung k'an ed.), ch. 487, p. 16, and ch. 286, p. 10.

¹⁴ *Ming shih*, ch. 71, pp. 3b-4a. A paraphrase of some of this material appears in the biography of Hsiung T'ing-pi, *op. cit.*, ch. 259, pp. 11a-b. Two other accounts of Ch'i's life, the *Ming shih kao* and the *Sheng ch'ao hsün chieh chu ch'en lu*, follow the *Ming shih*.

tomb and its contents to them, they were highly enthusiastic and agreed at once to expose the entire subterranean structure and open it to the public. Mr. Mu, Director of the Provincial Library, was especially anxious to have the four tablets removed to a small exhibition room in the library, which already contained a Han dynasty tablet found near Sining. It was decided to bring a crew of workers to the site the following day to excavate a ramp down to the entrance of the tunnel on the east side of the main tomb chamber. My intention of having someone go down into the tomb to make rubbings of the four tablets and of the floral plaques still covering the tympana of the northern and southern crypts was abandoned when I learned that the tunnel would be opened, thereby giving easy access to the tomb and permitting removal of the tablets.

The next day when I went to the government offices to consult with the officials and make further plans for the excavation, I was told that a descendant of the Ch'i family had appeared and had objected to further work on the tomb. As a result of the alleged descendant's objection, almost all the objects that had been removed from the tomb had already been thrown back through the small opening, which was closed and sealed, thereby putting an end to further work.

Several questions arise in connection with the tomb and its contents: Why is this tomb called by the folk and scholars alike the tomb of the fourth-century Nan Liang Wang, while the actual seventeenth-century occupant has been forgotten? A similar transference of names took place at Chengtu, where a tenth-century usurper king passed into oblivion and his tomb came to be connected with the name of the second-century B.C. poet Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju.¹⁵ Could it be that the Ch'i tomb

¹⁵ See Feng Han-yi, *Discovery and excavation of the Yung Ling, the royal tomb of Wang Chien*, Quarterly Bull. Chinese Bibliography, n. s., vol. 4

was built at the site of the old Nan Liang Wang tomb and the old name persisted?¹⁶

Why was Ch'i's wife buried without clothing? Since her skeleton was perfectly articulated, reburial does not seem to be the answer to this perplexing question. Why was her coffin left unopened by the robbers, although they had removed the brickwork sealing her crypt?

(1944), pp. 1-11; Cheng Te-k'un, *The royal tomb of Wang Chien*, Harvard Journ. Asiatic Studies, vol. 8 (1944-45), pp. 235-240.

¹⁶ It has been stated in the introduction to this paper that the *Hsi-ning fu hsin chih* located a Nan Liang Wang tomb "at the foot of a hill southeast of the city," and that the *Chin shu* concurred. The *Hsi-ning fu hsin chih*, ch. 7, p. 8b, places Ch'i's tomb "two li south of the city." It is in fact about one mile southeast of the south gate at the foot of a hill, so the two tombs actually may be very close to each other.

For whom was the third crypt intended, and why was it sealed up although empty?

The excavation itself and this report on it leave much to be desired. The reburial of one of the garments and other objects, the loss of the opportunity to make rubbings, and the lack of flashlight photographs of the interior of the tomb are all things to be deplored. In spite of these drawbacks, however, the excavation at least gives us some idea of the construction of a large tomb of the Ming period built at the expense of the state.¹⁷

¹⁷ *Ming shih*, ch. 271, p. 4a. J. J. M. de Groot, *The religious system of China*, Leyden, 1892-1901, vol. 3, p. 1100, discusses state contributions in money and materials for the burial of civil and military officials during the Ming period. It was probably this state aid that accounts for the elaborateness of Ch'i's tomb.

NOTES

THE PAINTING OF THE SIX KINGS AT QUṢAYR 'AMRAH

The now greatly damaged painting of the six rulers in the Umayyad desert bath of Quṣayr 'Amrah has for a long time been the subject of controversy among scholars. If we except the fantastic interpretation by Karabacek in Musil's publication of the building, two explanations of the famous painting are to be found. One group of scholars, from Max van Berchem¹ to Creswell,² explains the representation of the six rulers as a symbol of the defeated enemies of Islam. Herzfeld,³ on the other hand, has suggested that we see here a Umayyad copy of the Sasanian representation of the "Kings of the Earth," as there was one, described by Yāqūt,⁴ near Kermanshāh.

The first explanation is inadequate, because in both Sasanian and Byzantine art, the iconography of the defeated enemies shows specific traits absent in Quṣayr 'Amrah,⁵ and one cannot imagine that the Umayyad rulers had, at that time, developed their own iconography of that subject. Herzfeld's explanation seems to rely too much on the theoretical servility of Umayyad artists in assuming that

¹ M. van Berchem, *Au pays de Moab et d'Édom*, Journal des Savants, n. s., 7^{ème} année (1909), pp. 293-309, 363-372, 401-411.

² K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muhammedan architecture*, London, 1932, vol. I, pp. 263-264.

³ E. Herzfeld, *Archäologische Parerga*, Orientalische Literaturzeitung, vol. 22 (1919), pp. 254-255; and *Die Könige der Erde*, Der Islam, vol. 21 (1933), pp. 233-236.

⁴ Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Leipzig, 1866-1873, vol. 4, p. 70.

⁵ For Sasanian examples, see, for instance, A. U. Pope, ed., *A survey of Persian art*, London-New York, 1938, vol. 4, p. 155. For Byzantine examples, see A. Grabar, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin*, Paris, 1936, pls. 4, 12, 23, and in the text, *passim*.

"der maler, der für al-Walid I in Quṣayr 'Amra arbeitete, hat ganz naiv den Sasaniden des urbildes beibehalten, trotzdem der nicht mehr in die zeit passte."⁶ The six kings are not the kings of the earth described by Yāqūt, but each one represents a specific phase of Umayyad history. We shall try to show that this painting is an illustration of a Umayyad idea, part of which was borrowed from the Sasanians, but which was adapted to the Umayyads' historical situation.

A line from a poem attributed to Yazīd III ibn al-Walīd, one of the last Umayyad caliphs, who reigned briefly during the year 744, introduces an idea which perhaps can explain the painting of Quṣayr 'Amrah. It is found in Mas'ūdi⁷ and reads as follows: *انا ابن كسرى وابي مروان وقيصر جدّي وجدّي خاقان* "I am the son of Kīsrā and my father is Marwān and Qaysar is my grandfather and my grandfather is Khāqān." This verse implies a new concept: Yazīd asserts his right to the throne through an imagined ancestry. The Umayyad caliph—the verse may have been written before Yazīd became caliph, but he had always been ambitious and eager to occupy a throne to which he believed he had rights⁸—is the descendant and the heir of the kings who, at one time or another, had been defeated by the Arabs. They are his ancestors.

The concept of a "Family of Kings" was not an original one with the Umayyads. Stud-

⁶ Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 235.

⁷ Mas'ūdi, *Murūj al-dhahab*, ed. and tr. C. Barbier de Meynard and A. Pavet de Courteille, Paris, 1861-1877, vol. 6, p. 32. The same text is found in Ṭabari, *Annales*, ed. M. de Goeje, Leiden, 1885-1889, vol. 2, p. 1874. It was mentioned by F. Gabrieli, *Al-Walīd ibn Yazīd, il califfo e il poeta*, Rivista di Studi Orientali, vol. 15 (1935), p. 19.

⁸ Inasmuch as he was the son of the Sasanian princess Shāhāfrīd. See Gabrieli, *op. cit.*, footnote 7.

ies by Ostrogorsky, Holtzmann, Dölger, and others⁹ have shown the intricacies of the "spiritual" (πνευματικός) family relationship between the rulers of the world (τέκνα) and the common father of all, the *basileus* of Constantinople. But it is not from Byzantium that the Umayyads took over the concept as we find it embodied in the line quoted by Mas'ūdī and on the wall of Quṣayr 'Amrah, because, however old the idea may be,¹⁰ at the court of Constantinople it had a religious overtone which was unthinkable in Islam. Furthermore, its usage was essentially diplomatic and political. It did not become an artistic theme at the court of Constantinople, but only at the courts of the dependent rulers.¹¹

If we turn to the Persian tradition, as it is embodied in such writers as Qazwīnī, Mas'ūdī, Ferdowsī, and Tha'ālibī, we find, first of all, a greater degree of universality than in Byzantium. While the Byzantine hierarchy of states comprised essentially the successors of the Roman Empire, Christian states, and immediately neighboring states, the Persian tradition stresses the relationship of rulers from China to Byzantium.¹² It also goes further than the Byzantine conception, which only recognized

a "spiritual" relationship between the *basileus* and the other rulers. In the *Shāh-nāmeḥ*, the emperor of Byzantium is said to have written: "Rūm is to you (another) Iran, and Iran is to you like Rūm; why make a distinction between these countries? The Khāqān of China and the king of India also hold from you their thrones and their crowns. The whole wisdom of the time is in the king of kings and the Qayṣar has no power but through him."¹³ The "immediacy" and actuality of the dependence of the world's kings on the Persian emperor also appears in a passage from Mustawfī al-Qazwīnī: "Anūshirvān erected a platform, measuring one hundred ells square, and here at a great banquet the emperor of China, the Khāqān of the Turks, the Rajah of India, and the Caesar of Rome, all kissed his hand."¹⁴ Mas'ūdī lists all the gifts brought to the court of Anūshirvān by "the kings of India and of Sind, of the North and of the South," on the occasion of the marriage of the Persian emperor to the daughter of the "Khāqān, king of the Turks." The king of China, the king of India, and the king of Tibet (?), all call Khosrow their "brother."¹⁵

These examples were known to the Umayyads. The emphasis on an *actual* relationship was more likely to appeal to the still rather uncouth Umayyad princes than the *spiritual* concept of the Byzantines. Furthermore, while they were more or less constantly at war with the Byzantines, the Umayyads had at their disposal all the remnants of the ancient Sasanian empire they had conquered; and they were im-

⁹ G. Ostrogorsky, *Die byzantinische Staaten-hierarchie*, Seminarium Kondakovianum, vol. 8 (1936), pp. 41-61; K. Holtzmann, *Der Weltherrschafsgedanke des mittelalterlichen Kaisertums . . .*, Historische Zeitschrift, vol. 159 (1939), pp. 251-264; F. Dölger, *Die "Familie der Könige" im Mittelalter*, Historisches Jahrbuch, vol. 60 (1940), pp. 397-420.

¹⁰ See, in particular, Dölger, *op. cit.*, p. 420.

¹¹ Ostrogorsky, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-60, for examples and further bibliography.

¹² For instance, the story about the three seats prepared to the left, to the right, and back of the throne of Khosrow, for the king of China, the king of Byzantium, and the king of the Khazars, as found in G. Le Strange and R. A. Nicholson, *Farsnāmeḥ of Ibn al-Balkhi*, London, 1921, p. 97. Also see A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, 2d ed., Copenhagen, 1944, pp. 411-412.

¹³ Ferdowsī, *Shāh-nāmeḥ*, French tr. by J. Mohl, Paris, 1876-78, vol. 6, p. 418. The title "King of the World" appears in many passages throughout the book: vol. 6, pp. 142, 154, 173, 179, etc. . . . For another significant passage in the same line, see *ibid.*, pp. 151-152.

¹⁴ Hamd Allāh Mustawfī al-Qazwīnī, *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, tr. G. Le Strange, London, 1919, vol. 2, p. 106.

¹⁵ Mas'ūdī, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 200-203.

pressed by the wealth, the sophistication, the organization, and the way of life of the dynasty they had defeated. And it is not necessarily through artistic remnants that the Umayyads were introduced to Sasanian civilization and to Sasanian ideology, as few of the leaders ever left Syria and Palestine except to go on pilgrimage to Mekkah. It is reasonable to assume that they became acquainted with Sasanian civilization also through literary sources. This is confirmed by the fact that many Umayyad caliphs enjoyed reading or listening to history.¹⁶ More specifically we know that in the year A.H. 113/A.D. 731 a Persian book containing the description of every Sasanian ruler was translated into Arabic by order of Hishām ibn ‘Abd-al-Malik.¹⁷

Keeping in mind this brief sketch of the background of the concept of the “Family of Kings,” it seems possible to explain the Quṣayr ‘Amrah painting of the six rulers as the result of an attempt by a Umayyad to adapt the Sasanian artistic theme of the “Kings of the Earth,” gathered to pay homage to their overlord, to the concept of the “Family of Kings.” This latter concept was altered so as to imply that the Umayyad dynasty was the descendant and heir of the dynasties it had defeated.

An interesting hypothesis presents itself at this juncture: J. Sauvaget has shown that the epigraphical evidence found at Quṣayr ‘Amrah seems to preclude its having been built for or by a caliph. But he suggests an heir

¹⁶ Mas‘ūdi, *op. cit.*, vol. 6, p. 32ff. Also see H. Lammens, *Etudes sur le règne du calife . . . Mo‘awiya I*, Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale de l’Université St. Joseph, vols. 1–4, *passim*.

¹⁷ Mas‘ūdi, *Kitāb al-tanbīh* (Bibl. Geogr. Arab., ed. M. de Goeje, vol. 8), Leiden, 1894, p. 106. It may be suggested at this point that the extraordinarily tall woman to the right of the six kings, on the wall of Quṣayr ‘Amrah, is another reminiscence of a Sasanian tradition, for, in his description of the gifts sent by the king of India to Anūshirvān, Mas‘ūdi mentions “a slave-girl seven feet tall” (جارية طولها سبعة أذرع).

apparent or a parent of the actual ruler.¹⁸ Could the patron of Quṣayr ‘Amrah not have been Yazīd ibn al-Walīd, who for 20 years was kept aside from the throne and away from the centers of government, whose ambition led him to participate in a plot against al-Walīd II, and who was well known for his pride in his Sasanian ancestry?

OLEG GRABAR

THE SĀMARRĀ MINT

The purpose of this short article is to invite the attention of historians (and of art historians in particular) to numismatic evidence demonstrating that the commercial prosperity of Sāmarrā, the famous temporary ‘Abbāsīd capital, did not end with its abandonment as the official residence of the caliphs at the close of the rule of al-Mu‘tamīd in 279 of the Hijrah (A.D. 892). The Sāmarrā mint was active until 341 A.H. (A.D. 953),¹ and it is therefore evident that the markets, and presumably the workshops, of the city continued to flourish for at least 60 years after the date commonly accepted as the termination of the so-called “Samarra period.” This point is of more than casual interest because of the emphasis on “Samarra ware” in art and archeological chronology.

For many years it has been customary in writing of Sāmarrā to speak of its occupation in terms of “roughly half a century.” Certainly this is correct insofar as caliphal residence is concerned. The city was founded by al-Mu‘taṣīm between 219 and 221 (A.D. 834–836),² and it ceased to be the capital, officially

¹⁸ J. Sauvaget, *Remarques sur les monuments Omeyyades I: châteaux de Syrie*, Journal Asiatique, vol. 231 (1939), pp. 14–15.

¹ See my brief note on this same subject in a review of Ernst Herzfeld’s *Geschichte der Stadt Samarra*, *Ars Islamica*, 15–16 (1951), p. 227, Note 2.

² Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 91. All the sources are cited in Herzfeld’s discussion.

speaking, when al-Mu'tamid died, eleven days before the end of Rajab in 279 (October 16, 892). In actual fact, al-Mu'tamid's residence came to an end even earlier, in Dhū'l-Qa'dah, 269 (May-June, A.D. 883), although he did visit the city again the following year.³ As Ṭabari says, "Al-Mu'tamid was the first Caliph after the founding of Sāmarrā to leave it. After him none of them returned."

With all this there is no quarrel. But when the simple factual statement "It remained the capital for fifty-six years"⁴—a statement having political relevance only—is adopted by art historians, and more especially by ceramic historians, when discussing the controversial question of dating "Samarra ware," lusterware, and related pottery of other provenance as an infallible chronological guide, then it is important to remember that the streets of the fabulous city were not forever silenced the morning after al-Mu'tamid's death.

By way of illustration I have selected somewhat at random a few passages from a variety of relatively recent archeological and ceramic works. Migeon wrote: "On peut donc dire que tout ce qui a été exhumé du sol de Samarra est antérieur à la fin du IX^e siècle de notre ère, l'existence de Samarra étant comprise entre 838 et 883."⁵ Hobson: "The pottery found on the palace sites may be assumed to belong to the forty-five years between 838 and 883."⁶ Christie, attributing a dish from Susa to the ninth century: "as similar pieces have been excavated on the site of a palace at Sāmarrā, built by a son of the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd in 836 and abandoned fifty years

afterwards."⁷ Dimand: "It [Sāmarrā] was an artistic center and the residence of the caliphs from 836 to 892, when it was suddenly abandoned," and "The lusterware made for the use of the Abbasid caliphs between the years 836 and 883 and found at Samarra surpasses in the beauty and brilliancy of its colors all Islamic lusterware made in later periods."⁸ Lane: "[Sāmarrā was] built and occupied by the Caliphs between 836 and 883 and thereafter abandoned. Pottery-fragments found here in German excavations before 1914, and by Iraqi archaeologists more recently, are of the greatest interest, not least because they can be precisely dated within the short period of occupation."⁹ Jean David-Weill, in a review of Herzfeld's *Geschichte der Stadt Samarra*:¹⁰ "Fondée en 836 par al Mu'tasim, elle fut définitivement abandonnée par al Mu'tamid en 889; aussi les monuments et les objets qui s'y trouvèrent sont-ils exactement datés." And most recently, Creswell: "These tiles [from Kairouan], therefore, are the earliest examples of luster of certain date (248 H./262-3) and immensely strengthen the theory of an 'Irāqi origin for the beautiful technique, especially when we remember that fragments of exactly similar tiles were found by Sarre and Herzfeld in the excavations of Sāmarrā, founded in A.D. 836 and abandoned about 882."¹¹

Friedrich Sarre was more circumspect: "Die bei den Ausgrabungen im Ruinengebiet von Samarra zum Vorschein gekommene Keramik hängt mit wenigen Ausnahmen mit der ungefähr ein halbes Jahrhundert dauernden

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 87, 135, 268-269.

⁴ E.g., Philip K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs* (5th ed.), London and New York, 1950, p. 466.

⁵ Gaston Migeon, *Manuel d'art musulman*, 2^e ed., Paris, 1927, p. 169. It is to be noted that the earlier abandonment date of 269 A.H. (A.D. 883) is usually adopted by art historians.

⁶ R. L. Hobson, *A guide to the Islamic pottery of the Near East*, London, 1932, p. 2.

⁷ A. H. Christie, in T. Arnold & A. Guillaume, *The legacy of Islam*, Oxford, 1931, p. 123.

⁸ M. S. Dimand, *A handbook of Muhammadan art*, 2d ed., New York, 1947, pp. 4, 169.

⁹ Arthur Lane, *Early Islamic pottery*, London, 1947, p. 11.

¹⁰ *Syria*, 29 (1952), pp. 162-163.

¹¹ K. A. C. Creswell, *Problems in Islamic architecture*, *The Art Bulletin*, vol. 35 (1953), p. 3.

Blütezeit der Stadt (838–883 n. Chr.) zusammen und umfasst, wenn man einige Jahrzehnte vorher, während deren ältere Gefäße noch im Gebrauch sein konnten, und einige Jahrzehnte nachher während des langsamen Verfalls der Stadt hinzurechnet, höchstens 100 Jahre, das gesamte 9. Jahrhundert.”¹² But the usual terminal occupation date is stressed. And although Kühnel in an important article pointed out the now obvious fact that Sāmarrā was not the site of manufacture of all so-called “Samarra ware,” and attempted a classification of “Samarra” pottery into several subperiods embracing dates from before 850 to the middle of the tenth century, he nevertheless follows the customary tradition when he speaks of the “Lebensdauer von Samarra (838–883),” and when he writes, “Wir wissen, das die Stadt schon um 900 verlassen und zerstört war.”¹³

The numismatic evidence relating to the activity of the Sāmarrā mint,¹⁴ to which I have referred, has been assembled from a number of sources. The issues listed below do not, needless to say, comprise all the possible dates; I may well have missed published coins in the scattered numismatic literature,¹⁵ and it is of course possible that coins of some unrecorded dates, perhaps even later than 341 A.H., are still beneath the ground. One or two general observations may be made. The dinars begin with the year 226 and end with 271; each of

the eight caliphs between al-Mu‘taṣim and al-Mu‘tamid, including the ephemeral al-Muntaṣir, is represented, and there are 24 recorded dates. It is interesting to note that gold striking ended two years after al-Mu‘tamid deserted the city. As for the dirhams, the earliest known date is 224 (three years after the official founding), the latest, 341; each of the 14 caliphs between al-Mu‘taṣim and al-Muttaqī (excluding the pretenders) is represented; the last two issues, 337 and 341, are Būyid; and there are 93 recorded dates.

Dinars

Al-Mu‘taṣim bi’llāh:

226 (*RIC* 140).¹⁶

Al-Wāthiq bi’llāh:

231 (*Berlin* 1449).¹⁷

Al-Mutawakkil ‘alā’llāh:

233 (*NC* 1919 p. 196).¹⁸

234 (*BM* I 317).¹⁹

236 (*Berlin* 1461).

240 (*Paris* 944).²⁰

Al-Muntaṣir bi’llāh:

Date effaced (*RIC* 147).

Al-Musta‘in bi’llāh:

248 (*Paris* 966).

249 (*Paris* 967).

250 (*Paris* 968).

¹⁶ George C. Miles, *Rare islamic coins* (American Numismatic Society, Numismatic Notes and Monographs, No. 118), New York, 1950. (This reference hereafter referred to as *RIC*.)

¹⁷ Heinrich Nützel, *Katalog der orientalischen Münzen, I: Die Münzen, der östlichen Chalifen*, Berlin, 1898. (This publication hereafter referred to as *Berlin*.)

¹⁸ J. Allan, *Unpublished coins of the caliphate*, Numismatic Chronicle, 1919. (Periodical hereafter referred to as *NC*.)

¹⁹ Stanley Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of oriental coins in the British Museum*, London, 1875–1890. (Hereafter referred to as *BM*.)

²⁰ Henri Lavoix, *Catalogue des monnaies musulmanes de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, I, Paris, 1887. (Hereafter referred to as *Paris*.)

¹² F. Sarre, *Die Keramik von Samara, Die Ausgrabungen von Samarra*, II, Berlin, 1925, p. 101. See also pp. v and 77.

¹³ Ernst Kühnel, *Die ‘abbāsīdischen Lüsterfayencen*, *Ars Islamica*, 1 (1934), pp. 152–159.

¹⁴ On the coins the name of the city is always given in the form of the fictitious etymology, *Surra man ra’a*, “He who sees it is pleased.”

¹⁵ In any case I have given only one reference (to the most readily accessible catalogue or article) for each issue. In one instance, for example (dirham of 323 A.H.), I know of nine specimens, but I have cited only one reference. Frequently, however, only one specimen is known.

Al-Mu'tazz bi'llāh:

251 (*BM IX 341^d*).252 (*Paris 978*).

Al-Muhtadī bi'llāh:

255 (*NZ 1922 p. 8*).²¹

Al-Mu'tamid 'alā'llāh:

256 (*Istanbul 604*).²²259 (*Paris 999*).260 (*NC 1899 p. 266*).²³261 (*Berlin 1533*).262 (*NC 1921, p. 323*).²⁴263 (*RIC 158*).264 (*NC 1899 p. 266*).265 (*BM I 353*).267 (*BM IX 353^b*).270 (*BM I 354*).271 (*Istanbul 605*).

Dirhams

Al-Mu'taṣim bi'llāh:

224 (*Ties. 1860*).²⁵226 (*NC 1919, p. 196*).

Al-Wāthiq bi'llāh:

227 (*Ties. 1868*).228 (*Ties. 1870*).230 (*BM IX 315^d*).231 (*Berlin 1453*).232 (*BM IX 315^f*).

Al-Mutawakkil 'alā'llāh:

233 (*BM IX 322^z*).234 (*BM I 323*).

²¹ Eduard Zambaur, *Neue Khalifenmünzen*, Numismatische Zeitschrift, 1922. (Hereafter referred to as *NZ*.)

²² Ismā'il Ghālib, *Müze-yi Humāyūn, Mes-kūkāt-i Qadīme-i Islāmiyyeh Qatalōghu, Qusṭan-ṭīniyyah*, 1312. (Hereafter referred to as *Istanbul*.)

²³ J. M. C. Johnston, *Mohammedan coins*, Numismatic Chronicle, 1899.

²⁴ Harvey Porter, *Unpublished coins of the caliphate*, Numismatic Chronicle, 1921.

²⁵ W. Tiesenhhausen, *Moneti vostochnago khalifata*, St. Petersburg, 1873. (Hereafter referred to as *Ties.*)

235 (*RIC 272*).236 (*RIC 273*).237 (*BM I 325*).238 (*Berlin 1476*).239 (*Ties. 1900*).240 (*Ties. 1908*).241 (*Ties. 1910*).242 (*Berlin 1477*).243 (*RIC 276*).244 (*Paris 958*).245 (*Paris 959*).246 (*Ties. 1930*).

Al-Muntaṣir bi'llāh:

248 (*BM IX 332^p*).

Al-Musta'in bi'llāh:

249 (*Ties. 1941*).250 (*BM I 337*).251 (*Ties. 1947*).

Al-Mu'tazz bi'llāh:

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²⁶ Stanley Lane-Poole, *Fasti Arabici, IV. Mr. Leggett's collection*, Numismatic Chronicle, 1886.

274 (Ties. 2875).

279 (NC 1892, p. 161).²⁷

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309 (RIC 335).

310 (Paris 1168).

311 (Paris 1169).

312 (Berlin 1694).

313 (Paris 1171).

314 (Berlin 1695).

317 (BM IX 433^{ec}).

318 (BM IX 433^{dd}).

Al-Qāhir bi'llāh:

321 (Paris 1222).

322 (Paris 1223).

Al-Rāḍi bi'llāh:

323 (BM IX 464^t).

327 (Berlin 1820).

328 (Ties. 2436).

Al-Muttaqī li'llāh:

329 (Ties. 2443).

330 (Paris 1258).

Būyid Rulers

Mu'izz al-Dawlah and 'Imād al-Dawlah:

337 (Aḥmed Zīā 1721).²⁸

Mu'izz al-Dawlah and Rukn al-Dawlah:

341 (Istanbul).²⁹

GEORGE C. MILES

THE INSCRIPTION OF THE BOSTON
"BAGHDAD" SILK

A NOTE ON METHOD IN EPIGRAPHY

This beautifully designed silk, woven in red, green, white and yellow, was first published in 1934, and its main inscription thus transcribed and translated by R. Guest:¹

²⁸ *Meskūkāt-i Islāmiyyeh Taqvīmi*, Constantinople, 1910. Herzfeld (*op. cit.*, p. 136), in a list provided him by Nützel in 1911, gives a dinar of 337, struck by 'Imād al-Dawlah and Rukn al-Dawlah. This combination of rulers is not likely at this date, nor is a dinar likely, and I imagine the entry is an error. Perhaps Nützel referred to the Zīā specimen and two errors crept in.

²⁹ An unpublished specimen in the national collection, examined by me in 1936.

¹ H. A. Elsberg and R. Guest, *Another silk fabric woven at Baghdad*, Burlington Magazine, vol. 64 (June 1934), pp. 270-272, pl. A, the large Boston piece; pl. B, a small fragment with good wishes, in the Elsberg collection. L. A. Mayer had pointed out to Mr. Guest that the main inscription was divided between two circles which must be read continuously. At this time we are concerned only with the main inscription, not with the good wishes in kufic, except to note that Elsberg and Guest recognized "some 'Span-

²⁷ *Idem*, *Fasti Arabici*. Mr. J. M. C. Johnston's cabinet, Numismatic Chronicle, 1892:

"Hada mimma 'umil bi Mad . . . inat Baghdad, harasaha allah"—"This was made in the town of Baghdad, may God guard it." He also stated, "The form of the kufic seems to point to a date in the eleventh century or in the first half of the twelfth." Guest, and his joint author, Elsberg, concluded that the Boston silk was really made in Baghdad, and that others of the same stylistic group were copied from it in Spain. The slight inaccuracies in this rendering of the inscription do not alter the sense of it, and are negligible, especially since the reproduction in plate A, though a screen print, is perfectly clear and every letter can be seen distinctly.

Two years later, in 1936, the Arabic text was correctly published and translated in the *Répertoire*:²

(1) هَذَا مِمَّا عَمِلَ بِمَدِّ (2) يَنْتَ بَغْدَادَ حَرَسَهَا إِلَه

"Ceci vient de ce qui a été fait dans la ville de Baghdad, que Dieu la garde!" It was headed "Mésopotamie," and listed under the year 450 (or A.D. 1058-1059), for the system in the *Répertoire* is to put undated inscriptions at twenty-five-year intervals in the appropriate period. The editors thus followed Guest's attribution of country, and approximately, his dating.

After a lapse of some years, that is, in 1943, this inscription was next discussed by D. Shepherd.³ She used Guest's transcription,

ish' peculiarities" in the style of its letters, an observation which is perfectly correct.

² Et. Combe, J. Sauvaget, and G. Wiet, *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe*, Cairo, 1936, vol. 7, No. 2623; bibliography as above, in note 1.

³ Dorothy G. Shepherd, *Hispano-Islamic textiles in the Cooper Union collection*, Chronicle of the Museum for the Arts of Decoration of the Cooper Union, vol. 1, No. 10 (December 1943), pp. 365-377, fig. 5, the so-called lion-strangler silk; fig. 6, the silk with sphinxes; fig. 7, fragments of the Boston "Baghdad" silk.

but attempted to put it into Arabic letters, with several resulting mistakes, thus:

إله (sic) مِمَّا عَمِلَ بِمَدَّة (sic) بَغْدَادَ حَرَسَ (sic) هَذَا

and suggested "that it might better be read:

«هذا مثل عمل بمدة بغداد حرس الله»

with the translation, "This was made in the manner of the town of Baghdad, may God guard it. Thus reading مثل (manner) for مِمَّا (which)." This change is grammatically incorrect in Arabic. Miss Shepherd made no reference to the *Répertoire*, which is the first work to consult on any matter of inscriptions, and she did not quote any Arabist or epigrapher for a reading of the inscription itself. In the study of any inscription, the inscription must be taken *as is*, and not "corrected" in order to prove a thesis. In the same article Miss Shepherd also gave incorrect readings of the inscriptions of two well-known Spanish silks, the antelope silk of Berlin, and the eagle silk of Salamanca, by following the rendering of von Falke, instead of finding out what they actually say.⁴ As to the Boston silk, Miss Shepherd concluded, "We must regard the whole group as having the same provenance—the evidence for which must be sought *without the aid of the inscription*."⁵ (Italics by the present writer.)

On the contrary, it is the inscription itself, that is, the content apart from the style

⁴ Shepherd, *op. cit.*, page 369, giving الحمد لله for the Berlin antelopes and الحمد for the Salamanca birds. See O. von Falke, *Kunstgeschichte der Seidenweberei*, Berlin, 1913, vol. 1, fig. 190 the Salamanca birds, and fig. 191 the Berlin antelopes; text, page 118, "Ruhm sei Gott." Actually, fig. 190 gives لِبْقَاء (doubtless for اَلْبِقَاء) and fig. 191 لِبْقَاء لله (for اَلْبِقَاء لله) that is, "Duration," and "Duration is God's."

⁵ Shepherd, *op. cit.*, page 367. We may add that she attributed the whole group of these silks to the last half of the twelfth and the first half of the thirteenth centuries; page 377.



FIG. 2.—ISLAMIC SILK WITH AMAZONS, SYRIA, SEVENTH TO EIGHTH CENTURY. (Courtesy Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Harvard University.)



FIG. 3

FIG. 1.—ISLAMIC SILK WITH AMAZONS, SYRIA, EIGHTH CENTURY. (Formerly G. Sangiorgio Collection.)

of the letters, which contains implicitly the answer, the very spelling of the Arabic proves that the Boston silk was made in some land of the West (which in this case would be Spain), and could not have been made in Baghdad or in any of the Eastern lands of Islam. The first word of the inscription is هَذَا, spelled with two long *alifs* (usually, of course, هَذَا). This spelling of this word is a peculiarity of Spain, a fact which was indicated as long ago as 1931 by Lévi-Provençal in his work on the Arabic inscriptions of Spain. For instance, in his introduction, under "Vulgarismes" he notes the dropping of an *alif*, هَذَا < هَذَا.⁶ Throughout the volume he takes for granted the spelling هَذَا as being normal in Spain, for example, in Nos. 43, 47, 62, 63 and 75. Further, when the word is partly lacking, he often restores the Spanish, as [هَذَا] in Nos. 26 and 37-38. These examples range from 437-547, i.e., about the middle of the eleventh to the middle of the twelfth century A.D.

Now, certainly the spelling هَذَا is typical of Spain—but where else is it used? To answer this, the writer turned to the *Répertoire*. Here the Boston silk, No. 2623, is listed under the year 450, in volume 7. Therefore, to cover about sixty or seventy years both before and after this date, the writer started with the year 386 (No. 2001 in vol. 6) and continued through the year 525 (No. 3043 in vol. 8). Thus, over a thousand inscriptions were run through, of the years 386-525/996-1131. The writer simply read through the Arabic texts and put down on paper every inscription in which the word *hadha* occurred, whether spelled هَذَا or هَذَا. One list was made for all the countries from Egypt eastward,

⁶ E. Lévi-Provençal, *Inscriptions arabes d'Espagne*, Leyden, 1931, p. xxvi; for examples of this he cites Nos. 45, 121, 128, and 156. When Miss Shepherd is discussing the style of the letters of this group of silks (*op. cit.*, pp. 371-373) she makes no reference to the work of Lévi-Provençal.

and another for North Africa, Sicily, and Spain.⁷ The results may be summarized as follows, using the terms "long" and "short" for the two spellings:

Répertoire, vol. 6:

In the East, spelling always short.....	40
In the West, long 3 times, otherwise short..	16
Total in this volume.....	56

Répertoire, vol. 7:

In the East, spelling always short (except No. 2623, this silk).....	96
In the West, long 11 times, otherwise short	48
Total in this volume.....	144

Répertoire, vol. 8 (through year 525 only):

In the East, spelling always short.....	70
In the West, long 11 times, otherwise short	39
Total in this volume, through No. 3043...	109

From these inscriptions, covering the years 386-525 only, we see that there are in the Eastern lands no known or published examples of the spelling هَذَا, except for the one silk in question, which was listed under Mesopotamia. In the Western lands the short spelling is the more frequent; but the long spelling هَذَا occurs *only* in the West. It is found in Spain, Malta (once, No. 2749 in vol. 7), and Algiers (but not in Tunis or Sicily).

Thus, by force of the epigraphic evidence, the Boston silk cannot have been made in the East, and it must have been made only in the West. As it belongs stylistically with a group of silks recognized by von Falke (1913) as Spanish, we therefore conclude that it, too, was made in Spain. (If we deny to Malta a famous silk, at least we leave to Malta her famous Maltese cats!)

⁷ To cover all periods, instead of only the period concerned, one might start with volume 1 and continue through the last volume published. This needs only Arabic, time, and patience. In this brief note the writer does not cite the inscriptions themselves, for the lists cover quite a number of pages, but gives only the results.

Since the above was composed (during 1947-1948), two more articles pertinent to the question have appeared. In 1949 Jean Sauvaget presented some tombstones from Gao, on the middle Niger River, east of Timbuctoo. Of these he pointed out that four are certainly not local, but imported ready-made from Spain;⁸ and that explains why the Western spelling *هاذا* is to be found at so remote a spot. Sauvaget stated, "La graphie *هاذا* pour *هذا*, reste typique des inscriptions arabes d'Espagne, sur lesquelles elle revient fréquemment, sans qu'on la rencontre ailleurs autrement que de manière épisodique."

Then in 1951 Miss Shepherd again turned to the same group of silks (the sphinxes, the so-called lion-strangler, and the Boston "Baghdad" silk). She stated that while in Spain she had discovered a hitherto unpublished example of this group, which has an inscription reading, "Victory from God to Amīr al-Muslimīn

⁸ Jean Sauvaget, *Les épitaphes royales de Gao, Al-Andalus*, vol. 14, fasc. 1 (1949), pp. 123-141; illustrated. Especially pp. 123-125 for the Spanish similarities.

'Alī,"⁹ adding that, as the title Amīr al-Muslimīn was used by the Almoravids, this must refer to the 'Alī who ruled from 1106-1143, "thus definitely fixing the date of manufacture of that textile, and hence all those of the group." It is a great achievement to have found a silk with a historical inscription, and all will look forward to her complete publication of it.

This is a striking confirmation of the proof, implicit in the inscription itself, that the Boston "Baghdad" silk was made in Spain, and the whole stylistic group with it. It also confirms the dating of Elsberg and Guest, "in the eleventh century or in the first half of the twelfth," and corrects the dating formerly proposed by Miss Shepherd.

FLORENCE E. DAY

⁹ D. Shepherd, *A twelfth-century Hispano-Islamic silk*, Bull. Cleveland Museum of Art (March 1951), p. 61, not illustrated. In this last article, p. 60, Miss Shepherd again gives a wrong reading for a kufic inscription, stating that on the lion-strangler silk it is "al-'amr (the power)." In Arabic 'amr does not mean power, and secondly, the letters do not form an inscription, but are meaningless, merely decorative.

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*List of abbreviations used:

AI	Ars Islamica.
BK	Amtliche Berichte aus den Königlichen Kunstsammlungen. Later: Berliner Museen. Berichte aus den Preussischen Kunstsammlungen.
BM	Burlington Magazine.
DLZ	Deutsche Literaturzeitung.
E.It.	Encyclopedia Italiana.
JK	Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen.
KC	Kunstchronik.
KK	Kunst und Künstler.
KKh	Kunst und Kunsthandwerk.
MK	Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft.
N.F.	Neue Folge.
OLZ	Orientalistische Literaturzeitung.
RK	Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft.
SBKG, Berlin	Sitzungsberichte der Kunstgeschichtlichen Gesellschaft zu Berlin.
Th.B.	Thieme—Becker, Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künste.
ZBK	Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst.
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

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THE PUBLICATIONS OF JEAN SAUVAGET COMPILED BY RICHARD ETTINGHAUSEN

When Mehmet Aga-Oglu first started work on the new journal *Ars Islamica*, in 1933, he called on all his colleagues in the field to send in contributions. Naturally, one of these was Jean Sauvaget, who responded with an article on *Les caravansérails syriens du hadjdj de Constantinople*, which was published in 1937. Thus started an association between the distinguished French archaeologist and *Ars Islamica*, an association that continued up to and even beyond this scholar's death, as his last article, dispatched shortly before his final illness, was published only after his passing, in the last issue of the series. Altogether, Sauvaget contributed articles to *Ars Islamica* on ten different occasions—on architecture, pottery, epigraphy, and iconography, a general survey of Islamic studies in France during the war years, and an obituary of the sinologist Paul Pelliot, with an appreciation of his contribution to Islamic studies. Also, reviews of two of his books were published, one on his *Introduction à l'histoire de l'orient musulman*, by Harold W. Glidden, another on his *Alep*, by Donald N. Wilber.

While *Ars Islamica* was honored to have a scholar of Sauvaget's stature as a regular

contributor, he, on his part, published in *Ars Islamica* not for convenience's sake, but because of his appreciation of the value of this journal. He voiced this conviction many times in his correspondence with the writer and in particular in answer to an inquiry, in 1946, as to his estimate of the journal and suggestions for its improvement. Since this letter, dated January 24, 1947, not only reveals his opinion and counsel (only too gladly followed), but reflects in a succinct and vivid manner his whole approach to Islamic studies, it is here reproduced:

. . . Puisque vous me demandez mon opinion sur *Ars Islamica*, je saisis avec plaisir cette occasion de vous dire combien personnellement j'apprécie cette belle revue, et de vous féliciter amicalement de l'orientation que vous lui avez donnée. Vous avez admirablement su la préserver du danger qui menace toutes les revues d'art: les théories aventureuses et les grandes considérations qui appartiennent à l'esthétique plus qu'à l'archéologie. Non pas que je méconnaisse l'intérêt de pareilles recherches, mais en matière d'art musulman elles me paraissent redoutables, parce que prématurées. Trop de matériaux nous manquent pour que nous ayons encore le droit de nous élever à de pareilles hauteurs sans risque de fausser la perspective, et, par conséquent, d'engager les recherches sur de fausses pistes ou dans des impasses. Ce dont nous avons besoin actuellement, c'est de documents présentés objectivement, et encore de documents, et accessoirement d'études d'ensembles mais limitées et prudentes, et de synthèses partielles, soucieuses de souligner les lacunes de notre information et le caractère essentiellement provisoire des vues présentées. C'est bien là, en général, ce qu'apporta *Ars Islamica* et c'est ce qui en fait une revue si utile, qui aura grandement contribué au progrès de nos études. Le seul regret que je formulerais, c'est qu'elle ne donne pas davantage de comptes-rendus *critiques*: ils y seraient d'autant mieux placés que la publication est rédigée par collaboration internationale, ce qui permettrait de voir un ouvrage composé selon certaines habitudes d'esprit et certaines méthodes différentes. Si j'en juge d'après les derniers volumes, il me semble que vous souhaitez vous-même voir cette rubrique se développer. Quoi qu'il en soit, soyez sûr que la formule actuelle et la tenue scientifiques d'*Ars Islamica* ont toute ma sympathie et que je ne demande

qu'à vous aider de mon mieux, dans l'avenir plus encore que par le passé. N'hésitez pas à me dire en quoi je pourrais vous être utile: vous pouvez d'avance être certain que vous aurez satisfaction.

It was only natural, then, that after the war, when the Consultative Committee of *Ars Islamica* was to be further enlarged, Sauvaget was one of the first to be nominated. This was in 1948, about two years before his death, and when notified of his election he again expressed his appreciation of the work of the journal and his happiness in being officially connected with it. We had looked forward to continued close collaboration in his capacity as contributor and adviser when his all-too-sudden death intervened.

It is with a certain pride that we can point out that the appreciation of Sauvaget's work in the United States was not only to be found in a journal that pursued an aim identical with his life work. At least two other instances may be singled out to indicate this recognition: As early as 1934 Sauvaget's publications were announced in George Sarton's "Critical Bibliography," published in *Isis*. And in 1947 when Princeton University celebrated the 200th anniversary of its founding, Philip K. Hitti, on behalf of that institution, invited Sauvaget to come to this country as one of the few foreign guests of the University to be a member of a conference on Islamic studies and to address it on the subject of "Islamic Archaeology: New Approaches in Research." Unfortunately, and to the great regret of his American colleagues, he could not accept this invitation, owing to earlier commitments.

Several French scholars, and now also Miss Florence Day in this publication, have given vivid accounts of Sauvaget's great achievements as archaeologist, historian, and teacher.¹ To help to assure a wide and endur-

ing use of Sauvaget's ideas, a great part of which will be permanently incorporated in our studies, *Ars Orientalis* (the successor to *Ars Islamica*) offers to his colleagues the following list of his articles and books, so that they may continue to serve us all as guideposts in methodology and sources of information.²

1928

Deux sanctuaires chiïtes d'Alep, Syria, vol. 9 (1928), pp. 224-237; 320-327.

1929

L'enceinte primitive de la ville d'Alep, Mélanges de l'institut français de Damas, vol. 1 (1929), pp. 133-159.

Une inscription de Badr al-Jamâli, Syria, vol. 10 (1929), pp. 137-143.

Graffites arabes: essai de déchiffrement, App. in Du Mesnil du Buisson and R. Mousterde: *La chapelle byzantine de Bâb Sbâ' à Hom̄s*, Mélanges de l'université Saint-Joseph de Beyrouth, vol. 14 (1929), pp. 18-20.

1930

Un bain damasquin du XIII^e siècle, Syria, vol. 11 (1930), pp. 370-380.

Le cénotaphe de Saladin, Revue des arts asiatiques, vol. 6 (1929-30), pp. 168-175.

La citadelle de Damas, Syria, vol. 11 (1930), pp. 59-90, 216-241.

Régis Blachère, *Journal asiatique*, vol. 239, fasc. 1 (1951), pp. 1-4; Louis Robert, *Revue historique*, vol. 207, fasc. 1 (janvier-mars 1952), pp. 173-184; Florence E. Day, *Ars Orientalis*, vol. 1 (1954), pp. 259-262.

² Up to 1945 the bibliography is based on the *Exposé des titres de Jean Sauvaget* (Limoges, ca. 1945). For subsequent titles the compiler is grateful for help kindly rendered by Mme. Odette Drugeon, Miss Florence Day, Miss Marcia Miller, Prof. A. Grabar, Prof. Louis Robert, and Dr. Henri Stern. As final proof of this volume was going to press we received the volume of the Institut Français de Damas, *Mémorial Jean Sauvaget*, t. 1, Damas, 1954, v-xxxv, 313 pp.

¹ Maxime Rodinson, *La Nouvelle Clio*, vol. 1-2 (1949-50), pp. 294-300; M. Gaudetroy-Demombynes, *Syria*, vol. 27, fasc. 3-4 (1950), pp. 383-385;

Arabic inscriptions in J. Cantineau: *Inventaire des inscriptions de Palmyre*. Beyrouth, 1930-33, fasc. 4 (1930), p. 27; 9 (1933), pp. 50-70. (Publications du musée national syrien de Damas, 1.)

1931

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Inventaire des monuments musulmans de la ville d'Alep, Revue des études islamiques, pp. 59-114.

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1932

Décrets mamelouks de Syrie (premier article), Bulletin d'études orientales de l'institut français de Damas, vol. 2 (1932), pp. 1-52. (See also 1933 and 1948.)

Les monuments historiques de Damas, Beyrouth, 1932, vii + 116 pp., 6 pls.

Notes sur un sabre oriental du Musée du Louvre, Journal asiatique, vol. 221 (1932), pp. 142-153.

Poteries syro-mésopotamiennes du XIV^e siècle, Paris, 1932, 26 pp., figs., 49 pls. (Documents d'études orientales, publ. par l'institut français de Damas, 1.)

1933

Un bol au nom d'un prince seldjoukide du Kirmân, Syria, vol. 14 (1933), pp. 338-339.

Décrets mamelouks de Syrie (deuxième article), Bulletin d'études orientales de l'institut français de Damas, vol. 3 (1933), pp. 1-29. (See also 1932 and 1948.)

Extraits du "Buğyat at-Talab" d'Ibn al-'Adîm, Revue des études islamiques, vol. 6 (1933), pp. 393-409.

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1934

L'architecture musulmane en Syrie, Revue des arts asiatiques, vol. 8 (1934), pp. 19-51.

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Un relais du barîd mamelouk, Mélanges Gaudetroy-Demombynes, Le Caire, 1935, pp. 41-48.

1936

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In collaboration with J. Weulersse: *Damas et la Syrie Sud*, Office touristique de la République Syrienne, 1936, 42 pp.

1937

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*Remarques sur l'art sassanide: questions de
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des études islamiques, vol. 11 (1938), pp.
113-131.

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vol. 5 (1938), pp. 207-215.

1939

Caravansérails syriens du Moyen-Âge, I, Ars
Islamica, vol. 6 (1939), pp. 48-55. (See
also 1940.)

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- Notes lexicographiques sur le vocabulaire de la construction à Damas*, Mélanges offerts à

- William Marçais par l'Institut d'études islamiques de l'université de Paris, Paris, 1950, pp. 305-309.
- "Les trésors d'or" de Sibṭ Ibn al-'Ajami; matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la ville d'Alep, II*, Beyrouth, 1950, x + 195 pp. (Institut français de Damas.)

- In collaboration with Paul Demiéville: *La réorganisation des études orientales en Grand-Bretagne*, communication faite à La Société asiatique, Paris, Nov. 18, 1950, pp. 1-10.

1951

- Une représentation de la citadelle seljonkide de Merv*, Ars Islamica, vol. 15-16 (1951), pp. 128-132.
- Suggestions pour une réforme de la typographie arabe*, Revue des études islamiques (1951), pp. 127-132.
- In collaboration with Robert Mantran: *Réglements fiscaux ottomans*. Les Provinces syriennes, Beyrouth, 1951, xx + 135 pp. (Institut français de Damas.)

BOOK REVIEWS

پاسارگاد یا قدیمترین پایتخت کشور شاهنشاهی ایران
*Pāsārgād, or The Oldest Capital of the
Empire of Iran* (in Persian). By علی سامی
'Ali Sāmī, Shiraz, 1330 (1951).

This publication of some 160 pages, with 24 illustrations and a map of the site, is of interest as it reflects current Iranian work in the field of the archeology of that country. Its author has been stationed for 11 years at Persepolis, called Takht-e Jamshīd by the Iranians, as the representative of the Archaeological Service of Iran, and he is also the Director of "The Scientific Institute of Takht-e Jamshīd."

The considerable number of chapters comprising this work appear to treat of four principal subjects: description of the ruins themselves, writings on the site by historians, archeologists and travelers of many periods, an account of excavations made at the site by the Archaeological Service of Iran in 1949-50, and what may be called extraneous material. This last includes a preface by the Minister of Education, an introduction by the very prolific Iranian writer Sa'īd Nafīsī, an appreciation of the site by Dr. Shafaq, and a poem by Farīdūn Tavollolī: none of these sections appears to add to the usefulness of the work.

In those pages of the book that quote earlier writings on the site, the reviewer found a lack of balance and perception. Too much attention may have been given to local Iranian writers of the nineteenth century (whose backgrounds for comprehending the problems of the site were very limited), and to the opinions of Dieulafoy, a pioneer in this field. On the other hand, following a heading, *The ideas of Professor Herzfeld concerning Pasargad*, this sentence occurs: "Professor Herzfeld who was one of the noted and well-known archaeologists of the last century and who may also

have done a little digging at Pasargad. . . ."

In view of the fact that Herzfeld published his thesis on this site in 1907 and gave a detailed account of his years of study and of his excavations at the site in the *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* of 1929-30, this sentence is something of an understatement.

The principal contribution of the publication is to be found in the account of the excavations made at the site in 1949-50. In these sections the text is largely a repetition of a report published by 'Ali Sāmī گزارشهای ۱۳۲۹, مجلد اول, شناسی, *Archaeological Reports*, No. 1, 1950. The diggers continued the clearance of the structure built under Cyrus which had been first excavated by Herzfeld, although no mention of this fact is made. Plans of these buildings are given, as is that of an Islamic caravanserai-like structure cleared in this campaign, and some pages are devoted to work at other points on the site. A folding map of the site, credited to and signed by 'Ali Ḥakīmī, is actually a copy of Herzfeld's published site map, with very minor additions.

The author gives several pages of sound and constructive ideas for the preservations of the ruins at the site and for the continuation of excavations, but in general the reviewer feels that the publication is not an important, original contribution to our knowledge of Pasargad.

DONALD N. WILBER

Antioch-on-the-Orontes, Vol. 4, Part 2, Greek, Roman, Byzantine, and Crusaders' Coins. By Dorothy B. Waagé. Publication of the Committee for the Excavation of Antioch and its Vicinity (Princeton, London, The Hague, 1952), 187 pp., 8 pls. \$25.00.

This is the second numismatic publication in the Antioch series, the first (Vol. 4, Part 1,

published in 1948) having dealt with the Islamic coins found in the excavations. More than two-thirds (over 11,000 coins) of the material in the present volume is Greek and Roman, and is not, therefore, the legitimate concern of this brief notice. Some 3,000 Byzantine coins and nearly 300 Crusaders are included in the inventory. The Byzantine mints represented are Antioch, Constantinople, Nicomedia, Cyzicus, Thessalonica, Alexandria, Cyprus, and Ravenna; the Crusader mints are Antioch, Rhodes, Tripolis, Acre, and Jerusalem, as well as a few tenth- to fourteenth-century European mints. As one might expect, the mint of Antioch predominates.

The heaviest concentration of Byzantine coins falls in the period of Anastasius, Justin I, and Justinian; thereafter there is a gradual falling-off (except for the anonymous class, catalogued with reference to Bellinger's monograph), and there are only 20 coins dating between Romanus IV and the end of the Empire. Miscellaneous categories include a very few Jewish, Nabatean, and Parthian coins, a single specimen of Axum, and two Danishmendid coins with Greek legends.

It is to be regretted that no hoards, in the strict sense, were unearthed in the Antioch excavations. The vast majority of the coins in all categories were copper and bronze, and among the post-Roman coins there is little that is new, although the quite numerous restrikes are interesting. Two unidentified Crusader coins (of Antioch?), one with a well-preserved monogram, are a welcome addition to Schlumberger's Corpus. Part of one of the eight clear collotype plates illustrates a few of the Byzantine and Crusader coins.

GEORGE C. MILES

Archaeologica Orientalia. In Memoriam Ernst Herzfeld. Edited by George C. Miles.

Locust Valley, N. Y. J. J. Augustin, 1952. Quarto, 280 pp., 36 pls. \$8.50.

Several reviewers or a scholar of Herzfeld's versatility would be required to deal adequately with this handsomely produced volume. The contributions in it range in time from the second century B.C. to the late Middle Ages, and geographically from Spain to India. This reviewer can apply himself only to the articles concerned with Islamic subjects, which, however, outnumber all the others put together.

The excellently printed volume was edited by G. C. Miles and contains a biographical sketch of Herzfeld by C. R. Morey and additions by the editor to Herzfeld's bibliography, published in *Ars Islamica* (vol. 7 [1940], pp. 82-92). Twenty-eight articles are arranged in the alphabetical order of authors' names, not according to subject matter. They will be reviewed in that order.

The late Mehdi Bahrami, in a paper entitled *A Gold Medal in the Freer Gallery of Art*, deals in detail with a medal representing on one side a seated ruler flanked by two attendants, and on the reverse a rider carrying two birds of prey. Bahrami rejects both A. U. Pope's dating of the medal as Sasanian and the official dating of the Freer Gallery, eleventh-twelfth century. He dates the medal, on stylistic grounds, to the second half of the tenth century. The Sasanian dating is quite impossible. Bahrami makes no use of a powerful argument against A. U. Pope's dating: the carefully designed stirrup on the reverse of the medal. No stirrups appear in Sasanian art but are introduced, at a very early date, into Islamic art. The earliest example is that found in a fresco of Qaşr al-Ḥair al-Gharbi.¹ The stirrup is a seventh-century Chinese in-

¹ Cf. D. Schlumberger, *Deux fresques omeyyades*, Syria, vol. 25, Paris, 1948, pl. A.

vention and spread from there westward.² It is not difficult to reconcile the date proposed by Bahrami with the earlier time limit advanced by the Freer Gallery, namely, the eleventh century.

Marguerite van Berchem, in *A la Recherche de Sedrata*, gives an account of her first campaign of excavation at a site in Southern Algeria which was an Ibāḍī center in the tenth century. Since the publication of the volume under review, Miss van Berchem has given an account of her second campaign at Sedrata in *The Illustrated London News* of January 31, 1953. A number of private dwellings and an administrative building were cleared from the accumulated drifting sand. Particularly notable are the large quantities of decorated stucco recovered in the process. The stucco shows only straight, no slanting, cuts and is worked to produce deep shadows. Miss van Berchem prudently abstains from entering into detailed stylistic discussions at this stage but considers the decorative art of Sedrata as "un des derniers représentants de l'art chrétien d'Afrique." The only piece of epigraphic décor published so far appears in the *ILN* article (p. 167, fig. 10), and contains only the repetition of the word *barakah* in a rather clumsy and unbalanced script. The décor as a whole is floral and organized in geometrical compartments. It is in keeping with an art which might have been expected to appeal to a strict and puritanical society such as that of the Ibāḍīs. Sedrata, which was their refuge before they were forced to flee into the arid fastnesses of the Mزاب, was swallowed up by the sands, which were less destructive than man. All students of Islamic art will hope that work at this important site may continue and that pottery finds and coins will help to date the stuccos and fill an im-

portant gap in the history of Islamic provincial art in North Africa.

Walter S. Cook examines *A Catalan Altar Frontal in the Worcester Museum*, interesting chiefly as "the only extant Spanish antependium on the theme of the ascension of Christ."

Florence E. Day, *The Tīrāz Silk of Marwān*, deals with a Umayyad silk of which three fragments exist in the museums of Manchester, London, and Brooklyn. She submits the fragments to an erudite stylistic and paleographic analysis in an attempt to decide whether the silk should be attributed to Marwān I (684–685 A.D.) or, as is generally accepted, to Marwān II (744–750 A.D.). It is difficult to agree with some of the principles which governed the choice of her comparative material. For the stylistic analysis of the ornaments Miss Day states that "since the designs for provincial Umayyad factories doubtless originated in Syria, we may limit the discussion to parallels in that country, going east to the Euphrates" (p. 42). In the absence of comparative material there is no way to substantiate such an assertion at present. The wool tapestry with the name of Ma[rwān] in the Textile Museum has been ascribed to a Persian or Mesopotamian workshop,³ and "provincial" though it be contains many elements which are not particularly "Syrian"! In the discussion of the script only monumental epigraphy (and the inscription on a clay lamp) were taken into account. Numismatic evidence is not considered on the strange grounds that coins and weights "are omitted in the *Répertoire*" (*chronologique d'epigraphie arabe*), p. 54. An examination of the illuminations in the earliest Koran MSS. would have shown the persistent use of the motifs found on the silk. Despite the impres-

² Cf. Richard Lefebure des Noëttes, *L'attelage, le cheval de selle à travers les âges*, Paris, 1931, p. 234.

³ Cf. E. Kühnel and L. Bellinger, *Catalogue of dated Tiraz fabrics*. Washington, 1952, pp. 5–6, pl. 1.

sive quantity of material, admirably collected and analyzed by Miss Day, she was unable to reach definite conclusions on the dating of the silk with the aid of decorative and paleographic facts alone. Only by turning to historical factors can the silk be dated to the reign of Marwān II.

M. S. Dimand's *Studies in Islamic Ornament* deal with certain floral elements in the second stucco-style of Samarra, which he attributes to Indian influences. Examples from the Amravati reliefs (2d century A.D.) and Indian influences in Sasanian art are cited in support of this theory.

R. Dussaud, in a short paper entitled *Un Nouvel Exemple de Réhabilitation du Texte Massorétique*, gives examples in which the Ugaritic tablets from Ras Shamra provide confirmation of certain difficult passages in the Old Testament.

R. Ettinghausen, in an excellent article on *The 'Beveled Style' in the Post-Samarra Period*, reviews the survival and development of the most typical of the three stucco styles of Samarra. His examples, many of them new and nearly all precisely dated, cover the period from the eleventh to the fourteenth century and spread from Afghanistan to Tunisia. Ettinghausen sees the reason for the persistence of the beveled style in "the abstract qualities of the designs, their pronounced movement and sculptural quality and in the possibility of forming endless repeats," all of which held a strong appeal for Muslim craftsmen.

Bishr Farès, in *Un Herbier Arabe Illustré du XIV^e Siècle*, identifies an illustrated herbal in Alexandria as part of the encyclopedia of Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī entitled *Masālik al-abṣār*. This work cannot be earlier than 1349, the year of the author's death. In the parts of his work not concerned with the administration of the Mamluk empire and cognate subjects with which he was familiar, Ibn Faḍl Allāh merely reproduced earlier works. For

the botanical part, his main source, as Farès shows, is Ibn al-Bayṭār. The plant figures were taken over with the text and are not observed from nature. They all ultimately go back to Dioscurides MSS. The Paris MS. of Dioscurides *arabe* 4947, of which Farès reproduces a page, was not written by Hishām ibn Mūsā ibn Yūsuf al-Masiḥī, as stated by Farès (p. 87, n. 14). The scribe of the Paris MS. is unknown, as the last pages, and with them the colophon, are missing. But on folio 19 v one reads a note to the effect that a copy was made of that MS. by one Behnām ibn Mūsā ibn Yūsuf al-Masiḥī al-mutaṭabbib known as Ibn al-Bawwāb. This copy actually exists and is dated 626/1228 (Topkapu Saray Ahmet III, 2127) and the Paris MS. cannot be later than that date. I hope to return to the whole group of Arabic Dioscurides MSS. in an article now in preparation. The Ibn Bayṭār MSS. are not normally illustrated, but there exists a late illustrated copy in the Saray (Revan, 1668) and at the Aya Sofya. They are dated 1011/1602 and contain illustrations copied from contemporary European botanical drawings. To the material listed by Farès, one must add the dozens of illustrated MSS. of Qazwīnī's cosmography *'Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt* which, almost invariably, contain illustrated herbals.

R. N. Frye, in *Pahlavi Heterography in Ancient Georgia*, gives a study of a trilingual inscription from Georgia, and R. Ghirshman, in *Quelques Intailles du Musée de Calcutta, à Légendes en Tokharien, Pehlvi-Arsacide et Pehlvi-Sassanide*, examines the texts found on nine intaglios.

H. W. Glidden, in *The Mamluk Origin of the Fortified Khan at al-'Aqabah, Jordan*, discusses the inscription in a khan built at 'Aqabah by order of Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī and under the direction of Khayr Bek al-'Alā'ī. Only two letters remain in the decimals of the date on this inscription which can be read عشر or عشرين. Glidden is wrong in choosing the latter.

A reliable contemporary account clarifies the circumstances in which this khan was built. It is found in Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-zuhūr*, ed. M. Sobernheim, P. Kahle, and M. Mustafa (Bibliotheca Islamica, 5c), Istanbul, 1936. From this chronicle we learn that, in Rabi' II 914, the sultan ordered Khayr Bek al-'Alā'i to proceed to 'Aqabah together with a group of builders and to build there a khan, towers (burūj), and other works for the benefit of the pilgrims (Ibn Iyās, p. 133). In Rajab 915 Khayr Bek returned—his work completed—to Cairo (*ibid.*, p. 163). The correct reading of the inscription is therefore either 914 or 915 with the omission of the word *sana* after *ta'rikh*.

A. Godard, in *Les Travaux de Persépolis*, reviews the work carried out at Persepolis especially after 1939. Miss H. Goldman, in *A Crystal Statuette from Tarsus*, describes a find of the Hittite period, and A. Grohmann, in *Ein Beitrag zur Arabischen Sphragistik*, gives the readings of inscriptions on twelve seals and one glass weight from Herzfeld's notebook. Murad Kamil contributes *Posthumous Notes on "Zoroaster and his World"* which were intended by Herzfeld as addenda and corrigenda for his work.

E. Kühnel publishes *Four Remarkable Tīrāz Textiles* with the names of the caliphs al-Muṭī', al-'Azīz, and al-Ḥākim. The textiles belong to the collections of Mme. P. Mallon and the Cleveland Museum of Art. G. Levi della Vida, in *A Druggist's Account on Papyrus*, gives a masterly decipherment and commentary of a ninth-century papyrus in the University Museum, Philadelphia.

In an admirable study entitled *Mihrāb and 'Anazah: A Study in Early Islamic Iconography*, G. C. Miles publishes a unique dirham belonging to the American Numismatic Society. He sees in the arched niche on the reverse a mihrāb and in the lance placed in its center—the 'anazah—both as symbols of the combined

temporal and spiritual power of the caliphs. He shows conclusively that this is the only surviving specimen of an experimental issue, which must have been struck at Damascus shortly before the introduction of 'Abd al-malik's coins with exclusively epigraphic elements. This study transcends the bounds of numismatics and Miles has certainly succeeded in showing that this extraordinary dirham is "a document of first-rate importance in the history of Islamic symbolism and institutions, for in both respects it is probably the earliest datable relic that has come down to us."

V. Minorsky examines *Two Iranian Legends in Abū Dulaf's Second Risālah* and shows to what extent they reflect historical events. E. Porada writes *On the Problem of Kassite Art* by re-examining some characteristics of this art of the fourteenth-thirteenth centuries B.C., on the grounds of new seal impressions.

Miss G. Richter and H. Seyrig deal with the problems raised by the Achaemenian seals and reach diametrically opposed conclusions. Miss G. Richter, in *Greek Subjects on 'Graeco-Persian' Seal Stones*, believes them to be the work of Greek artists adapting themselves to the tastes and instructions of Persian patrons; H. Seyrig, in *Cachets Achéménides*, considers the seals to be products of Oriental art influenced by the art of Greece.

S. Smith raises the question of the dating of Luristan bronzes in a paper entitled *Two Luristan Bronzes from Southern Arabia*. He favors a later dating of some of the bronzes than is generally put forward.

P. Tedesco offers an etymological study on *Sanskrit Piṭaka-'Basket'* and J. Ph. Vogel deals with *Ptolemy's Topography of India: His Sources* and concludes that Ptolemy's knowledge of Cisgangetic India was derived from Greek sources which were mostly contemporaneous.

J. Walker, in *Some Early Arab and Byzantine-Sasanian Coins From Susa*, examines some

badly worn coins found at Susa by the French Archaeological Mission (1946-49). They are products of the local mint and show interesting relations between that Persian *entrepôt* and the Byzantine world in the early days of Islam. The deciphering and interpretation of these partly obliterated coins is undertaken by Walker with great skill and mastery of the subject.

K. Weitzmann, in *The Greek Sources of Islamic Scientific Illustrations*, chooses three Arabic MSS.: the dispersed Jazari MS. on automata from the Aya Sofia collection; the dispersed Dioscurides of the Saray collection, dated 1224; and the pseudo-Galen MS. of Vienna. In a brilliant exposition he demonstrates that all go back to Classical and Byzantine models and all show the two types of illustration which he distinguishes (a) the diagrammatic and (b) the expanded type, which includes human figures. He shows conclusively that "Arab illustrators were exposed to Byzantine influences not only in the stage of the first reception from the Greek, but long thereafter, since they adapt step by step the innovations which the Greek manuscripts developed only gradually"! This reviewer hopes shortly to furnish further material to illustrate this point with new examples from Arabic MSS. The reference in the last paragraph on page 265 should read, instead of plate XXXIV, figure 7, plate XXXVI, figure 13. Reference has already been made to the date which has to be given to the Paris Dioscurides *arabe* 4947 in the review of B. Farès' paper.

D. N. Wilber reviews a number of recent Persian works which contain valuable historical and geographical data. For an example of the usefulness of such works see, e.g., W. Henning: *The Monuments and Inscriptions of Tang-i-Sarvak*, in Asia Major, vol. 2, 1952, p. 153.

All concerned with the publication of this valuable volume should be congratulated on

the production of a worthy monument to the memory of the great scholar they have honored.

D. S. RICE

Rapport préliminaire I. Cinq campagnes de fouilles à Suse (1946-1951). Par Roman Ghirshman. Mémoires de la Mission archéologique en Iran, Mission de Susiane sous la direction de G. Contenau et R. Ghirshman. Presses universitaires de France, 1952. 18 pp., 21 figs. 150 francs.

In spite of very intensive archaeological activities since 1897, the French Missions in Susa have so far published only one volume devoted to Islamic and, to a lesser extent, Sasanian ceramics, Raymond Koechlin's *Les céramiques musulmanes de Suse au Musée du Louvre*.¹ This publication presented a great deal of material, even of some unknown types, always carefully described, but no specific dates could then be given to these discoveries since the excavators were mainly interested in the earlier periods, Elamite and prehistoric. When, in 1946, after an interruption of six years, the French Mission de Suse took up its work again, now under the direction of G. Contenau and R. Ghirshman, with the last-named scholar being in charge of the field work, it was to be hoped that the later periods would be equally well treated, since M. Ghirshman's excavations of Shāpūr and his various studies in Sasanian archaeology during the last decade have shown his great interest in the art of this dynasty. In the preliminary report of the first five campaigns, 1946-1951, here under discussion,² this assumption has proven to be correct

¹ Ministère de l'instruction publique et des beaux-arts, *Mémoires mission archéologique de Perse*, t. 19, Mission en Susiane sous la direction de MM. R. de Mecquenem et V. Scheil, Paris, Librairie Ernest Leroux, 1928.

² Published also in identical form in *Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale*, t. 46 (1952),

and although this first account of the new excavations is rather short, it nevertheless already throws some new light on the Islamic and Sasanian periods, and more is, of course, to be expected from the final report, to say nothing of further excavations.

The report deals in particular with the so-called "Ville Royale," the quarter where the court functionaries, officials, and merchants lived, a vast mound east of the tells of the Acropolis and of the Achaemenid palace area. Unlike certain other excavations, the aim of M. Ghirshman was obviously not so much to find treasures but to excavate scientifically, that is, stratigraphically, so that all his finds can now be more specifically dated.

The first and highest level of this particular site was that of an Islamic town of the tenth century where a small sanctuary dedicated to one of the four or five religions practiced in the town was found, as well as many objects of glass, ceramics, and bronze. An illustrated bowl from this level represents a little-known type, decorated with a stylized floral pattern "à émail noir sur fond gris." The stucco decorations are executed in the beveled technique characteristic of Sāmarrā style C. The second level yielded an Islamic town of the eighth-ninth centuries in which polychromed pottery was used for the first time. Some of this was of the characteristic

cobalt-blue and white type known from Sāmarrā, while other pieces are related to, or even identical with, the techniques used in eastern Khorasan and the Samarqand region. Here the stucco decorations resemble those of Sāmarrā style B, although they seem to be more advanced and related to the plaster decorations of Rayy and Nishapur. In this town, also, the excavator noticed imports from the Far East in the forms of celadon pottery, white porcelain, a Tang mirror, etc. The transition from the late Sasanian to the early Islamic period is represented by a third level which corresponds to the seventh-eighth centuries and reflects a time of decadence. After uncovering an intermediary period, M. Ghirshman reached the fourth level, dated from the first century of Sasanian rule (middle of the third to the middle of the fourth centuries). The outstanding find in this town was that of a large building, possibly a Mithraeum, in the construction of which architectural parts and, in particular, columns of the Achaemenid palace had been re-used, and whose most important feature was a large fresco which unfortunately had fallen, face down, into the interior of the building. Its main section represented, in double life-size, a hunter on horseback chasing various animals, while another fragmentary scene revealed a crescent, stars, and stylized clouds. That this town met a violent end became evident not only from the destruction of the buildings but also from the remains of human beings hastily buried in houses, courts, and streets, and from tombs of children buried in jars. Since Nestorian crosses were found to be painted on such burial containers, and a silver cross was actually excavated close to an interred adult, Ghirshman, following a reference in the *Acts of Christian Martyrs*, assumed that the destruction was due to Shāpūr II, whose army, with its 300 elephants, had leveled the town. This happened in the middle of the fourth century when the Christians

pp. 1-18, 21 figs. Though not referred to in this publication, R. Ghirshman has also published several short official announcements: *Une saison de fouilles à Suse* (1946/1947), *Compte Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, Paris (July/Sept., 1947), pp. 444-449; *Campagne de fouilles à Suse en 1947-1948*, *ibid.* (1947/1948), pp. 328-336; *Fouilles de Suse; campagne 1949-1950*, *ibid.* (1949/1950), pp. 233-238; *Campagne de fouilles à Suse en 1950-1951*, *ibid.* (1950-1951), pp. 293-301. A more extensive report in German was included in *Die französische archäologische Forschung in Iran und Afghanistan (1950-1951)*, *Saeculum IV*, No. 1 (Munich, 1953), pp. 115-123.

of Iran were suspected of foreign sympathies and their uprising in Susa was thus mercilessly suppressed. The fifth city from the Parthian period also contained a lot of pottery, but of a type quite different from that of Dura-Europos. In a bathhouse floor-mosaic composed of black and white pebbles a Greek inscription could be made out and possibly an animal decoration. This town also came to a violent end, possibly owing to the capture of the town by Ardashīr Bābakān, who took it from the last Parthian king, Artabān V.

Another stratigraphic excavation was undertaken in the easternmost mound of Susa, called by Dieulafoy "Ville des Artisans," which never before had been methodically excavated. After three Islamic levels, two of which were of more recent date than the topmost one in the "Ville Royale," Ghirshman found a great many tomb structures which made him believe that the "Ville des Artisans" actually was the Necropolis of the Seleucid-Parthian period. He distinguished two types of subterranean installations for the sarcophagi, some of which had two-piece anthropomorphic covers. In the tombs were found pottery and glass vessels, jewelry, toilet articles, also numerous spouted lamps. The analysis of the residue in one of these lamps demonstrated unexpectedly that the fuel used was not petroleum, which in this region was known as a fuel since high antiquity, but rather animal marrow, which produces less fume. Below the last level of the necropolis a village was discovered which must have existed from the seventh century B.C. until Achaemenid times. Its single large building to house the whole clan (a type of village similar to that discovered in Khwārizm) as well as the Elamite and Babylonian tablets and the pottery, which is identical with that of the Necropolis B of Sialk, provided preliminary but quite specific conclusions about the date, origin, and habits of this early settlement.

There is only a short reference to a trial excavation at the important Sasanian site of Eyvān-e Kerkha in the desert 15 kilometers northwest of Susa. Here Ghirshman dug in the palace and also in a reception pavilion composed of a triple eyvān. It was in the latter that he again found traces of frescoes, but for the time being no further information about them is available.

Since the cessation of the American excavations at Nishapur, Susa is now the sole site in Iran where scientific excavations by a Western nation are continued. Although the town does not seem to have been a leading center in Islamic times, its material culture seems to have been varied enough to allow important conclusions to be drawn about its life, until its disappearance in the thirteenth century. It is therefore all the more gratifying to know from this preliminary report that this site is now in such experienced and understanding hands as those of R. Ghirshman. If, at this time, one should make any comment at all, it is that the report is rather too modest, considering the accomplishments made during the first five campaigns, so that significant finds published in earlier and at times even more detailed reports dedicated to specific campaigns are not referred to for further information. Thus an important relief excavated in 1947, showing a Parthian king, is only mentioned *en passant*, although it has been dealt with in a special article,³ after its first announcement at the International Congress of Orientalists in Paris in 1949; there is no mention made of an earlier announcement of the finds of the fourth level in the "Ville Royale," and of the Seleucid-Parthian necropolis in the "Ville des Artisans," which is illustrated with several photographs not included in the *Rap-*

³ R. Ghirshman, *Un bas-relief d'Artaban V avec inscription en pehlvi arsacide*. Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres. Comm. de la Fondation Piot. Monuments et mémoires, 44 (1950), pp. 97-107.

port *Préliminaire, I*; ⁴ and, finally, nothing is said about the discovery and first publication of an early mosque of the Arab type found in 1947-48 on the mound of the "Ville des Artisans." ⁵ All these reports, however, make us look forward with great anticipation to the final publication of the excavated material, among which pottery and glass objects, as well as the frescoes and stucco decorations, are particularly important.

RICHARD ETTINGHAUSEN

RECENT PUBLICATIONS ON ISLAMIC CERAMICS

| *Guide to the Collection of Tiles*, Victoria and Albert Museum, Department of Ceramics, London. By Arthur Lane. (Victoria and Albert Museum, 1939.) 75 pp., 48 pls., 3/6 sh.

This "Guide" is not a mere description of the objects preserved in the South Kensington Museum, but an extremely useful compendium discussing most of the problems concerned with the tile work. Chapter 1, "The Earlier Tile Work of the Near East," deals with the production of Sāmarrā, Raqqa, Rayy, and Kashan; the tile mosaic of Persia and Asia Minor; and the *cuerda seca* technique at Samarqand, Brussa, and Isfahan. Chapter 2 describes the tiles with underglaze painting from Iran, Turkey, Syria, and Egypt. The author believes that in Mamluk times the blue-and-white tiles used in Cairo were mostly imported from Damascus, but that between 1495 and 1544 they were made in Egypt itself. He insists on the importance of Tabriz as a ce-

ramic center in Safavid times and attributes to it the so-called polychrome Kūbachī type. At Isnik he distinguishes three different styles, the second being inspired by Tabriz potters settled there in 1514. He thinks that the tiles in Damascus mosques of the late sixteenth century are local imitations in the Turkish manner and that the characteristic product of Kütahya begins only in the eighteenth century. Chapter 7, "Spanish Tiles," explains the Mudéjar condition of the artists, treats specifically the *alicatado*, *cuerda seca*, and *cuenca* techniques, and emphasizes the importance of Seville and Valencia. Each chapter has a short, special bibliography. Of the plates, about 20 are devoted to the Islamic art, giving in nearly 100 reproductions a well-chosen survey of the Near Eastern tiles preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

| *Oriental Glass of Medieval Date Found in Sweden and the Early History of Lustre-Painting*. By Carl Johan Lamm. Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar, del 50:1. Stockholm (Wahlström and Widstrand), 1941. 114 pp., 24 pls., Kr. 7.

The writer has already published a detailed review of this important paper ¹ so that this compte-rendu will be limited to a brief exposition of the results concerning the luster-painted pottery. Lamm cites several examples of lustered decoration on glass of the fifth to the seventh centuries in Egypt and believes that the technique was adopted by potters in Iraq about 800. He maintains that the eye pattern on lustered Sāmarrā ware is derived from millefiori glass imported from Egypt. Relying on a notice given by Ibn Ḥawqal, he considers Tunis as a center for lustered faïence since the late ninth century, introduced there

⁴ *Idem*, *The town which three hundred elephants rased to the ground: the newly excavated fourth level of Susa and the Partho-Seleucid necropolis*. The Illustrated London News, No. 3311, vol. 127 (Oct. 7, 1950), pp. 571-573, 17 figs.

⁵ *Idem*, *Une mosquée de Suse du début de l'hégire*, Bull. d'études orientales, t. 12 (1947-1948).

¹ *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, vol. 46 (1943), Nr. 7/8, col. 293-296.

by workmen from Baghdad, and he discusses at length the production at Fustāt under the Fatimids, ending with the overthrow of their caliphate by Saladin. He is certainly right in placing among the well-known artists of that period Muslim before Sa'd, in opposition to Aly Bahgat. Lamm supposes that Syria also produced luster ware, from the eleventh century, and that Bālis was its main center.

Early Islamic Pottery, Mesopotamia, Egypt and Persia. By Arthur Lane. London (Faber and Faber), 1947. 52 pp., 100 pls. (4 in color), containing about 200 illustrations. 21 sh.

This publication, richly illustrated and containing, in a well-disposed and clearly written text, all the necessary information, can be recommended as the most useful handbook on the subject. After a short historical introduction, with statements concerning the study of Islamic pottery, its first appearance on the European market, restoration, redecoration, and forgery questions, the author studies in a special chapter the sources of Islamic ornament and the different aspects of the decorative evolution. He explains how the survival of *terra sigillata* led to the fabrication of unglazed relief pottery, probably in Umayyad Syria, while in Mesopotamia the underglaze painting of pottery continued the Parthian and Sasanian tradition. The next chapter deals with the development under the Abbasids, stimulated by the importation of Chinese wares. Lane cites the passage from Bayhaqī (A.D. 1059) that 'Alī b. 'Īsa, governor of Khorasan, sent to Hārūn al-Rashīd "20 pieces of Chinese imperial porcelain" in addition to 2,000 pieces of ordinary porcelain. He discusses the different types of Sāmarrā ware, from the relief ware introduced from Egypt and covered with a metallic pigment to give it a glistening appearance, to the tin-glazed pottery with luster painting in several shades, the

imitations of Tang ceramics, and the invention of new faïence types. He insists that the main center must have been in or near Baghdad, that the product was exported to very remote places, and that it dwindled at the end of the tenth century.

The next section of the book is devoted to the pottery at the Sāmānid court, where a new method of mixing the metallic coloring agents with a paste of fine clay slip was used. The particular styles of kufic inscriptions and the absence of animated motifs are noted in the finds of Nogai Kurgan near Tashkent, of Afrāsiyāb near Samarqand, and of Nishapur. Lane adds that in the same period a provincial and popular type, with stylized birds and figures, was produced in Sari and Nishapur. On the other hand, the imported wares of the Sāmarrā type led to the splendid evolution of lustered faïence under the Fatimids in Egypt, with documents like the name of al-Ḥākim on a bowl in the Arab Museum and signatures of Ibrāhīm, Muslim and Sa'd. Bowls built in the walls of churches in Italy and France are mentioned, and the existence of Fatimid lustered pottery at Ma'arra in Syria is especially noted.

The remaining chapters are mainly devoted to the various kinds of Seljuq pottery. The author attributes the finds of Aghkand with the name of Abū Ṭālib to the twelfth century, the Amol ware with scribbled engraving and disintegrated design to the thirteenth century "and later," the typical "Gabri" *champlevé* faïence, which he localizes in the Kurdish district of Garrūs, to the twelfth-thirteenth. I suppose that most colleagues acquainted with the matter will not entirely agree with such a late dating of wares more probably belonging, in part at least, to the pre-Seljuq period of the Būyids. According to Lane only the sgraffiato pottery inspired by Sasanian silver vessels goes back to the tenth to eleventh centuries. It seems that he considers the above-mentioned

categories as products of a popular art, contemporary with the more esthetic lustered and *minā'i* ware made at Rayy and Kashan. The Persian white *pâte tendre* under Chinese influence is classified "not earlier than the twelfth century," and Kashan is suggested as the place of origin for the so-called "lakabi" type. Lane considers Sultanabad as a ceramic center already in Seljuq times. The "lajvardina" ware mentioned by Abū'l-Qāsim is identified with the enamel-like effect of painting and gold leaf on deep blue glaze.

Short paragraphs give notice of the *sgraffiato* faïence of Mamluk Egypt with *naskhī* texts and armorial motifs, of the unglazed water jugs and jars formed from molds or with stamped and applied decoration in northern Mesopotamia. I don't know whether the interpretation as naphtha bombs of the heavy pear-shaped bottles with small mouth is due, as the author indicates, to "Teutonic intuition"; for my part, I find his explication that they served to sprinkle rose water quite as unsatisfactory as the former suggestion that they were used as receptacles for mercury.

The reproductions are excellent and chosen with much care. It is to be expected that this extremely opportune publication will soon need a second edition. This would give the author the occasion to revise one or the other of his opinions, to discuss new problems, such as that of the Gurgān faïence, and to correct some insignificant mistakes (e.g. "Misr, an alternative name for old Cairo or Fostat," in a note on page 21, or the Ayyubids classified as a Turkish dynasty on page 29).

Gurgan Faïences. By Mehdi Bahrami. Cairo (Le Scribe Egyptien, S.A.E.), 1949. 134 pp., 108 pls., 33 figs. in text.

The plates of this publication contain a surprisingly rich material of mostly unknown, recently excavated objects belonging to the Teheran Museum and to some private collec-

tions, of which that of Jacques O. Matossian is outstanding. We deplore the death of the author, curator of the Teheran Museum and well known for his studies in Persian ceramics, the more so as it deprives us of the possibility of discussing with him several problems started and left unresolved in the publication to be reviewed here.

The text, full of interesting observations and remarkable statements, though not orderly disposed and with many mistakes, requires a careful study. The author, after introductory statements on the site and history of Gurgān, gives a brief account of the excavations carried out by private speculation and officially supervised only in the final stage. They brought to light not only single objects but big jars filled with bowls, jugs, ewers, and bottles, most of which were entirely intact. None of them belong to the Ziyārid period (A.D. 931-1078), when the city of Gurgān was especially flourishing, but exclusively to the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, when it came under Seljuq rule, ending about A.D. 1220. The finds comprise monochrome glazed and black underglaze painted ware, mostly with turquoise glaze, so-called "*minā'i*" and luster-painted faïence.

Bahrami discusses at length the different categories, compares them with the production of Rayy, Sāveh, and Kashan and insists that nearly all the techniques represented were practiced at Gurgān by local potters or by foreign masters who settled there. His arguments for distinguishing Gurgān ware from that of the other well-known Persian ceramic centers are based exclusively on decorative details and therefore not convincing. Differences in the drawing of eyes or hairdresses, preferences for one or the other variation of the same ornamental motif certainly serve to characterize the workmanship of different potters, but never to distinguish the production of distant ceramic centers. Without discussing ma-

terial and technical contrasts in paste, slip, glaze, color scheme, shape, etc., it is simply impossible to sever the Gurgān finds from contemporary faïences documented, for instance, as Kashan ware, and decorated in the same style.

According to the author (pp. 125-126), remains of potters' kilns, and a lot of tripods, were discovered at Gurgān. He reproduces in plate 8 four deformed luster-painted objects as wasters from Gurgān, without specifying their present whereabouts. Documentary evidence is given by 14 pieces dated from 601 to 616 H. and by the signatures of Muḥammad b. Abī Maṣṣūr al-Kāshī on a bowl dated 601 H., Muḥammad b. Abī Naṣr b. Sal . . . on a saucer dated 611 H., Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Nishāpūrī dwelling in Kashan ("al-muqīm bi-Qāshān") on a bowl, and Muḥammad b. Abī Ṭāhir b. Abī al-Ḥusayn al-Kāshānī on fragments of a lustered mihrāb found at Gurgān. Bahrami maintains that all these potters settled, at least for some time, in Gurgān, disregarding the possibility that their products could have been imported from Kashan.

A special chapter gives an iconographical study of some typical motifs and a useful transcription and translation of the Persian verses occurring on the objects reproduced. The proofs of the text apparently were not read with the necessary care, and wrong references to plate numbers are frequent and disturbing.

To sum up, the rich material presented by our late colleague is extremely important, but the problem of the newly discovered "Gurgān faïences" remains unsolved.

ИСПАНО-МАВРИТАНСКАЯ КЕРАМИКА, ИЗДАТЕЛЬСТВО АКАДЕМИИ НАУК СССР. (*Hispano-Moresque Ceramics*). By A. N. Kube. Moscow and Leningrad, Academy of Sciences of the USSR, 1940. 72 pp., 57 pls.

This is No. 2 of a series of catalogue publications of the Hermitage Museum, contain-

ing a preface, an introduction on the pottery of Valencia, and descriptions of the 97 pieces preserved in the Hermitage, of which 42 are reproduced, some in two plates. A bibliography is added and also a brief index of the plates in French.

The objects under consideration are all typical Manises ware, from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries. Many of them were formerly in the Basilewski collection and some in that of Baron Stieglitz. Among the armorial pieces are plates made for the Bartoli of Naples and the Spanocchi of Siena (both fifteenth century), also a sixteenth-century one with the escutcheon of Sicile and Aragon, and a large vase for Pope Paul V Borghese (1605-1621).

Some plates reproduce details of paintings with representations of Hispano-Moresque faïences to be dated accordingly—*Annonciations* by Filippo and *Ghirlandaio in San Gimignano* by van der Goes in the Uffizi, *Last Supper in Solsona* by a Spanish painter of the fifteenth century, *Still-life* by A. Pereda in the Hermitage, dated 1652, with a typical late Manises cup.

تحف جديدة من الخزف الفاطمي ذي البريق المعدني بقلم
زكي محمد حسن . القاهرة جامعة فؤاد الاول مجلة كلية
الآداب ديسمبر ١٩٥١

(New Masterpieces of Fatimid Luster Pottery). By Muhammad Zaky Hassan, pp. 91 to 110, 16 pls., with 32 reproductions.

This paper, published in the *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts of Fouad I University in Cairo* (1951), after an introduction on the character of lustered pottery in general and a survey of what has been published on the subject, discusses at length every piece of those reproduced. They have all been found in excavations at Fuṣṭāṭ and belong to the Arab Museum in Cairo. Though partly restored, these bowls and plates constitute a magnificent set

of Fatimid lustered pottery hitherto unpublished and particularly important for the study of Egyptian art in the eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D. Nearly all the pieces have a dominating central motif: a seated person, a falconer on horseback, a lute-player, a pair of dancing men, a harpy, a griffon, a bull, a gazelle, a hare, or a bird; some with blessings for the anonymous owner. The biggest of them measure 40 cm. in diameter. The author mentions objects in other collections akin to those reproduced here; none of them contains a date or the name of a person to be identified, but a few have signatures and there is no doubt that some can be attributed to famous potters like Sa'd.

شرف الابوانى صانع الفخار المظلى فى القرن الثامن الهجرى بقلم محمد مصطفى (مؤتمر الآثار فى البلاد العربية دمشق صيف ١٩٤٧) القاهرة جامعة فؤاد الاول ١٩٤٨
(Sharaf al-Abwānī, Maker of Glazed Pottery in the Eighth Century H.). By Muhammad Mustafa, pp. 159 to 164, with 18 illustrations on plates.

The author, now director of the Arab Museum in Cairo, gives here, in a lecture held at a meeting in Damascus, a brief account of his research on a Mamluk potter, on whom he is preparing a complete monograph. He traced the signature of this master on a large number of fragments belonging to the typical Mamluk ware with inscriptions and heraldic emblems. In the collection of Kamil Osman Ghalib alone he found 35 potsherds with his name, and reproduces some of them; others are from the Arab Museum. According to Mustafa, Sharaf al-Abwānī came from the village of Abwān near Bahnasā and worked in Cairo from about 690 to 720 H. (A.D. 1290-1320). He signs in different ways, sometimes in a very conspicuous manner, which is not usual among Muslim artists. In several instances his name appears on vessels with armorial shields or with dedications to prominent persons; it is hoped that

such indications will enable the author to establish more exactly, in his final publication, the activity of this interesting potter.

Unglazed Relief Pottery from Northern Mesopotamia. By Gerald Reitlinger, in *Ars Islamica*, vol. 15-16 (1951), pp. 11-22, with 25 illustrations.

The author discusses the well-known *habbs* with applied and stamped decoration, and distinguishes three styles, the first with motifs of a hieratic "Babylonian" tradition, and the second and third covering the periods of the Zengid Atabegs (A.D. 1127 to 1262), with some pieces reaching the Mongol domination. Takkrit, Mosul, and Sinjār are supposed to be the places of origin. Reitlinger seems to agree with the statement made by M. Hartmann and J. Strzykowski regarding Buddhist influences in some heads and attitudes of seated persons.

Lustreware of Spain. By Alice Wilson Frothingham. The Hispanic Society of America, 1951, 310 pp., 220 illus., 1 color plate.

After having conducted research in the field of Hispano-Moresque ceramics over several decades, Mrs. Frothingham offers us now the present volume on Hispano-Moresque luster pottery which can be regarded as a model publication. Already justly renowned through her excellent *Catalogue of Hispano-Moresque Pottery in the Collection of the Hispanic Society of America*, published in 1936, the author presents a survey of the historical and technical development of the luster technique in Spain, a presentation which could not be more complete or reliable. She discusses all problems that have arisen in this connection and uses all the documentary information which has so far been made available. It seems unnecessary to discuss the various chapters of the book in detail. Only a few important points might be stressed here so that the spe-

cialist will be able to learn Mrs. Frothingham's point of view.

In her discussion of the fragments from Madinat al-Zahrā' the author is, as apparently all scholars are, of the opinion that they are imported, and she stresses the connection with the so-called Sāmarrā wares, that is, their later phase, of the tenth century, which is characterized by pieces found in Iran. She does not consider workshops using luster in Ifriqiya (in contrast to the opinion of C. J. Lamm), and she believes that the fragments of the eleventh century found in the Alcazaba in Málaga were not locally made but in Fatimid Egypt. In this respect I would like to agree with Mrs. Frothingham, contrary to Gómez Moreno. The reader will be interested in her assumption that only in the course of the thirteenth century does Málaga emerge with its own production, a development in which perhaps refugee potters driven from Persia by the Mongols played a significant role. The author gives a very detailed description of the different large wing-handled vases which form the main glory of Málaga. She puts the oldest vases with a kufic inscription band at the end of the thirteenth century and tries to arrange the others in a chronological sequence which in one or another case still needs further discussion. Mrs. Frothingham is right in her opinion that the whole group came from Málaga and not, as has been occasionally stated, partly from Granada, where certainly nothing but domestic pottery was manufactured. In this general discussion she considers also the tiles in the same style.

The second part of the book deals with the luster wares of Valencia, among which those of Manises are the most important. The connection and competition with Málaga is discussed, also the role played by the successive generations of potters originally coming from Murcia. Mrs. Frothingham dates the well-known groups of Manises ware somewhat

earlier than has so far been customary, but she provides good arguments for her attributions and thus should be right in most cases. For instance, she dates pieces with mutilated kufic writing in part already about 1400, while others with vine leaves are attributed to about the middle of the fifteenth century. Plates with ribbing in relief which usually have been thought to be sixteenth century seem now to be regarded as early as about 1470.

Completely new is the material Mrs. Frothingham presents about the luster pottery of Aragon made in Calatayud and especially in Muriel. This section is followed by short accounts of the luster production of Catalonia and Seville; there is a bibliography, and, finally, a very useful and carefully prepared index.

Antioch on the Orontes IV. Part 1: Ceramic and Islamic Coins. Ed. Frederick O. Waagé. Department of Art and Archaeology of Princeton University. Princeton (University Press), 1948. 124 pp., 101 figs., 18 pls. \$20.

This volume in the series of the Antioch excavations undertaken by Princeton University, various American museums, and the National Museums of France deals with the ceramic finds in three parts: "Hellenistic and Roman Tableware of North Syria," by Frederick O. Waagé, "Imported Western Terra Sigillata," by Howard Comfort, and "The Glazed Pottery," by Frederick O. Waagé. Only the third section, covering pages 79 to 109 and figures 45 to 96 (reproduced on colotype plates), deals with finds of the Islamic period. In separate chapters the author describes the monochrome-glazed, the luster-painted, the underglaze-decorated, and other wares, all subdivided into further very precise classifications based on technical features. Every sherd is carefully described but the author refrains from giving specific local and

chronological attributions in view of a thorough archaeological study of at least part of the material in which Florence Day is engaged at present (p. 82). A superficial glance at the sometimes small-size reproductions on the various plates shows, however, that the fragments found at Antioch belong to very different categories of Islamic pottery (Sāmarrā, Raqqa, Fustāt, and other wares) and that they well deserve the attention of specialists.

The ceramic chapters are followed by a chapter on 269 different coins (pp. 109–124, figs. 97–101), of which two are Sasanian (Khosraw II), one Armenian (Leo II, 1185–1218), and all the others Islamic; of these, 86 are Umayyad, 66 Abbasid, 2 Seljuq of Syria, 9 Ayyubid, 1 Zengid, 47 Mamluk, and the rest Ottoman (6 coins are unidentifiable). The catalogue of these coins and the detailed appended comments give the reader once more an opportunity to admire the unequalled competence of George C. Miles in the field of Islamic numismatics.

ERNST KÜHNEL

Mamluk Costume, a Survey. By L. A. Mayer. Geneva (Albert Kundig), 1952. 120 pp., 20 pls.

The appearance of a book, or any work, for that matter, by Dr. Mayer is an occasion of note among orientalists and art historians concerned with the Islamic world. The present volume justifies our confidence in the wide learning, the control of all kinds of sources, and the clarity of method of the author. The reviewer, who owes to Dr. Mayer much of her earliest guidance in Islamic studies, is glad of the opportunity to present here his latest work.

In his preface (p. 5) the author states that the book as it appears is only part of an originally planned history of Saracenic costume, starting with the Ayyubids and Zangids, and that textiles, as such, and jewelry have been left till a later date. The *Introduction* (pp.

7–11) mentions the first works on Islamic costume, those of Quatremère and Dozy, and then describes the sources now used. These are, first, Arabic literary materials; second, various works of Islamic art, namely, illustrations in Arabic manuscripts and their limitations from the point of view of detail in costume, and metalworks, particularly those whose silver incrustation remains, and enameled glass; third, European records of pilgrimages and travel in the Near East, some illustrated; fourth, paintings by Italians who had been in the East (from whose number Leonardo da Vinci must be excluded—a nice fact for 1952, the anniversary year of Leonardo!). What should have been the fifth, the costumes themselves (apart from arms and armor) are mostly nonexistent, for the Mamluks did not keep their predecessors' clothes in their cupboards, as we know the Abbasids kept the gowns of the Umayyads. The few examples shown here in plates 11–13 are all that could be definitely identified. Thus the author has been able to produce this full and fascinating volume "without taking the garments themselves into account" (p. 11). This is a complete vindication of the methods and intellectual approach of the orientalist.

After the main body of the book (pp. 12–74) come two appendices (pp. 75–82), then a long and most worthwhile bibliography (pp. 83–111) filling twenty-eight pages; and a full index, including Arabic terms (pp. 112–119). The book ends, in the proper oriental style, with a colophon.

The costumes of the Mamluks are presented in chapters according to rank, from the caliph on downward. Within such a short space of time as that of the Mamluk period a chronological order is not necessary; and any reader wishing to know if there is a difference between what was worn under Qalāūn and what was worn under Qāyrbāy will be helped by the index, where full references are

given. And very often the author distinguishes general fashions of either the Bahri or the Burji periods.

Another order might have been that of the costume itself, starting with the head, and proceeding to the feet—turban, hat or cap of all ranks together, then shirts, tunics, trousers, coats, mantles, and so on. That way the emphasis would have been on the clothes as such. But it is the man who makes the clothes, especially in such a fixed system of office and rank, both political and military, which characterized Mamluk life, and Dr. Mayer's presentation rightly puts the emphasis on this point of view. In other words, the author has given us not merely a static picture of the clothes, anatomized, but a real and living picture of the daily life, the customs and habits of the whole of this society, as seen in the nature and function of the costume. We are made to see what different classes of people wore, and then, for each class, the when and the why—what is worn in summer, and what in winter; what in travel, and on the pilgrimage; at official receptions and parades; hunting; at war; in *négligé* at home. To our twentieth-century ideas one of the most distressing things in Mamluk society is the countless legal restrictions and the constant check-ups and enforcement by the police inspector, even amounting to violence (as on p. 72); but we are glad to know that "on the whole, even the most pious among Mamluk Sultans paid little attention to religious sumptuary laws" (p. 20; see also p. 62). Indeed, this individual independence of behavior in the face of the theologians is a constant and encouraging factor in Islamic civilization as a whole; it explains why the *Bilderverbot* never stopped any artist from his work, or prevented any patron from enjoying it.

It would be impossible to convey the vividness of the pictures impressed upon the reader's mind without giving extensive quotations.

This is largely due to the constant use and definition of Arabic and other oriental terms, even the terms for a white horse and its trappings (p. 15). *Ṭirāz zarkash*, for instance, may be either of silk or of gold thread; and it may be embroidered (pp. 14, note 5, and 22) or it may be in bands of gold brocade (p. 34). Or again, *jūkh*, familiar to anyone in Damascus today as a fine wool broadcloth with a nap, a relatively high quality of material, was in Mamluk times a harsh rough woolen material worn by foreigners and the lower classes (pp. 17 and 25) or else worn by the Sultan *in disguise* (p. 25, note 2). We feel much more certainty in Dr. Mayer's translations of technical terms than we do in reading the article on textiles by Serjeant who (in the last volume of *Ars Islamica*) translated *ghazzāl* as "weavers" instead of spinners, and *khazaf* as "clay" instead of glazed pottery, where the meaning is perfectly clear from the context. Two of the most important detailed explanations of specific terms are in the chapter on *Robes of Honour* (pp. 56–64) and in Appendix I, *The Qumāsh* (pp. 75–80). This amount of space is necessary to make clear what frequently used and not exactly or exclusively defined terms really mean. And one cannot refrain from mentioning in passing the description of the robes of honor of the upper ranks, in the well-known passage from Maqrizī (pp. 58–60). This is an epitome of the luxury and extravagance in which all loved to indulge: red satin coat with gold embroidery and gray squirrel lining, and beaver, and a yellow satin coat below; a hat with gold embroidery and gold clasps; a turban of fine muslin with *ṭirāz* bands; a gold belt often ornamented with jewels or pearls. The fact that robes of honor, with *ṭirāz*, were given to European visitors, helps to account for the appearance of Mamluk-style lettering on Italian silks (aside from the ordinary trade in textiles). The discussion of *Qumāsh* is most enlighten-

ing, and at the opposite pole from the remark by P. Ackerman, in the *Survey of Persian Art*, that *qumāsh* is a special textile woven in the city of Qumm! Here the sense of *qumāsh* is established in a proper and reasonable manner.

After starting with the garments of the caliph, the author goes on, by rank, to the Sultan, the military aristocracy, then arms and armor, then the ecclesiastics, that is, "the educated Moslems of the non-military class" (p. 49). It is pointed out that in miniature paintings a person wearing black need not be identified as the Abbasid Caliph, as Holter once did, but that a black costume was worn by the *khaṭīb* on Fridays (p. 53). The chapter on Christians, Jews, and Samaritans makes clear that specific colors did not apply to the whole costume, but only to the color of the turbans, though the Christians also had to have certain belts. Otherwise their clothes were exactly the same as those of the Moslems. And though edicts on the subject were issued from time to time, they generally lapsed (p. 66), that is, the tolerance of ordinary daily life was actually stronger than the strictness of the laws. For the art historian it is important that in illustrated manuscripts Moslems are also shown wearing yellow, red, and blue turbans, which were required of the other groups (p. 67, and note 6).

The final chapter is on women. The reviewer wishes to interpret this as meaning that women are outside of mere masculine hierarchy, and that, whether of the family of Sultan or amir or *qāḍī*, women are women, and are a class of themselves, even those who wear red trousers (p. 73). Since women constitute at least half of mankind (and the *dhimmi* only a small percentage) and since the nature of women cannot be changed while religious adherence is changeable, and since women love clothes as much as any man, the restrictions upon them and the police action against them are more cruel than those concerning the

Christians and Jews. Why should not any woman be allowed to wear sleeves wider than twelve ells, if she so pleases? Yet Mamluks went through the streets with knives cutting them off (p. 69). Edicts were also issued against women wearing turbans (p. 71). But we are glad to know that women as well as men wore expensive imported furs.

Jean Sauvaget, at a meeting of the Twenty-first International Congress of Orientalists in Paris, 1948, proposed the formation of a methodic corpus of Muslim iconography, conceived from the archeological and historical point of view. This volume by Dr. Mayer would have pleased Sauvaget, his friend and colleague, because it demonstrates the fundamental approach in dealing with actual human beings represented in art. For it covers a short span of history and explores it thoroughly, presenting all available evidence, and interpreting and explaining doubtful points. As a few examples we may mention the following: The Abbasid caliph is not shown in European or Muslim paintings, not, for instance, in the frontispiece of the Viennese *Ḥarīrī* (p. 12, note 2), which may be either the Sultan or an amir (p. 33); but the caliph often wore the Baghdad turban with one or two trailing ends (p. 13). The familiar representations of a fabric with a peculiar pattern may represent watered silk, *aṭlas mutammar* (p. 14, note 4, pls. 2, 3, and 16-20). The Sultan at his investiture wears basically ecclesiastic, nonmilitary costume, including a turban; but otherwise often the costume of a high amir (pp. 15 and 16) and sometimes the strange turban called *nā'ūra*, which Dr. Mayer identifies in the Louvre painting (pp. 16-17, pl. 1). Two hats in the Louvre painting are also described and named (pp. 31-33, pls. 1 and 11, 2). Another hat, the *sharbūsh*, worn only by amirs of the Ayyubids and the Bahārī Mamluks, and abolished under the Circassians, is identified and illustrated (pp. 27-28, pls. 15

and 18, 1). We are given the date 715 H., when a Sultan decided to shave his hair, while previously the Sultan and all the Mamluks had had their hair long, like the Mongols (pp. 17-18). The *ṭaylasān* or hood is identified in a Mamluk painting as Sauvaget had previously recognized it in a Samarra painting (p. 52, note 6, and pl. 17, 1). And the descendants of the Prophet did not put a piece of green on their turbans until 773 H. (p. 53). There are countless instances of this careful and illuminating identification of personages by means of their costume. So Dr. Mayer's book is invaluable from this broader point of view, affecting the whole history of art.

A final point remains. In this book the text was greatly abbreviated and the number of illustrations greatly reduced. Only ten paintings out of the known Mamluk manuscripts could be reproduced, not to mention the other types of works of art. Even so, this work of Dr. Mayer's is of the greatest importance, not only for costume, but for terminology, for iconography, for our understanding of the whole social system of the period. Equally valuable must prove to be his future work on the Ayyubid and Zangid material, and it would be a great loss if this could not be treated as fully as it deserves. Is there not, somewhere in the world, some foundation, or some institution that could provide grants so that in Dr. Mayer's future publications the text will not have to be cut and the illustrations will be copious and complete?

FLORENCE E. DAY

Two Thousand Years of Textiles. The figured textiles of Europe and the Near East. By Adèle Coulin Weibel. Published for the Detroit Institute of Arts. New York (Pantheon Books), 1952. xii + 169 pp., 331 figs. on 256 pls. \$20.

This book has long been awaited by many friends of the author in various museums; it

is now received by them with warm pleasure, and will surely also find welcome among a wider public. Mrs. Weibel, with her gift for writing, has happily communicated her own deep and long-experienced delight in her subject. The volume itself is worthy of both subject and author, as its publication was made possible by grants of the Kresge Foundation, Detroit, and the publishers have provided elegant typography and format, good color plates, and excellent collotypes.

Mrs. Weibel has well arranged the presentation of her material. First, an *Introduction* discusses the materials and techniques (pp. 1-26); then, *History*, by countries and periods (pp. 27-71); and finally a *Catalogue* (pp. 73-163), in which each of the 331 figures is fully discussed by number. The *Bibliography* (pp. 165-167) is short and general, not intended to be exhaustive, and articles on the individual textiles will be found in the *Catalogue*, under each number. These references in the *Catalogue* are often limited to a museum's publication of a given textile, for the reader is supposed to be familiar with the whole literature on the particular type. There is no index; and there are no footnotes. The latter might be expected in the *Introduction* and the *History*, but the art historian and the orientalist can supply footnotes from his own memory as he reads. This scholarly apparatus, if it had been put in, would have been voluminous, and would have materially increased the size and the cost of the book. For this volume is the result of a lifetime's work—from the early days under Arthur Weese at Berne, and Josef Strzygowski at Vienna; from January 1927 as Curator of Textiles at the Detroit Institute of Arts, and from 1933 also as Curator of Islamic Art, until the present; this may not be fifty years of Europe, but it is still better than a cycle of Cathay.

It is no small achievement to be able to understand and present so admirably one seg-

ment of the arts of both the Near East and Europe, from Roman times onward. This journal being for orientalists, this review will cover only the pre-Islamic and Islamic textiles, for the reviewer has no desire to trespass upon European art. The Near Eastern part of the volume takes up nearly half of the contents, in the *History*, pages 29–55, and in the *Catalogue*, numbers 1–155, with corresponding illustrations. Some historical facts are also given in the *Introduction*, especially under the materials. The *Introduction* will be useful to the orientalist, for the chaotic complexity of the usual textile terminology is reduced to clear and simple English.

The *History* starts properly with pre-history, and the European lake dwellings, including twill-woven fabrics. It would have been interesting to find out what the oldest Sumerian and Akkadian texts have to say about textiles. On page 3 is the remark, "Cotton is mentioned in an Egyptian papyrus . . . and it was raised by the Assyrians." We may add that in Akkadian the word was *būsū* (later, in Greek byssos). A tablet of Sennacherib, about 694 B.C., mentions "the trees that bore wool (*sindhu*)."¹

When we come to the use of silk in the early, pre-Roman days of the Near East, at a time when the silks themselves do not exist, we trust that the reviewer will be pardoned for going into some detail. For this question is extremely important for the whole future of textiles, European as well as Islamic; and the literary evidence, which is the only evidence we have, does not support the few brief state-

ments made by the author on this point. First, as to the evidence of the Old Testament, the author remarks: "Silk is mentioned by the prophet Ezekiel when he speaks of . . . *shesh* and *meschi* (16:10 and 13). Thus silk was known in Syria-Palestine during the early sixth century B.C." (p. 6). This passage is often referred to, for instance, by Miss Gisela Richter, who cited Pardessus, writing in 1842.² But today these terms, better transcribed as *shēshi wa mēshi*, are not accepted as meaning silk.³ Nor were they so understood in the Septuagint, translated under the Ptolemies, during the third to second centuries B.C., where they appear as *bussō* (or *bússina*) *kai trikhapta*, that is, byssos (the old Akkadian word for cotton) and "hair-cloth," perhaps the finest hairs of goats. Again, in describing the virtuous *Hausfrau* in Proverbs 31:22, where the King James version gives "silk" the Hebrew is again *shēsh* and the Greek *byssos*.⁴

Continuing from the sixth century B.C., the author states: ". . . silk is mentioned by both Herodotus (c. 484–425 B.C.) and Xenophon (c. 430–after 355 B.C.), when they write of the luxurious 'Medic' dress worn in Persia" (p. 33). But, in fact, neither uses any of the Greek words for silk, and the reviewer has found nothing in either that can be construed as silk, and is sure that the phrase "Medic dress" refers to a fashion, a cut of the whole costume, including even the "soft felt caps called tiaras" (Herodotos 7.61).⁵ Herodotos does mention that the Medic dress was given as a gift, a habit familiar in the whole of the

¹ J. R. Partington, *Origins and development of applied chemistry*, London and New York, 1935, p. 307, gives several references to B. Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, for *būsū*; and on p. 308 mentions several colors of textile dyes. Laufer also agrees that *būsū* (cotton) is the origin of the Greek word byssos; Berthold Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, Chicago, Field Museum, 1919, p. 574.

² Gisela M. A. Richter, *Silk in Greece*, American Journal of Archaeology, vol. 33 (1929), p. 33, note 4.

³ See, for instance, Partington, *op. cit.*, p. 522.

⁴ The texts used are in *The Hexaglot Bible*, New York, 1906.

⁵ *The History of Herodotus*, tr. into English by G. C. Macaulay, London and New York, 1904, vol. 2, p. 155.

Near East, but he also states (5.9) that some Europeans, living north of Thrace, beyond the Ister (i.e., the Danube) "use the Median fashion of dress," and this was certainly not silk! Xenophon includes shoes as part of the dress (*Kourou Paideia*, 8.i.40-41) and goes into detail about the colors of the costumes: purple, gray-black, dark crimson, dark blood-red, and kermes-red.⁶ Thus the reviewer concludes that it was the beautiful dyes, and not the material, that made them expensive and luxurious. Arrian (*Anabasis*, 6.xxix.5-6) describes the tomb of Cyrus at Pasargadae, as Alexander found it: it contained, besides golden furniture, "Babylonian carpets . . . purple rugs . . . tunic and vests also of Babylonian workmanship . . . Median trousers; and robes dyed blue . . . and some of purple."⁷ Thus, much of the Persian luxury consisted of foreign imports and rich dyes; but no *material* is specified anywhere.

Procopius (sixth century A.D.) is then invoked to prove that the "Medic dress" was of silk (p. 33). Procopius (*Wars*, I.xx.9) says, in full, "This is the silk (*metaxa*) of which they are accustomed to make the *garments* which of old the Greeks called Medic, but which at the present time they name 'seric.'"⁸ Now the word he uses is *metaxa*, a late Greek and Byzantine word for silk; and certainly by

this time silk was well known. But it is the *costume*, not the material, which he calls Medic and Seric. He simply states that formerly the Persians wore the costume of the Medes (the people) and that now they wear the costume of the Seres (the people). Indeed, there is great similarity between the style and cut of the costumes of the Sasanians and of the people shown in the Central Asiatic wall paintings.⁹ Procopius was writing about a thousand years after the Achemenians, and therefore cannot be taken as an authority on the materials used in their clothes.

Again we are told that Strabo, who lived in the Roman period (63 B.C.—after A.D. 20) refers to silk "when speaking of the wardrobe of Alexander the Great and his generals" (p. 33). This idea seems to be due to an old misunderstanding, as when Dalton in 1911, trying to prove the use of silk in Persia, stated that Nearchos wore silk garments.¹⁰ Actually, though Alexander did put on the "Median garb," including "the tiara of the conquered Persians" (Arrian, *Anabasis of Alexander*, 4.vii.4), we are told specifically that he was followed by only *one* of his generals, Peu-

⁹ In a recent conversation Mme. Charles Picard agreed with the reviewer that the Medic dress means a fashion, not a material, and mentioned the parallel between the Sasanian and the Central Asiatic costume. At the time of Procopius the Seres may have been understood as the people of Serinda, rather than of China proper.

¹⁰ O. M. Dalton, *Byzantine art and archaeology*, London, 1911, p. 583, note 4, but without giving any source. Earlier, in 1903, Strzygowski had written: "Stellen bei den Propheten und griechischen Schriftstellern belegen, dass die 'medischen Gewänder' und 'serischen Stoffe,' schon in voralexandrinischer Zeit über Persien nach den Westen kamen. In solche serische, d.h. chinesische Stoffe kleidete sich Alexander's Feldherr Nearchos." The only reference he gives is to Richthofen, *China* (without date). This is from J. Strzygowski, *Seidenstoffe aus Agypten im Kaiser-Friedrich Museum*, Jahrbuch der K. preussischen Kunstsammlungen, vol. 24 (1903), p. 148.

⁶ *Kourou Paideia*, 8.iii.3 and 8.iii.13. See *Xenophon Cyropaedia*, English tr. by Walter Miller, London and New York, 1914 (Loeb Classical Library), vol. 2, pp. 348-349 and 354-355. In these passages he uses five different Greek words for the various colors.

⁷ See *Arrian*, English tr. by E. Iliff Robson, New York and London, vol. 2, 1933, *Anabasis of Alexander*, pp. 196-197. (Loeb Classical Library.)

⁸ See *Procopius*, English tr. by H. B. Dewing, New York, 1914 (Loeb Classical Library), vol. 1, *History of the wars*, pp. 192-193. Here the translator adds, note 1, "In Latin, *serica*, as coming from the Chinese (Seres)." This definition of the word *metaxa* occurs in the middle of the account of Justinian's embassy to the Ethiopians and the Himyarites.

kestas, who adopted "alone of the Macedonians, the Median dress" (Arrian, *Anabasis*, 6.xxx.2-3).¹¹ Nearchos may have been confused with Peukestas because Strabo quotes Nearchos as his source for the production of cotton and silk in India (not Persia, and not China!), thus: Strabo (*Geography*, 16.i.20), "even wool blossoms on some [trees]. From this wool, Nearchos says, finely threaded cloths (*sindónas*) are woven. . . . The Serica also are of this kind [of] Byssos being dried out of certain barks."¹²

Now we know that the late Achaemenian conquests went east of the Oxus River; so did the conquest of Alexander. But the first Chinese contact with this area was that of Chang Ch'ien, under the Emperor Wu-ti, just a few years before 128 B.C. He personally visited Ta-yuan (Ferghana), Ta-yue-chi (the Indo-Scythians), K'ang-ku (Soghdiana), and Ta-Hia (Bactria), and got information on the adjacent lands. He reported of the countries from Ta-yuan westward as far as the country of An-si (Parthia): "These countries produced no silk."¹³ This is a very strong sugges-

tion, if not proof, that neither the Achaemenians nor Alexander in Persia used silk; for if they had, the production of such a precious thing would hardly have died out during the next period, from Alexander to Chang Ch'ien. The Parthians, after Wu-ti, may well have known silk, but in spite of the trade of the Seleucids and Ptolemies with India, one cannot expect anyone in the Near East to have known Chinese silk until after the embassy of Chang Ch'ien. We have already noted that no Greek word for silk occurs in the Old Testament books of the Septuagint, translated for the Ptolemies in Egypt. Indeed, Miss Richter states, "The regular Greek word for silk, *sēr*, does not to my knowledge occur until the Roman period."¹⁴

Pliny the Elder (A.D. 23-79) is responsible for a good deal of misinformation and confusion between Near Eastern silk and Chinese silk. In Book 11, paragraphs 25-27, he describes the bombyx, the silk moth of Assyria (meaning Syria); in paragraph 26 he states that out of the cocoon emerges the silk moth, which weaves webs like spiders, and that these woven webs (*telas*) are unraveled and then woven again by women.¹⁵ So Pliny (or his sources) simply invented a nonexistent spider web woven by the mature silk moth! Long ago, in 1866, Yule pointed out Pliny's error¹⁶

¹¹ This is confirmed by *The Cambridge ancient history*, edited by J. B. Bury, S. A. Cook, and F. E. Adcock, Cambridge University Press, 1927, vol. 6, p. 418, that the Macedonians objected to "the Persian dress worn by himself [Alexander] and Peucestas."

¹² *The Geography of Strabo*, English tr. by Horace Leonard Jones, New York, 1930 (Loeb Classical Library), vol. 7, pp. 32-33. Miss Richter, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-39, translates not "dried out" but "scratched from the bark of trees."

¹³ Friedrich Hirth, *The story of Chang K'ien, China's pioneer in Western Asia*, Journ. American Oriental Society, vol. 37 (1917), pp. 89-152. See especially sentences 1, 17, and 101-103. Identifications are given in the index. See also sentence 67, where it is stated that the Chinese Emperor sent "Gifts of gold and silk stuff worth millions" to Wu-sun, located near Lake Issyk-kul. Convenient maps of the conquests of the Achaemenians and of Alexander are in *Philips' atlas of ancient and classical history*, ed. by Ramsay Muir and George Philip, London, 1938, maps 5 and 9.

¹⁴ Richter, *op. cit.*, p. 30. As to the Parthians, Warmington remarks that the Romans saw silk flags of the Parthians; Erich H. Warmington, *Commerce between the Roman Empire and India*, Cambridge, 1928, p. 175.

¹⁵ Pliny, *Natural history*, English tr. by H. Rackham, Cambridge, 1940, vol. 3, pp. 478-479, 480-481. (Loeb Classical Library.)

¹⁶ The first edition of Yule's book was published in 1866; see Henry Yule, *Cathay and the way thither*, n. ed., revised throughout by Henri Cordier, vol. 1; *Preliminary essay*, London, 1915, preface to 2d ed., pp. xii and xiii; the additions by Cordier are given in brackets. Yule's analysis of Pliny is in the long footnote 2, starting on page 197. Yule's translation of Aristotle is slightly different from that of Thompson,

by confronting his text with that of Aristotle: "A class of women unwind and reel off the cocoons of these creatures and afterwards weave a fabric with the threads thus unwound."¹⁷ The reviewer believes, still following Yule, that Pliny then applied this fanciful idea of his to the far-distant Seres. In Book 6.xx, speaking of the Seres and the "wool" of their forests, he says, repeating almost the same words, "and so supply our women with the double task of unravelling the threads (*fila*) and weaving them together again." Surely, this must mean to unwind the thread of the cocoons, and not to unravel silk fabrics woven by the Chinese.¹⁸ But many have taken Pliny to mean the unraveling of Chinese fabrics (see Dalton, Blümner, and Schoff,¹⁹ and now our favorite author in two places, pp. 17 and 35). To conclude, the reviewer does not believe for a minute that Chinese fabrics were

which is quoted here. Blümner, who did not refer to Yule's work, independently made the comparison between Aristotle and Pliny, arriving at the same conclusion: Hugo Blümner, *Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Künste bei Griechen und Römern*, 2d rev. ed., Leipzig, 1912, vol. 1, p. 202, note 1. (First edition published in 1875-1887.)

¹⁷ Aristotle, *Historia Animalium*, tr. by D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson (*The works of Aristotle*, tr. into English under the editorship of J. A. Smith and W. D. Ross, vol. 4), Oxford, 1910, 551^b, lines 10-15.

¹⁸ Pauline Simmons, *Crosscurrents in Chinese silk history*, Bull. Metropolitan Museum of Art, vol. 9, No. 3 (November 1950), p. 88, refers to the idea of unraveling the Chinese silks as fantastic. The reviewer is grateful to Miss Simmons for discussing with her the Han silks and their relation to the Near East.

¹⁹ Dalton, *op. cit.*, p. 584, "Chinese textiles were unravelled and rewoven in occidental designs." Blümner, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 203, states that the *serica* were undone, dyed, and rewoven with linen, cotton, or wool; Wilfred H. Schoff, *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, tr. from the Greek and annotated, New York, 1912, pp. 263-268; cf. his commentary to paragraph 64. Here Schoff gives poor translations of both Aristotle and Pliny, for instance, "textures" for *fila*, which means threads.

ever unraveled in the Near East, either to study the secrets of Chinese weaving, or to weave up the silk with a cheaper material like linen or cotton; certainly not in Palmyra or Dura, where true Chinese fabrics have been found. The only reasonable possibility is that hanks of Chinese silk yarn (which the *Periplus* says were imported) were unwound and then spun in the Near East, for here people were accustomed to making their warp threads strongly spun in all materials. Indeed, fabrics made of Chinese silk yarn, but with the warps spun in a totally non-Chinese manner, were excavated at both Palmyra and Dura.²⁰

But Pliny is not entirely useless, because he does refer to the "Assyrian" bombyx; and Assyria in the Roman period means Syria, west of the Euphrates. Most commentators (including Miss Richter, Blümner, and Thompson, the translator of Aristotle) agree that both the Cos silk and the Syrian silk are wild, like the tussah silk of India. Now, an early Chinese source, the *Hou Han shu*, covers the years A.D. 25-220, and its chapter 88 "is said to have been written about A.D. 125 by Pan Yung who had long served in Central Asia." Here the people of Syria (Ta Ch'in) are said to produce "fine cloth . . . made from the cocoons of wild silkworms."²¹ If wild silk was used in Syria in Roman times, it might have been known there earlier, and so it is to Syria, or to the region Syria-Mesopotamia, and not to Persia under the Achaemenians, that we may look for the earliest use of silk in the Near East.

²⁰ F. E. Day, *Silks of the Near East*, Bull. Metropolitan Museum of Art, vol. 9, No. 4 (December 1950), p. 108.

²¹ F. Hirth, *China and the Roman orient*, Leipzig, 1885 (reprinted in China, 1939), p. 41. I am indebted to Prof. L. Carrington Goodrich of Columbia University for the information about Pan Yung, and permission to quote him here, as well as for helpful discussions of the problem in general.

This digression being over, we return to the main course of history as the author follows it in the section *The earliest western silk fabrics* (pp. 35–37). Mrs. Weibel believes “it is plausible that the drawloom was invented in Syria, and thence found its way to Sassanian Persia and ultimately, in the T’ang period (618–907), reached China” (p. 17). Again, “The Chinese weavers knew and used an elaborate loom, probably not unlike the drawloom the weavers in western Asia now invented” (p. 35). A seeming contradiction to this idea is her statement that a wool cloth in the Roman style, probably third century, “is an adaptation of the Chinese warp cloth” (fig. 37, *Catalogue*, No. 37, p. 87). Now both the Chinese silk gauzes and warp cloths (pp. 34–35) have repeat patterns, and must both have been done on a drawloom. Further, all the Han silks (some datable to the first century B.C.) are earlier than any drawloom fabric woven in the Near East. So, in the present state of our knowledge, China would seem to have the priority. Syria, however, may have been the first country in the Near East to make use of the drawloom, for there its use is fully realized. Mrs. Weibel notes the importance of twill; it “may have been invented in Central Asia” (p. 18), while in the Near East the weft-twill technique “predominated for centuries” (p. 35). One must not forget that some of the earliest silks found at Antioch are compound cloths (as Antioch Nos. 1108, 1109, and 1142–1144, all polychrome, now in the Louvre; from the reviewer’s personal observation). Mrs. Weibel summarizes briefly the complex problem of the Antioch silks, concluding that “they were most likely imported from Mesopotamia or Syria” (p. 36). She feels, very rightly, that von Falke’s group of “Alexandrian” silks is probably Syrian (pp. 36–37). The silks with the weavers’ names of Zacharios and Joseph,

in Greek (fig. 54, by Joseph, and fig. 51, woven by Zacharios, though not mentioned by the author) are probably Syrian; these names are not to be taken as those of Coptic “horsemen saints” because the figures are the ordinary Roman-style hunters, and the language is not Coptic (see *Catalogue*, No. 54, pp. 91–92, with bibliography). Incidentally, the charming little animals in figure 46 are gazelles, and not antelopes.

The question of Sasanian textiles is also a very difficult one; four are illustrated, figure 30, wool tapestry, figures 35 and 36, cotton and wool twills, and figure 58, a silk—could they not all have been shown together? All are dated as sixth-seventh centuries, and the author says, “earlier Sassanian fabrics may also exist, though none is known today” (p. 39). The important point is that in these illustrations, as in the rock carvings of Tāq-i Bustān, the roundel contains one *single* motif (animal, bird, or plant); and, as Sauvaget pointed out, Tāq-i Bustān is our *only* evidence for Sasanian textile design. This is in strong contrast to the style of the area Syria-Egypt-Byzantium, where the composition of the roundels is more often a *pair* of figures in mirror reverse (see figs. 45–47, 49, 52, 57) or a single plant or design whose *two halves* are in mirror reverse (figs. 51, 52, 54). This method of design in weaving is made possible by the drawloom (it is very difficult to obtain perfect bilateral symmetry in the tapestry technique) and this type of composition therefore supports the probability that the drawloom was a specialty of Syria, while the Sasanian Persians did not realize its potentialities. Incidentally, the date at which Syrian (called Aramean) weavers were taken from Antioch to Susa and Shushtar in lower Mesopotamia is given by Mrs. Weibel as either third or fourth century (p. 39). But already in 1927 Herzfeld had established definitely that this

took place in A.D. 260, when Shapur I sacked Antioch.²²

The reviewer feels that Mrs. Weibel's separation of the tapestry weaves from the silk weaves in the pre-Islamic period is a little confusing to the historical picture (except for figure 55 which is placed among the silks). The development of style between the third and the sixth-seventh centuries would have been easier to follow if the different media had been run together. Thus, for the style rightly understood as Hellenistic (regardless of date, material, or country) we have figures 6, 7, 9-10, 11-12, all tapestries. To these the reviewer would add the silk twills in figures 48 and 50, which are equally "Hellenistic" in feeling (compare the pastoral scene, fig. 50, with the similar scene in fig. 9; and compare the birds in fig. 48 with those in fig. 57, which has many points in common with Syrian art of the Roman period). But nevertheless, the tapestry weaves (pp. 29-33) are very well presented to the reader. Mrs. Weibel happily emphasizes the fact that much of this type of work was done in Syria (p. 30), and one cannot forget the countless statues of Palmyrene women holding spindles in their hands. The dating of the tapestries agrees generally with the consensus of opinion. But the roundel of figure 27 is to be attributed not to the sixth-seventh centuries, but rather to the seventh-eighth, that is, it is a Coptic work of the early Islamic period, for it is of the same style as one in the Metropolitan Museum of Art published by Dimand.²³ The presence of the lion

shows that we have here not a Coptic mounted saint, but the sort of hunt so frequent in the silks (see fig. 49). The same applies to figure 55, for which the author has herself pointed out the relationship to the silks (*Catalogue* No. 55, p. 92).

The section on Byzantine silks (pp. 39-42) starts with the early period, but continues after the coming of Islam down to the Ottoman capture of Constantinople (the later Byzantine silks fall outside the scope of the present review). The silk with double-headed eagles in figure 60 is properly placed here, not given to Spain, as has been otherwise attempted. The Dumbarton Oaks "elephant tamer" (fig. 97) is most probably Byzantine, because of its stylistic relationship to both the Byzantine "senmurv" silk (fig. 63) and the pre-Islamic tunic ornaments of figure 56, which the reviewer feels are more Byzantine than Syrian. This "elephant tamer" silk is assigned to "Syria or Persia, 10th century," which means early Islamic, Abbasid period; but Muslims who knew elephants would probably never put one in such an awkward relation to a human being. And for early Islamic elephants, see the famous Bukhtakin silk in the Louvre.

The Islamic textiles, like the pre-Islamic ones, are not presented in the *History* in a really historical way. For the arrangement is by countries, each following its separate chronology. Thus, after going through Spain to the sixteenth century (fig. 95) we jump backward in time and space to Iran, eighth-ninth centuries (fig. 96). But the basic fact of Islamic art is that it is international, and the art of a single country is not an independent entity; so it would have been preferable to go by the great cultural epochs: Umayyad, Abbasid, then the local styles of Persia and Fatimid Egypt, then the Seljuq period, and so on. As to the arts in general, the reviewer cannot agree with the statement, "The Arab con-

²² E. Herzfeld, *Die Malereien von Samarra*, Berlin, 1927, p. 69, with full discussion of the evidence. This corrects his earlier brief statement in *Am Tor von Asien*, Berlin, 1920, p. 122.

²³ M. S. Dimand, *A handbook of Muhammadan art*, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1944, fig. 4, p. 11. Compare also R. Pfister, *Matériaux pour servir au classement des textiles égyptiens postérieurs à la conquête arabe*, *Revue des Arts Asiatiques*, vol. 10 (1936), pp. 1-16, illus.

tribution to Islamic art was their language, the language of the Koran" (p. 42). What is it that makes Mshatta Islamic and not Ghas-sānid? What makes the mosaics of the Dome of the Rock Umayyad and not Syrian-Christian or Byzantine? Why is the *Book of Animals* by Jāhiz so different from earlier Near Eastern animal books? No, in every art, as in the complex of intellectual achievement, we see that what the Arabs did was to create a great new *civilization*, which George Sarton has rightly called "the miracle of Islam." Without the international culture resulting *solely* from the Arab conquests this could not have happened. Every art is an expression of this new civilization and its new spirit; it is not merely a question of a new language. Certainly the new civilization was based on and lived by old tradition—even a Spanish silk (fig. 66) makes a lion in the old Sumerian way, with head full-face and body in profile. But this tradition could not have reached Spain, not to mention the material, silk, unless the Arabs had carried them there.

The author brings out a fact very important for the development of Islamic art, namely, that "In his youth Muhammad had been a merchant. . . . Especially he liked strange fabrics" (p. 42). This refutes the later hadith which tried to attribute to the Prophet an asceticism and avoidance of worldly pleasures, including silk, which he did not have. In this connection the orientalist will remember a story from Procopius (*Wars*, 1.xx.9) that, sometime between A.D. 525 and 542, Justinian asked both the Ethiopians and the Himyarites to make an expedition across Arabia to the Persian Gulf to buy silk from the Indian ships arriving there before the Persians intercepted them.²⁴ This idea failed (no one wanted to be a cat's-paw for the Byzantines), but it shows that the Arabs before Islam did

know the importance of silk. Other evidence for the pre-Islamic use of silk in Arabia lies in the Qur'an itself (whose terms of material culture have not yet been studied by an art historian), and in the descriptions of South Arabia by such writers as Ḥamdānī.

Mrs. Weibel does not mention Umayyad textiles, except to say that those made in Egypt cannot be "disentangled" from those of Syria (p. 45). Something is known of Umayyad textiles, for instance, the silk of Marwān, long ago published by Guest and Kendrick, which was made in Tunis, but in the style of Syria; a piece of this is in the Brooklyn Museum. Another beautiful textile with a *tirāz* may be either Umayyad or early Abbasid, in any case certainly of the eighth century. This is a fine wool tapestry in the Textile Museum in Washington; the inscription, in kufic, says: *ful. [. . . of the Faith]* [11] *و منين* [ح] *أمر به*. Of what was ordered to be made. . . .²⁵ As Umayyad art is absolutely essential to the development of all later Islamic art, and to our understanding of it, and as both these textiles are in the United States, it is a pity that they were omitted. Further, an Egyptian fabric, with inscription dated Rajab 88/June 707, falling in the reign of Walid, is distinctively "late Coptic" in style, completely different from the Syrian style.²⁶

²⁵ F. E. Day, *Quelques tissus islamiques du Textile Museum*, Actes du XXI^e Congrès Internationale des Orientalistes, Paris, 23-31 juillet, 1948; Paris, 1949, pp. 323-324. At that time the late Jean Sauvaget agreed with her reading of the inscription and her stylistic attribution. The reviewer's study of the silk of Marwān did not appear until the summer of 1952, when Mrs. Weibel's book was already in press; see "The Tirāz Silk of Marwān," *Archaeologica Orientalia in Memoriam Ernst Herzfeld*, Locust Valley, N. Y., 1952, pp. 39-61.

²⁶ Cairo, Arab Museum, No. 10846. Published by M. Hassan Moh. el-Hawary, *Un tissu abbaside de Perse*, Bull. de l'Institut d'Égypte, vol. 16 (1933-34), p. 62, note 3; and illustrated by Pfister, *op. cit.*, p. 28, No. C 9.

²⁴ See above, note 8.

Of the period following the author says, "The victory of the Abbasids meant also the victory of Iranian culture" (p. 43). This is an oversimplification, for Sauvaget made clear that Abbasid art owes much to Syrian Umayyad art, as in the city plan of Baghdad and the paintings of Samarra, and, one may add, pottery. With textiles the same continuity holds, for we are told by Mas'ūdi that gowns of patterned fabric (*washī*) belonging to the Umayyad Sulaimān (715–717) were preserved at the Abbasid court and worn again at the time of Harūn al-Rashīd (786–809), nearly a hundred years later.²⁷ This is direct historical evidence for what might otherwise only be assumed, and shows exactly how textile patterns could survive. Further literary evidence for the early Abbasid style is found in the *Liber Pontificalis*, in notices "of the eighth and ninth centuries" (mentioned by the author, p. 36, in the pre-Islamic section) describing silks of Alexandria and Tyre; these usually had roundels, and every sort of flower, leaf, bird, beast, and man.²⁸ As we shall see, this roundel style was also made in Mesopotamia, at Baghdad.

A very important early Islamic silk (here *fig. 1*) was published in 1906, though it was not realized to be so, and seems to have passed unnoticed in the literature since then.²⁹ It has

²⁷ Mas'ūdi, see *Les prairies d'or*, texte et traduction par C. Barbier de Meynard, vol. 5, Paris 1849, pp. 400–401. Serjeant has translated the first few lines of this passage, but omitted the end, where the historical information is found. See his *Material for a history of Islamic textiles up to the Mongol conquest*, *Ars Islamica*, vol. 9 (1942), p. 67.

²⁸ Stephen Beissel, *Gestickte und gewebte Vorhänge der römischen Kirchen in der zweiten Hälfte des VIII. und in der ersten Hälfte des IX. Jahrhunderts*, *Zeitschrift für christliche Kunst*, nr. 12 (1894), cols. 357–374. See also, Ugo Monneret de Villard, *Le transenne di S. Aspreno e le stoffe alessandrine*, *Aegyptus*, vol. 4 (1923), pp. 64–71.

²⁹ G. Sangiorgi, *Cimelii dell' industria tessile orientale*, *L'Arte*, vol. 9 (1906), fig. 3, p. 196. He

the usual roundels with half-naked Amazons hunting lions, and is in only two colors, as in figure 45 (here *fig. 2*). But, instead of the flying scarf over the Amazon's head, there is an Arabic inscription in kufic letters, destroyed in the middle so that it cannot be fully read. But the last word is clearly *Allah*, which establishes this pagan silk as absolutely Islamic in date. One cannot say if the script is late Umayyad or early Abbasid, but it is certainly to be assigned to the eighth century. It must have been drawn up after the same cartoons and probably woven in the same country as the other Amazon silks. Now the earliest datable one is the polychrome Amazon silk, the shroud of St. Fridolin of Säckingen, of the sixth century (see *Catalogue*, No. 45, p. 89). But the two-color Amazon silks evidently continue for two hundred years with remarkable fidelity; and from the story of Sulaimān's *washī* we know how this could happen. All must have been made in Syria, because of their similarity to the Dura Amazons on the shield painted by a Syrian artist and dated about A.D. 256; here the Amazons ride on the small, deep-chested horse which is "the regular type in representations of the Syrian desert." Another silk with an Arabic inscription was published by von Falke in 1913,³⁰ the clavus-band in the Victoria and Albert Museum. The pro-

did not describe it in detail, and failed to notice the kufic inscription. The present whereabouts of the silk is unknown. For the Dura Amazons, see Clark Hopkins, *The painted shields. B. The Amazon shield* (in *The excavations at Dura-Europos*. Preliminary report of the seventh and eighth seasons of work, 1933–1934 and 1934–1935, ed. by M. I. Rostovtzeff, F. E. Brown, and C. B. Welles), New Haven, 1939, p. 326 and pp. 349–363, pl. 44, and pl. 45 in color.

³⁰ Otto von Falke, *Kunstgeschichte der Seidenweberei*, Berlin, 1913, vol. 1, fig. 67, "Seidenclavus mit arabischer Schrift, 7. Jahrh." and text, p. 47. He pointed out, with justice, that the leafy tree here is a further development from that of the Zacharios silk (now generally considered to be Syrian).

portions of the letters put it in the Abbasid rather than in the Umayyad period, i.e., about A.D. 750–850. It was very likely also made in Syria.

A serious omission for the early Abbasid style of Mesopotamia is the beautiful and sumptuous embroidery in the Boston Museum³¹ probably made in the ninth-tenth century. The cloth is *mulham* (silk warp, cotton weft); large roundels containing lions, griffins, and peacocks are joined by small medallions with similar creatures. It is this piece, more than any other, which explains the origin in composition and style of the Boston "Baghdad" silk made later in Spain (fig. 66); for example, the roundel-frames have similar confronted beasts. The Mesopotamian *mulhams* also have rows of small embroidered lions, as in the Boston Museum, or again, lions stamped and gilded, in squares, like the piece from the Delmár collection now in Cleveland. According to Mas'ūdi, *mulham* was the favorite fabric of the caliph Mutawakkil in the mid-ninth century, and he and all his courtiers wore it. We miss also another type of the early Abbasid period, ninth-tenth centuries, the lovely blue, tan, and white ikats of the Yemen, with magnificent great gold inscriptions; many examples of these are known in American museums. (A later piece, with an inserted Fatimid tapestry, is shown in fig. 70.) Another Abbasid group should have been included, the Indian cottons, resist-dyed in blue or red-brown, with kufic inscriptions of the tenth century, made for the Arab and Muslim merchants living in Broach and in cities down the Malabar coast;³² for Islamic art in India

³¹ Nancy Pence Britton, *A study of some early Islamic textiles in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1938, fig. 11, and text pp. 33–35, with bibliography. The embroidery with rows of lions is in fig. 12.

³² See above, note 25, where the reasons for dating these Indian cottons are briefly summarized.

began long before Maḥmūd of Ghazna (compare p. 52). But we are grateful that the author included, in figure 65, another delightful early Baghdad type, with brocaded cocks in octagonal compartments.

For the Abbasid period the author has illustrated one of the famous Pierpont Morgan Library silks, figure 67, and attributed it to "Syria, 8th–9th century." The reviewer feels that it cannot belong here because it is so different from what we know to be the early Abbasid style. There are no roundels, the design is staggered, the patterns are too minute and complex, and the griffins are of a late type (for early griffins, see the Viventia silk, fig. 59). It belongs rather to the eleventh-twelfth century, and is probably not Islamic, but Byzantine.

The author mentions the political weakening of the Abbasid caliphate in the ninth-tenth century (p. 43). Because of this, local powers and local styles developed in the outlying lands, the Fatimids in Egypt (p. 45) and the short-lived kingdoms which now split up Persia (Sāmānids and Būyids, pp. 48–49). As what we know of Fatimid textiles is chiefly tapestry weaves, two illustrations suffice (figs. 69 and 70). For Persia the author has selected the splendid large-scale elephant silk of the Cooper Union Museum (fig. 96) and attributed it to the eighth-ninth century, that is, to the early Abbasid period. However, insufficient evidence is given for this attribution, and it may be that the former attribution, as Byzantine, may prove to be correct. Also, the silks of the East Persian group (figs. 99–100) should have been included in the early Abbasid period, as they belong to the eighth-ninth century.

One silk of the Būyid period exists, a treasure of the Textile Museum in Washington (fig. 110). The reviewer finds herself in disagreement with Mrs. Weibel on the so-called Bibi Shahr Bānū silks, and regrets that she has included a number of them previously

published in the *Survey of Persian Art* and by M. Gaston Wiet.³³ Actually the Washington silk provides us with no idea of textile design under the Būyids, for it has an inscription only, on a plain background.

In the middle of the eleventh century the Seljuqs put an end to the fraternal struggles of Persian princelings, and they and their successors, the Atabegs and Ayyubids, also ruled over Mesopotamia, Syria, and Egypt. There resulted a new international Islamic style, a style of maturity, serenity, and elegance. Three of the most beautiful Seljuq silks are illustrated, the falconer silk in Detroit (fig. 112, in color), the sphinxes in tan and green of Washington (fig. 115), and the griffin silk of Cleveland (fig. 114) which is probably not Syrian, and not later than the eleventh century. The reviewer wishes that Mrs. Weibel had shown one or two earlier examples of this last type, for instance the well-known griffins confronting a tree, of the Textile Museum. Most important is the fact that the Seljuq style is a fully developed and purely Islamic style; even the all-over roundel composition of pre-Islamic, Umayyad, and early Abbasid textiles has disappeared. It is thus far ahead of the contemporary Spanish silks, which follow the old, pre-Seljuq style. Ayyubid Syria is represented in figure 68, where, instead of the compartments made by interlacing geometric bands (as in the three Seljuq silks just mentioned), there is simply an all-over pattern with strong vertical axes.

It is curious that the author wished to select nothing to illustrate the Chinese influence following the Mongol conquest of the thirteenth century (for Persia, for instance, there is a gap of three hundred years, from the Seljuq to the Safavid period). Some of the

most important Mamluk silks are those with ogival patterns, from which developed both the later Ottoman and European design; many are available, but none are illustrated. For Mamluk Egypt the author illustrates one piece only (fig. 71), a piece called "Byssus" in the Textile Museum. The reviewer would like to ask what scientist has identified the material of this textile as "a thread formed by the glandular secretion of a salt-water mussel"? (*Catalogue*, No. 71, p. 98; here the author remarks that it is wrong to use the word *byssos* for "fine linen," but it was so used by the Greeks from Aeschylus and Euripides down to Strabo). The reviewer can see in this fabric no relation stylistically to anything of the Mamluk period, or of any period in Egypt. The color scheme, red, green, yellow, and white on a red ground, suggests Spain, and a date probably of the tenth-twelfth centuries. If this material were indeed the fiber of the mussel, then this impression of the style would be supported by the fact that in Spain and North Africa this mussel fiber, called "sea-wool" (*šūf al-baḥr*) was used for weaving fabrics; the earliest source for this is Iṣṭakhri.³⁴

Turning to the Maghrib, the western lands of Islam, we wish to repeat that silk weaving and maybe even sericulture began under the Umayyads in Tunis, before A.D. 750, as witness the silk of Marwān; the first artistic influence in the West was that of Umayyad Syria. The author gives only a few lines to "the Fatimid emirs of Sicily" (p. 46) so one or two remarks may be added. Now Sicily was conquered from Tunis by the Aghlabids of Kairouan long before the Fatimid period, and it is not impossible that silk weaving and the *ṭirāz* system were then introduced. Amari, under the period 895-948 in Sicily, mentions a certain Ḥariri,

³³ See review of Gaston Wiet, *Soieries Persanes*, Cairo, 1948, published in *Ars Islamica*, vol. 15-16 (1951), pp. 231-244, illus., and Reply, by F. E. Day, pp. 250-251.

³⁴ R. B. Serjeant, *Material for a history of Islamic textiles up to the Mongol conquest*, *Ars Islamica*, vol. 15-16 (1951), p. 60.

"the silk-weaver," or "the silk merchant."³⁵ The author suggests that "Sicily's fame was due to her embroidered fabrics" (p. 46), but how, then, could one explain that the earliest known Italian silks, derived from Sicily, are woven patterned silks? Actually, we know that Muslim weavers of patterned silk lived before the Norman period; the tombstone of one Ibrahīm b. Khalaf al-Dibāji *الديباجي* i.e., "the patterned silk weaver," is dated 464/1072 (*Répertoire*, vol. 7, No. 2674). This weaver died just the year after Palermo was taken by the infidel Christians, so his working life must have been about a hundred years before the year 1147, when the Normans brought in some captured Byzantine weavers (p. 57; Mrs. Weibel gives a very good discussion of Norman Sicily on pp. 56-59). We may suppose that the rose-and-gold brocade mantle of Henry VI, of 1197, with pairs of gazelles and birds, is a continuation of the pre-Norman style, as it looks more Islamic than Byzantine (see p. 58).

Continuing westward, we come to Spain (pp. 46-48, placed between the section *Egypt and Syria* and the section *Iran*). The author sites the *Liber Pontificalis* for Spanish brocades with silver of the years 827-844, and mentions the famous *ṭirāz* of Hishām II (976-1009) which reminds one of the Fatimid *ṭirāz*. We have already remarked that the "Mamluk byssus" of figure 71 should be assigned to Spain; but in general the copious illustrations (figs. 72-95) present admirably the development of Spanish textiles right down to the Christian ones of the fifteenth-sixteenth century. The reviewer wishes to pause only for the very important question of the Boston "Baghdad" silk, and the related types. This

silk, in figure 66, is entitled "Mesopotamia, Baghdad, late 11th-early 12th century," thus following the ideas of Elsberg and Guest. The inscription states that it was made in Baghdad, but the Arabic spelling of the inscription proves that this silk can have been made *only* somewhere in the West (in this case, Spain) and cannot have been made in Baghdad or in any land east of the Mediterranean.³⁶ As this silk is technically and stylistically similar to the "lion-strangler" (fig. 72) and the "sphinxes" (fig. 73), these others, since the days of von Falke believed to be Spanish, may now be fully recognized as Spanish. But the author has separated these three silks, and given the two latter the captions "Hispano-Moresque or Baghdad."

The textiles after 1500 are arranged in three groups, Safavid Persia, Mughal India, and Ottoman Turkey, thus satisfying both cultural and chronological logic. By this period the medieval tradition is entirely lost, except for some Turkish ogival designs which grew out of the Mamluk ogival scheme. Many of the designs are taken over from book illustrations, and the gift of the weaver lies in making them into an all-over repeat pattern. Thus in these silks and velvets full of landscapes, hunting scenes, and literary heroes, there is no creative *textile* design, in the sense that there had been in the high artistic periods of the Middle Ages. The inspiration is in the medium of painting; the execution, in that of weaving. The patterns which are rather more abstract, such as single flowers, or lattices, or scalloped cartouches and wavy stems, or the fantastic chinoiserie style, are spiritually very akin to the Baroque and Rococo of Europe. This impression is enhanced by the descriptions and information of the many European travelers during the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. After 1500 the Islamic arts are, to all intents

³⁵ Michele Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*. Seconda edizione modificata e accresciuta dall'autore. Pubblicata con note a cura di Carlo Alfonzo Nallino, Rome, 1935, vol. 2, p. 513; for Ḥarīrī's biography, pp. 265-266.

³⁶ See *The inscription of the Boston "Baghdad" silk*, by the writer, in the present volume, pp. 191-194.

and purposes, of our modern times. For these reasons they make a strong appeal to those familiar with contemporary Europe, and hence have been better appreciated and better studied than anything before 1500. Many of the Persian silks are delightful (see figs. 123-125), but the real distinction of the Safavid weaver is his technical perfection (fig. 126, *Catalogue*, No. 126, p. 117). Mughal design, partly inspired by Persia, often expresses the Hindu's instinctive feeling for the life within flowers or plants.

It is surely due to a misprint that, under India, we find the remark, "No fabrics earlier than of Mughal times have been preserved" (p. 54). And for Turkey, "The earliest preserved fabrics do not antedate the sixteenth century" (p. 55). In fact, costumes of fifteenth-century sultans are preserved in Istanbul. A curious statement, "The Turks were adherents of the Sunna, the orthodox creed, which, in opposition to the Shia, looks askance at the representation of living creatures" (p. 53) cannot be accepted. First, *all* Muslim artists, from the Umayyads onward, made human figures in all media, regardless of sect; and secondly, Turkish manuscripts are full of paintings of people, and the sultans loved to have their portraits made.

A final word as to the influence of the Near East upon Europe. The author's first sentence in dealing with Europe is: "It is axiomatic to state that the art of weaving elaborate designs on drawlooms originated in the East, and only slowly migrated westward" (p. 55). We may add that already in France in the fifth century orientals had introduced "des métiers nouveaux (teinture de la pourpre, art de filer et de tisser la soie) . . . filer . . . à la syrienne."³⁷ Naples was making "costly

purple" during the years 750-850.³⁸ An interesting article by Lopez appeared in June 1952, when Mrs. Weibel's book was already in press; here Lopez gives evidence for the production of silk in the Po valley in the first half of the tenth century.³⁹ So silk weaving in Italy evidently began long before the disruption of Near East trade caused by the Mongol invasions (p. 55), and it was doubtless further stimulated by the transfer of the Norman administration from Palermo to Naples in 1226 (p. 58). The orientalist will find much to enjoy in various Italian silks, such as figures 169, 170-172, 179, and 180 (the latter based on the Mamluk ogive); then bits of misunderstood Mamluk inscriptions, in figures 194 and 195. The Mamluk ogive continues with Jacopo Bellini (fig. 217) and there is much Islamic influences in the velvets (see fig. 225). But after the fifteenth century we leave Europe to the Europeans; indeed, the current now sets in the other way.

In discussing the pre-Islamic textiles, and the Islamic ones before 1500, the reviewer has disagreed on a number of points with the author. This divergence is simply due to the state of our knowledge and is inherent in the very nature and history of the fabrics. In this realm there are very few objective art-historical documents on which the student can rely absolutely; this is especially true in the pre-Islamic period. Even in the Islamic period we have only two or three Umayyad, and perhaps half a dozen early Abbasid textiles; the silk of Bukhtakin in the Louvre, of about A.D. 961; the one known Būyid silk of about A.D. 1000; the Boston "Baghdad" silk, and some Mamluk ones—this is a handful which can be certainly dated and localized, chiefly by their

³⁸ *Liber Pontificalis*, Beissel, *op. cit.*, col. 370.

³⁹ Robert Sabatino Lopez, *China silk in Europe in the Yuan period*, Journ. American Oriental Society, vol. 72, No. 2 (April-June 1952), p. 72, and p. 73 note 3, quoting a book by Solmi, published in 1932.

³⁷ Edouard Salin, *La civilisation mérovingienne*, 1^{ère} partie, *Les idées et les faits*, Paris, 1949, p. 143, with further details on pp. 414-416.

inscriptions. Others have the dates established by the dates of European church treasures, or by the excavations of Sir Aurel Stein in Central Asia. Most of the *ṭirāz* are not pertinent to the history of art, for, excepting the Yemen ikats and the late Fatimid *ṭirāz*, they are usually on a plain cloth weave, and without patterns. In other words, the student of Islamic textiles must rely on a knowledge of Islamic art and civilization as a whole, and of the style of a period, as, in the case of the three Seljuq silks already mentioned (figs. 112, 114, and 115), there is a general agreement, for stylistic reasons, that they are indeed of the Seljuq period. On the other hand, to one observer a certain silk "looks Byzantine," while to another, it "looks Persian." As long as our present state of knowledge continues, such differences will occur. It is possible that a thorough technical study might help, but this would have to cover all the textiles in all the museums in the world, before the art historian could say what technique may or may not be tied in with the evidence of the Arabic literary sources, with epigraphy, and with the known art-historical facts. The reviewer therefore agrees wholeheartedly with Mrs. Weibel's statement in her *Foreword*, "Yet much essential work remains to be done and many questions are still controversial." Indeed, it may be years before some of the problems raised in this book can be settled.

Thus Mrs. Weibel's book is most valuable, provocative, and fascinating. A foretaste of it is known to everyone in her work on the exhibitions, "Two Thousand Years of Silk," and more recently, "Two Thousand Years of Tapestry Weaving," which she produced single-handed. The present volume, the culmination of everything she has achieved before, is on such a scale that it can only be compared with that of von Falke. It is quite remarkable that in 1913 von Falke based his studies entirely on material in the European

and oriental museums (if memory serves), while today Mrs. Weibel can base hers entirely on American collections. Many people enjoy our museums in a general way; it is quite another matter to know them so thoroughly and to be able to make such a rich and rewarding selection from their collections. Von Falke illustrated for comparison other types of art (Spanish ivory carvings, a page of the Echternach codex, a wall painting from Kyzil) and he covered all of Chinese and Japanese textiles. For China Mrs. Weibel has included only the Han silks of Noin Ula, because of their significance for the Near East. But her plates are generally larger and better than von Falke's; and her *Catalogue*, a means not used by von Falke, enables the reader to see each textile with a detail which would have been difficult to present if this information had been incorporated into the text. And no one can do justice to Mrs. Weibel's work and thought without really reading the *Catalogue*; it is not enough to read the *History* and to look at the plates. The reader remains with a vivid impression of the importance of textiles in the history of art, and of the love of sheer physical beauty expressed by the designers and weavers. Every student of Islamic and pre-Islamic art who has used von Falke's book will have to have Mrs. Weibel's new work constantly at hand.

FLORENCE E. DAY

Le Baptistère de St. Louis. By D. S. Rice. Paris, Les Editions du Chêne, 1951. 30 pp., 26 figs., 40 pls. In portfolio. frs. 2000.

The Islamic brass basin with richly inlaid designs in silver and gold, which forms the subject of this important monograph, has been in the Louvre since 1852. Nothing is known about its early history, especially how it reached France. However, when Piganiol de la Force published his *Description de Paris* in

1742, he mentioned, among other facts, that in 1606 this basin was brought from the Sainte Chapelle of the Château du Bois de Vincennes to Fontainebleau for the baptism of the future Louis XIII. Later, in the eighteenth century, the same vessel was referred to as the "Baptistère de St. Louis." This designation is erroneous ("baptistère" being a building in which a baptismal font is kept, not the font itself), quite apart from the fact that the object in question is later than the period of Louis IX; yet this romantic designation has stuck to this unusual piece. It concluded its dynastic and ecclesiastical history when it was used for the baptism of Prince Napoléon-Eugène in 1856; it was by then a national treasure to which, sometime after 1791, two silver plaques bearing the arms of France had been affixed. In the last century, especially since the rise of Muslim archaeology, it has often been referred to and illustrated in articles and books dealing with Islamic art. Still, it can be said that in spite of its earlier official court function and its later appreciation as an outstanding art object, the basin has never been properly studied and understood until D. S. Rice started investigating it.

After having first published an article¹ dealing with the various coats of arms on the piece, a necessary prerequisite for its proper dating, Rice presents us now with a full-fledged monograph on the history and inlaid designs of the vessel.² Just as in earlier times, before the development of photography and color reproduction, it was impossible to grasp and fully appreciate the rich beauty of the diversi-

fied stained-glass decorations of a cathedral, so it is also with this basin; it needed not only the historical learning of the author and his knowledge of the sources, but likewise his abilities as a photographer and draftsman, to bring out all its hidden beauty and its complex story at the same time. His many fine, detailed drawings and photographs of individual scenes and figures, often several times their original size, now make it possible to read and enjoy the various scenes on the basin, as one does the illustrations of a book.

In analyzing the scenes on the four panels of the exterior of the basin Rice recognized that the figures represent two ethnically and socially different groups attached to the Mamluk palace, each distinguished by facial traits and the style of clothing, the sword-carrying amirs of Tartar extraction here approaching the presence of the sultan, while the indigenous huntsmen and servitors are respectfully waiting. The inside displays battle and hunting episodes, with the main panel showing a heavily armored horseman who has just shot an arrow through the neck of his adversary. All the various scenes and decorative friezes represent the work of an outstanding artist, Master (*mu'allim*) Muhammad b. al-Zain, who signed his *chef d'oeuvre* no less than six times. Unfortunately, there is no inscription on the basin that would indicate for whom it was made, or when. Even certain clues that might originally have been present are now lost. Thus, when the silver plaques with the arms of France were applied, the surface of the two shields on the inner rim was cut away, and with it possibly a blazon or inscription; and any coats of arms that may have been applied to garments disappeared forever when certain parts of the finely engraved silver inlay fell out.

The basin has long been regarded as an example of Mesopotamian and, in particular, Mosul work from the second part of the thir-

¹ *The blazons of the "Baptistère de Saint Louis,"* Bull. School of Oriental and African Studies, vol. 13 (1950), pp. 367-380.

² After this was written the long-planned English edition of this monograph has appeared: D. S. Rice, *The baptistère de Saint Louis—A masterpiece of Islamic metal work, with drawings and photographs by the author.* Paris, Les Editions du Chêne, 1953, 30 pp., 40 pls.

teenth century. M. Aga-Oglu was the first who thought it to be Syrian (and thus Mamluk) and to date it to the first quarter of the fourteenth century. This latter assumption has been sustained by Rice, though with some corrections. He assumes it to be just Mamluk, that is, either Egyptian or Syrian, with certain indications pointing, however, to Egypt. For instance, when Rice skillfully analyzed the design on the bottom of the basin he recognized its Nilotic character, since a crocodile swims among the other aquatic animals in the interstices of an elaborately arranged pattern of fish.

While describing one of the amir panels of the outside, Rice suggests that one of the figures of the first group represents the Amir Salār, who rose to be Viceroy of Egypt (*nā'ib al-salṭanah*), before finally falling into disgrace after the third accession of Muhammad b. Qalā'ūn, and died shortly afterward in prison. The basis for this identification was the coat of arms on the amir's gaiters, his beard, and peculiar garments, which are said to tally with Salār's sartorial idiosyncrasies as described in contemporary literature. This leads Rice to place the basin between 1290 and 1310, a date corroborated by a bowl in Berlin with representations in a similar style which was made for Salār's brother, the Amir Sumūl. A third indication for the approximate date providing us with a *terminus ante quem* might be the fact that the amirs wear their hair long, which indicates a date before 715 H. (1315), since it was in this year that Muhammad b. Qalā'ūn shaved his hair after his return from the pilgrimage and the amirs then did likewise.³

Rice's identification of an individual figure below the rank of ruler on a piece of metalwork is most original and challenging, but the

"baptistère," with its realistically rendered and well-preserved scenes, offers an unusual opportunity to isolate an outstanding court official of the period who was easily characterized. If such a feat is possible, it is probable here, though one wonders why a man of Salār's prominence is not given a higher position in the line-up of the amirs. On the other hand, if Rice's identification of this amir proves to be correct, one might be tempted to go one step farther and identify the first standing amir (holding a drawn sword) as Salār's close friend the Amir Sanjar al-Jawlī, as his coat of arms was identical with that of Salār. His dominant position in the court scene would fit with his function as major-domo (*ustādār*). Unfortunately, the years of Sanjar's amirate are longer than those of Salār, so that this identification if accepted would be of no further help for a more precise dating.

Another unsuspected discovery by Rice, the existence of two coats of arms, namely, the "lion rampant" and a *tamghah*, under a later superimposed *fleur-de-lis* of Oriental or European origin, has so far not helped to connect the basin with definite persons. Only so much seems to be fairly certain, that they represent the coat of arms of the master for whom the basin was originally made and his officer. Rice has hypothetically and with good reason assumed that the "lion rampant" might be the blazon of Baybars II, who might have been led to this choice by the "lion passant" of Baybars I. If this is so, the deletion of the two coats of arms and the subsequent superimposition of the *fleur-de-lis* could then be explained by a changed political situation about A.D. 1300 and, in particular, by the short duration of Baybars Jashnegir's reign. Be that as it may, the precise study of the problem by Rice, first in his article and then in this monograph, establishes the place of origin and the date of this important piece more precisely than ever before.

³ L. A. Mayer, *Mamluk costume*, Geneva, 1952, pp. 17/18, 31, quoting Maqrizī, *Sulūk*, ed. M. Ziada, Cairo, 1934-42, vol. 2, p. 148.

In spite of all the close attention given to this masterpiece and the ingenuity with which it has been treated in this publication, a number of curious puzzles are still unsolved and may possibly remain so forever. One is struck, for instance, by the fact that all the amirs and servitors seem to be attending a sultan, some even in the act of paying homage, and yet the ruler himself is not represented in this context. This is quite unlike the standard iconography as we find it in some preceding and contemporary pieces of inlaid metalwork.⁴ One would expect that some or all of the roundels now filled by the hunters (pls. VI and VII) would be occupied by throne scenes,⁵ like those in the interior of the basin. How this curious lack of the central figure came about can probably no longer be properly explained, since we have no precise information about the person for whom the basin was made (probably the officer with a *tamghah* for his blazon). In view of the instability on the highest level in this period, one could imagine, though it cannot, of course, be proven, that the four roundels might originally have been destined for representations of the ruler, but that due to some change in the political setup, they were exchanged for the hunters on horseback as a more innocuous subject.⁶

⁴ E.g., (a) The ewer by Ibrāhīm b. Mawāliyā in the Louvre (D. S. Rice, *Studies in Islamic metal work—II*, Bull. School of Oriental and African Studies, vol. 15 [1953], figs. 10–11); (b) the basin by Ali b. Ḥamūd in the Archaeological Museum, Tehran; (c) a basin in the style of Muhammad b. al-Zain, formerly in the possession of H. Kevorkian, New York (*Metalwork from Islamic countries*, ed. R. Ettinghausen, Ann Arbor, 1943, No. 48, where the date given is half a century too early; Mayer, *op. cit.*, pls. 4–5), etc.

⁵ This is the case in the closest parallel to the “baptistère,” the basin formerly belonging to Mr. Kevorkian (see footnote 4, c), where such scenes of amirs and hunters are four times interrupted by roundels with an enthroned ruler.

⁶ It seems unlikely that the two hunters wearing

The occasion itself seems to have some connection with the hunt, since not only the servitors are shown with various hunting animals and captured prey, but because, also, one of the amirs carries a doe or fawn. This situation might explain how the amirs could “approach the presence of the Sultan” fully armed, while on more formal indoor occasions “armor as well as swords had to be left in the ante-rooms before one appeared in the presence of the Sultan, a very necessary precaution, as many events have shown.”⁷ That the aspects of a combined throne-and-hunting scene are possible in the repertory of inlaid metalwork has only recently been shown by Rice in the case of the ewer by Ibrāhīm ibn Mawāliyā in the Musée du Louvre⁸ and this is probably also intended here.

Finally, it is tantalizing that it is not possible to establish the people whom the unidentified armored horseman on the basin’s interior (who might be Baybars II) is defeating. It seems natural to think them to be Mongols, as Rice does (p. 26). Yet, there are no representations of Mongol warriors (or Chinese, for that matter) wearing just this kind of close-fitting, unbrimmed headgear with a pompon on top. Actually, the supplicating amir and the last amir on the right of the first outside panel wear about the same kind of headgear as the enemy with the arrow through his neck, that is to say, a rather low head cover with two trailing pieces, like streamers, at the back, and a pompon on top, except that the amirs have one or three feathers fastened to the pompon. However, Rice could be right

the garments of an amir (pl. VII) represent the Sultan; it is, however, just in front of these two roundels that the amirs are seen in the act of homage.

⁷ Mayer, *op. cit.*, p. 41, after Sire Jean de Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, ed. Natalis de Wailley, Paris, 1874, p. 188.

⁸ Rice, *Studies in Islamic metal work—II*, figs. 10 and 11.

after all, since Muhammad b. al-Zain was probably not present at the battle and may never have seen Mongol soldiers or their equipment and thus rendered them according to the little information he had or what he imagined them to be.

It would be unfair not to stress that all these comments are only possible because Rice has brilliantly unraveled the themes of the "baptistère" and elucidated its proper historical setting. Thus these comments are meant merely to indicate to the reader that this publication is not only a joy to look at and most instructive to read, but is also a very stimulating piece of cultural history, centered around one of the finest pieces of medieval Muslim decorative art ever made. Indeed, it can be said that this new combination of historical research and iconographic interpretation, supported by detailed photographs and drawings, has given us a new technique of how to deal with Muslim metalwork, and will thus represent a landmark in the field of Islamic archaeology. It is in this respect to be regretted that, probably due to the demands of the publisher and other planned but yet unfinished studies, the author had to restrict himself to the main aspects of the basin of Muhammad b. al-Zain, without going into its relationship to other pieces, even to the only other signed piece of the same master. The various studies on metalwork which Rice has brought out in the meantime and the announcement of new monographs, however, all make us look forward to these further investigations with greatest anticipation.

RICHARD ETTINGHAUSEN

A Selected and Annotated Bibliography of Books and Periodicals in Western Languages Dealing with the Near and Middle East, with Special Emphasis on Medieval and Modern Times. Edited by Richard Ettinghausen. Prepared under

the auspices of the Committee on Near Eastern Studies, American Council of Learned Societies, and published by the Middle East Institute (Washington, D. C., 1952). \$1.50.

This critical and selective bibliography, edited by R. Ettinghausen, with contributions from more than 40 scholars, is the most comprehensive work of its kind which has yet been undertaken in this country. It contains 1,719 entries, listing periodicals as well as books, maps, and monographs (but not articles in periodicals, encyclopedias, etc.), and is divided according to period and subject headings. Particularly valuable are the short critical annotations which accompany most items.

The Near and Middle East as embraced by this bibliography covers the area from Muslim Spain to India. For the ancient period special sections are devoted to "art and archeology" as a general heading. Material dealing with the medieval period is categorized in a more detailed fashion: Islamic art and archeology are broken down into subsections consisting of architecture, painting, and the various decorative arts. A special heading is devoted to numismatics. A short section is devoted to non-Islamic Near Eastern art.

It is hardly necessary to stress the undoubted value of this bibliography, particularly to students, libraries, and others who, though not specialists, in one phase or another of Near and Middle Eastern studies, stand in need of a guide to the literature of the field. Nevertheless, even the specialist will find it extremely useful when venturing into fields outside his own particular realm of endeavor.

Since any static bibliography of necessity soon becomes dated, it is planned to issue supplements to this bibliography to include new material as it appears.¹ With these in hand all

¹ According to latest information, a *Supplement* to this *Bibliography*, containing mostly publications

who are concerned with the Near and Middle East should find welcome guidance to the rapidly growing volume of literature appearing on these areas.

H. W. GLIDDEN

Sammlung Lochow, Chinesische Bronzen, I. By Gustav Ecke. Peking 1943, 68 pp., 78 plates; and *Sammlung Lochow, Chinesische Bronzen, II.* By H. J. von Lochow. Peking 1944, 48 pp., 32 plates. (Obtainable only direct from Mr. H. J. von Lochow, 51/III, Ubierring, Köln am Rhein, Germany).

These two catalogues of a collection of thirty-eight choice items form a substantial addition to the existing literature of Chinese bronzes. The objects are reproduced in fine collotype print, after photographs and rubbings, on folded sheets of Chinese *hsüan* paper. The text was printed by the Fu Jen Press of the Catholic University in Peking. Both volumes are bound in the pleasantly standardized style of the Chinese book. The collector, who after many years of residence in China left Peking for Germany in 1950, was given permission by the Chinese authorities to take his valuable collection with him, except for one large bell (vol. 1, No. 1) that was proclaimed a National Treasure.

In the first volume, G. Ecke gives concise descriptions of twenty vessels, a bronze ladle, and a lamp. Several of these bronzes were published previously in two albums edited by Huang Chün, a well-known art dealer in Peking.¹ A pair of *kuei* had been published in *Monumenta Serica*.² Another four pieces which

brought out between the summer of 1951 and the end of 1953, is now in press. The price of the *Supplement* will be 50 cents.

¹ Huang Chün, *Tsun-ku-chai so chien chi chin t'u*, Peking, 1936; *idem*, *Yeh chung p'ien yü*, vols. 1, 2, 3, Peking, 1935, 1937, 1942.

² Max Loehr, *Ein Sockel-Kuei aus der Zeit des*

figure in older Chinese catalogues impart something of the dignity of tradition to the collection they have now entered, viz, a *fang ting*, formerly in Juan Yüan's possession (No. 6); a *yu*, from Wu Ta-ch'eng's collection (No. 14); a spouted container with a tiger-handle from Ch'in, from Tuan Fang's collection (No. 20); and a Han grain measure, from the Ch'en Chieh-ch'i collection (No. 21). Finally, there is a large Early Chou tripod (No. 4), which may be identical with a specimen in *Hsi-ch'ing ku chien* (ch. 6: 36).

A longer discussion is devoted to the *nao* (No. 1), the bell referred to above, a piece of imposing size and rare decoration. The type is paralleled in usually small clapperless bells of the Shang dynasty, which are placed upright on their hollow stems, their opening pointing upward. The main ornament is a dissolved *t'ao-t'ieh* of advanced Western Chou style, somewhat like that of a bell of the same type in the Holmes Collection.³ A comparable and likewise large *nao* is in the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology in Toronto. It is not mentioned in Ecke's discussion. Ecke's tentative date is "Early Chou." However, in technique, design and rhythm, the *décor* departs from typical Early Chou ornament. It is unlikely that the piece antedates Late Western Chou; possibly we have an instance of an archaizing style before us.

The rectangular *ting* (No. 6) is important because of its inscription, which is translated in accordance with Juan Yüan's ⁴ "Opferfleisch-Ting des Obermagiers." The character *ch'in*, ordinarily "poultry," hence "sacrificial meat," must here be taken, however, as a personal name, as is attested by its occur-

K'ungtse, *Monumenta Serica*, vol. 7 (Peking, 1942), 227-234.

³ Umehara, Sueji, *Shina kodō seika*, Osaka 1933, vol. 2, pl. 158.

⁴ Juan Yüan, *Chi-ku-chai chung ting i ch'i k'uan chih* (preface dated 1804), ch. 4, fol. 5a.

rence in the *Ch'in kuei*.⁵ The inscription, therefore, has to be rendered thus: "Ting of the great prayer-master Ch'in."⁶ Both these vessels were undoubtedly cast by the same person, Ch'in, a son of the Duke of Chou, the first lord of Lu, and can fairly safely be dated in the reign of Ch'eng Wang, c. 1024-1005 B.C.

Truly monumental examples of the bronze-caster's art are two pedestalled *kuei* in a gorgeous baroque style (Nos. 12, 13). The pair is said to form part of a set of six identical vessels unearthed in the vicinity of the ancient town of Lin-tzu. It can be assumed, therefore, that they came from the tomb of a Prince of Ch'i. Their date is rather earlier than the time of Confucius (as formerly proposed by this reviewer⁷ and stated in the Catalogue).

The *yu*, Catalogue No. 14,⁸ contains a problematic inscription, the interpretation of which is based on Wu Ta-ch'eng's *Ch'ia-chai chi ku lu* (ch. 18:17): "ti Chi, tsu Ting, fu Kuei" 帝乙祖丁父癸. The glyph corresponding to *ti* has the shape of a small triangle pointing downward. Its reading is not safely established. A parallel to the present inscription occurs in Liu Hsin-yüan's *Ch'i-ku-shih chi chin wen shu* (ch. 1:20), where we have the same sequence of "X Chi, tsu Ting, fu Kuei" in a slightly different arrangement. As it seems quite likely that this sequence represents a genealogical line, X may correspond to a "great-ancestor" or "ancestress." Proof of this, however, is still wanting.

Two Han objects are important because of their exact dates. The vase, No. 21, has

⁵ Bernhard Karlgren, *Yin and Chou in Chinese bronzes*, Bull. Museum Far Eastern Antiquities, vol. 8 (Stockholm, 1936), p. 31, B 9.

⁶ *Ibid.*, B 10.

⁷ See note 2 above.

⁸ B. Karlgren, *New studies on Chinese bronzes*, Bull. Museum Far Eastern Antiquities vol. 9 (1937), pl. 43: 512.

an incised inscription dated in accordance with A.D. 12, while the oil lamp, No. 22, was made in the year corresponding to 65 B.C.

The text of the second volume was prepared by the collector himself, who in his preface acknowledges that while forming this collection he had the experienced counsel of Dr. Otto Burchard. In this volume are presented fourteen vessels and two axes, beautiful, rare, and even unique specimens, none of which has been assigned a date later than Shang. Only one piece, the *chüeh* No. 1, had been published before.⁹ Most of these bronzes are said to have come from Anyang. The statement will have to be taken *cum grano salis*, as it is based on dealers' information that may be reliable but cannot be proven. The descriptions are brief and give an adequate idea of the condition and appearance of the originals. A few debatable interpretations of the designs are without consequence, as the author refrains from theorizing about the iconography. There are three pieces in this collection which in grandeur, beauty, and significance rise beyond the very high level of the rest: the *li-chia*, No. 9, the ax, No. 15, and the house-shaped urn, No. 13.

An exceedingly rare type is the square *ku*, No. 4, which by way of its décor and inscription is linked to a *chüeh* in the same collection (No. 3). The one known comparable square vase is not in a Japanese collection but in the Wu-ying-tien of the Peking Palace.¹⁰ Another rarity is the *hu*-like vase, No. 5, which exhibits the strange motif of a scorpion in a rigidly geometrical design, but unmistakable. There is a counterpart to this vase in the Louvre.¹¹ Whether the goblet, No. 6, is a Shang piece,

⁹ *Yeh chung p'ien yü*, vol. 3, *shang*, 50.

¹⁰ Jung Keng, *Wu-ying-tien i ch'i t'u lu*, Peking, 1934, fol. 133.

¹¹ J. Leroy Davidson, *Supplementary notes on Chinese bronzes*, Parnassus, vol. 10 (New York, Jan. 1938), p. 31.

seems questionable. We know of Western Chou bronzes which are distinguished by the same kind of flanges, zone of vertical ribs, and décor. The full-round heads occupying the broad shoulder of the *tsun* No. 8 are explained as buffalo heads; this is contradicted by the shape of the convolute horns, which appear to be ram's horns.

An extremely important type is the *chia*, No. 9, the body of which recalls Neolithic *li* types, rightly stressed by the author. With this *chia*, an actual specimen comparable to the drawing in *Po ku t'u lu* (ch. 15:20)¹² has appeared for the first time, and in a magnificent sample at that. As the fine cavities of the ornament, *t'ao-t'ieh* flush with spirals in low relief, are filled with a black substance, the patterns stand out in perfect clarity. The vessel has no inscription.

Surprising is the decoration of the low and wide goblet, No. 11, which, on account of its silhouette, might be called a *tsun* rather than a *kuei*, showing a row of fairly realistically rendered elephants marching clockwise, one behind the other, with their ears standing out free. The only parallel known to the reviewer is offered in a *ku* in the possession of C. T. Loo.¹³ The design of the elephants resembles those in various published bronzes.¹⁴ A comparable type of elephant in-the-round, a container with a rich and varied surface decoration, is in the Freer Gallery.¹⁵ Jung Keng as-

signs this vessel type to the Western Chou period.¹⁶ This seems the likely date also of the Lochow piece, No. 11.

Two hitherto unknown characters are exhibited in the one-character inscriptions of a shapely *ting* (No. 12) and a heavy ax decorated with a *t'ao-t'ieh* mask in bold relief (No. 14). Between the horns or ears of this mask there appears a glyph consisting of a *min* (Rad. 108) and a T-shaped figure on top of it.¹⁷

A singularly impressive monument is the large, heavy, tanged ritual ax, No. 15 (weight: 5,850 grams), decorated with a *t'ao-t'ieh* in openwork. The type first became known by a specimen in the David-Weill Collection, Paris (*London Exhibition Catalogue*, No. 197), which is somewhat smaller and typologically more advanced than the present one. A third piece, almost as large as the Lochow ax, as yet unpublished, is in the Jannings Collection in the Peking Palace Museum.

The last object is a *kuang* or *i*, again of extraordinary size, without a lid (No. 16). The author assigns a Shang date to it, while the reviewer would favor an Early Chou date. An animal mask occupying the main zone of the vessel shows a feature commonly met with only in archaic designs, viz, the lower jaw.

MAX LOEHR

Early Chinese Coinage. By Wang Yü-chün. Numismatic notes and monographs, No. 122. The American Numismatic Society, New York, 1951, viii + 254 pp., 3 maps, 55 plates. \$5.00.

The subject of early Chinese coinage is extremely complicated, as anyone who has been asked to identify such objects well knows. However, although the study of Chinese nu-

¹² Cf. Jung Keng, *Shang Chou i ch'i t'ung k'ao*, Peking, 1941, vol. 1, p. 383, fig. 19.

¹³ Phyllis Ackerman, *Ritual bronzes of ancient China*, New York, 1945, pl. 43.

¹⁴ B. Karlgren, *A catalogue of the Chinese bronzes in the Alfred F. Pillsbury collection*, Minneapolis, 1952, No. 39 (*fang i*); *Senoku Seishō*, vol. 2, No. 94 (*kuang*); S. Umehara, *Shina kodō seika*, vol. 2, pl. 143.

¹⁵ *A descriptive and illustrative catalogue of Chinese bronzes acquired during the administration of John Ellerton Lodge*, comp. by staff of the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, 1946, pl. 24.

¹⁶ *Shang Chou i ch'i t'ung k'ao*, vol. 1, p. 431, No. 13.

¹⁷ T. Takada, *Ku chou p'ien*, Tokyo, 1925, ch. 22, fol. 19b, last column.

numismatics dates back, as our author tells us, to sixth-century China, it was not until 1864 that scientific numismatics was really established in that country. In the West, while a number of able men since 1877 have produced works on the subject, these suffer from the same sort of defects as other early Western sinological studies. It must be remembered that sinology in the West has only come to a high peak of scholarship over the past 50 years. Mr. Wang's work therefore is very timely and is written with due regard for the work of his predecessors, both oriental and occidental.

The book begins with a first-rate introduction giving a historical sketch of ancient Chinese numismatics, together with an account of both the difficulties attendant on the study and the methods used. This is followed by a chapter on the development of commerce in ancient China from the Shang period through that of the Warring States, which gives an adequate background for the discussion of coinage.

The third chapter deals with money before coinage, that is, the use of cowries for currency. This is based on sound archeological and epigraphical evidence covering both modern excavations and the work of modern scholars on the classics, and oracle bone and ceremonial bronze inscriptions.

The next three chapters cover the various types of coinage, i.e., spade coinage, knife coinage, the "Yüan Chin" of Ch'u, and round coinage. All are treated with the same careful scholarship, plus careful descriptions and lists of types, mints, types of ancient character used, and much interesting historical material which bears on the dating and use of the currency.

Chapter VII treats of monetary designations and units, giving a full discussion of the origins of these designations. This is amplified by tables showing the weights of the various units, together with the names of the mints

from which they came. Thus we get a picture of fluctuation in weight to be expected, both between various categories and within single categories.

The last chapter deals with right of coinage based on classical and historical texts. It seems that coinage was not a royal prerogative but a privilege of both feudatory and tributary states. This is followed by two short appendices, the first of which discusses various objects wrongly regarded as money. The second appendix treats of spade money of probably post-Chou origin.

Three useful maps show us China from the eighth to the fifth centuries, the fifth to the third, and the distribution of coin types from ca. 500-250 B.C.

The 55 plates contain good illustrations of some 169 types of currency, the great majority of which represent objects in the collection of the Museum of the American Numismatic Society. The key to the plates also gives page references to the types discussed and this is a very useful feature. However, one could wish that a good alphabetical index had been included, as no book of this type can be too well indexed. Mr. Wang's work is well documented by footnotes indicating both Chinese and Western sources.

The Wade-Giles system of romanization is used, but the equivalent Chinese characters are not always given. This perhaps is not too great a lack for Westerners familiar with the bibliography of the field, but it nevertheless is a lack which a list of the works consulted could easily have remedied. Unfortunately, such a bibliography is not included.

The book makes no attempt to be exhaustive in the sense that Li Tso-hsien's great work *Ku ch'üan hui* does, and which was printed between 1864 and 1875. What it does, and this is its most valuable feature, is to bring together and synthesize the latest work bearing upon the subject, thus permitting

us to use such works as Li's from a far more critical point of view than hitherto possible and thus enhancing their usefulness.

In addition to this the monograph gives in a relatively brief compass a well-rounded view of early Chinese coinage as seen from a number of angles—historical, archeological, epigraphical, as well as numismatical.

All in all, both Mr. Wang and the American Numismatic Society are to be congratulated on this erudite and valuable publication.

A. G. WENLEY

A Catalogue of the Chinese Bronzes in the Alfred F. Pillsbury Collection. By Bernhard Karlgren. Minneapolis (University of Minnesota Press), 1952. 228 pp. including 114 plates. \$25.

The collection of Chinese bronzes formed by the late Alfred F. Pillsbury of Minneapolis is the finest private collection in the Occident. The bronzes extend in time from the Shang to the Han Dynasties, the emphasis being on the ritual vessels of Shang and Early Chou. These dynasties are admirably represented by Mr. Pillsbury's examples of *Chüeh*, *Ku*, *Liting*, *Ting*, square *Ting*, *Hsien*, *I*, *Chia*, several types of *Yu*, *Tsun*, including an Owl-*Tsun*, *Chih*, *Kuang*, *Kuei*, *P'an*, *Lei*, and *Ho*. From these early periods there are also examples of pole tops, pole sockets, appliqué, birds on domed bases, axle caps, a libation ladle, a libation "stirrer," a tube, a dagger-ax, a ritual ax, and a sacrificial knife.

Middle Chou is represented by *Hsü*, *Hu*, *Ih*, and *P'an*; two water buffaloes, illuminatingly different as to conception and treatment, axle caps, and a fantastic bird which may have been a sort of finial.

The period of the Huai style is represented, more extensively, by *Ting*, *Chien*, *Hu*, *Tou*, a tiger, a creature which is apparently a hoofed feline (No. 93), a kneeling man holding an offering, bells, wine vessels, winged

dragons, falcons, dagger-axes, and a beautiful, unusually long belt hook.

One article only is from the Han Dynasty, a gilt toilet box.

The *Catalogue* illustrates one hundred and five objects on one hundred and fourteen plates. The text is by Mr. Bernhard Karlgren, who gives a description of the décor of each article, and a translation of the inscription when it is decipherable. Mr. Karlgren disapproves of some of the usual names of the ritual vessels; he considers that the *Kuang* should be called *Ih*; and for the *Yu* he prefers the name *Hu*, but he compromises on the term "wine can." Mr. Karlgren also takes definite exception to the present reviewer's interpretation of the décor on the early vessels, his principal objection being that whereas he sees the *T'ao-t'ie* and multitudinous dragons, the reviewer sees the tiger as the basic element of the décor, and finds no dragon on any ritual bronze.

The décor, in the reviewer's opinion, represents relics of prehistoric animal worship common to all peoples, including the ancestors of the Shang rulers. The main element of the décor is clearly a carnivore and a feline with its snarling jaws, numerous fangs, claws, tiger-like tail, and the "Shang eye," so similar to the actual tiger's eye. The tiger was a god wherever it appeared, in Siberia, Korea, Manchuria, China, Indo-China, Malaya, India. It has been a guardian throughout Chinese history up to the present. The tiger appears on the bronzes with natural rounded ears (*Catalogue*, pls. 14, 54; Waterbury, *Early Chinese Symbols and Literature; Vestiges and Speculations*, pls. 1, 2, 3, 4, 23, 50); more frequently it appears with the horns of the water buffalo, the bull or the ram. All the animals on the bronzes are originally natural forms which in the course of time and changing beliefs have become greatly stylized and sometimes composite. A composite creature is no

longer a divinity and usually becomes a guardian. It is only the natural animal form that is a deity. The reviewer finds it impossible to take seriously the excerpt from the *Lü shih ch-un ts'iu* quoted by Mr. Karlgren (p. 12). It seems to be merely a bit of folklore invented to explain, very inadequately, an ancient unknown symbol. It may be noted that the reference in the quotation is specifically to "the Ting of the Chou." The reviewer considers that the original tiger deity borrows the symbols of the bovine and ovine animals and becomes a composite guardian, remaining on the ritual vessels though the religious beliefs have changed, just as there are survivals of the animal gods in most religions, i.e., in the avatars and mounts of Hinduism, in the ox soul of Zoroastrianism, in the Jātaka tales of Buddhism, in the evangelistic animals (once Sumerian deities) of Christianity.

Mr. Karlgren misquotes the reviewer in saying that she stated that the "Kuei dragon" on the bronzes "is the picture of an alligator and no fanciful animal" (p. 10). What the reviewer actually said was that the derivation of the "Kuei" from the alligator, whose skin was used for the great drums of the Ancestral Sacrifice, seemed to be proved in the literature, but that, "The Kuei on the ritual bronzes, however, is a more elusive problem" (*Early Chinese Symbols*, p. 80). The reviewer furthermore said, "The difficulty for the writer is the possibility that the vertical Kuei may be the two halves of a split Tiger-head divided by the Guardian-head" (*op. cit.*, p. 81). Research has convinced the reviewer that the "Kuei" are instances of tiger remnants.

After Mr. Karlgren's strictures it is encouraging to note that he has followed certain ideas offered by the reviewer in *Early Chinese Symbols*. The reviewer traced the disintegration of a tiger form until nothing remained but an eye; "This is Mr. Karlgren's square with crescents" (*op. cit.*, p. 37).

Mr. Karlgren now finds that his "square with crescents" is formed "exactly as the eye of a *t'ao-t'ie* or dragon" (p. 35). In referring to Mr. Pillsbury's pole socket (No. 63), the reviewer described the décor as representing the "Water-buffalo dominating water-demons" (*Early Chinese Symbols*, p. 46, pl. 31), and suggested that they are *wang-hsiang* (De Groot, *The religious system of China*, vol. 5, p. 521). Mr. Karlgren now suggests that the figure beneath the water buffalo possibly "represents a water-demon?" (p. 171).

Mr. Karlgren does not dwell upon symbolism; he describes the décor on the bronzes in a rather externalized manner; at times he gives more space to discussing the inscriptions, or to certain characters of the inscriptions. He does not give any extensive stylistic analyses, particularly in regard to dating. One expects informative material from Mr. Karlgren; consequently, the result of a study of his dating of the ritual vessels is surprising. Of forty-two bronzes of the early periods, Mr. Karlgren dates six as being Shang, or, as he prefers to say, Yin; seven as Early Chou; and all the rest as "Yin or Early Chou." Of the six Shang vessels, four are inscribed with the *ya hsing*, two were found at Anyang. Of the seven Chou vessels, six are apparently dated by the script of the inscriptions; one, the *Ho* (No. 42), by stylistic analysis.

This dating will be perplexing to students. Are they to believe that only vessels definitely found at Anyang, or inscribed with the *ya hsing*, are Shang? If so, what of the inscription with the *ya hsing*, figure 21 (p. 46), which Mr. Karlgren does not explain? As to the vessels with the noncommittal dating, "Yin or Early Chou," is a student to infer that they all may be Yin, even the *Ting*, No. 8, the *Yu*, No. 14, the *Yu*, No. 17, the *Yu*, No. 18, the *Kuei*, No. 33, the *Kuei*, No. 34? Or is one to infer that they, one and all, may equally be Chou, including the *Chüeh*, No. 13, the splen-

did *Ku*, No. 25, and the *I*, No. 39? Or are all these bronzes in a vague borderline between Shang and Chou?

Mr. Pillsbury's collection contains some bronzes which are unique. Perhaps the most spectacular of these is the vessel illustrated on plates 9 and 10, which Mr. Karlgren calls a *Ting*, though it is atypical in having an additional lower part which was evidently used for heating. The upper bowl-shaped part is supported by three strange beings with sub-human faces, apparently those of partially anthropomorphized animals, with finlike arms, a flat, entirely stylized body, and hoofed feet. Mr. Karlgren considers that the figures have horns; to the reviewer these striations seem to be hair which follows the lines of flamboyantly curved water-buffalo horns. Since the curious faces have some similarity to the face of the water buffalo which forms the handle on a *Chia* (No. 11), the reviewer has suggested that the figures may represent water-buffalo spirits (*Early Chinese Symbols*, p. 46, pls. 2, 23, 50).

Another remarkable bronze is shown on plates 46 and 47. This *Kuang*, with the tiger's head on the front of the cover, is unusual in that instead of having the owl's head near the handle, there is a continuation of the tiger in the form of a serpentine body lying along the lid. The forepaws appear in very low relief, and a flange marks the spine. The form of the tiger's nose is unique.

Plates 88 and 89 illustrate the pole socket (No. 63) with the recumbent water buffalo above the two anthropomorphized creatures. The partly split body of the water buffalo (more clearly seen on pl. 31, *Early Chinese Symbols*) represents an early stage of the course taken by the tiger on the ritual bronzes where the head is the center of two halves of the split tiger body.

Deer are almost entirely absent from the early vessels; the Chou *Yu*, with bands of stags

on the vessel and lid, and does' heads as handles, is most unusual (pls. 20-21).

The *Yu* with the owl (pl. 29) shows the rare feature of the owl's eyes and beak being raised above the surface of the vessel. The reviewer cannot agree with Mr. Karlgren that the owl is at once an owl seen fullface and two owls seen in profile; the eyes are those only of an owl seen fullface. The cover on this *Yu* is not the original cover, which would have had a design completely integrated with that on the vessel; this lid has a quite different design.

Mr. Pillsbury's *Hu* in the Huai style (pl. 73) differs from certain other well-known *Hu* belonging to Mr. David-Weill, of the Louvre, the Chinese Government, and Mr. Brundage, Chicago. Its design, like theirs, includes scenes of men attacking wild bulls, or felines; otherwise it does not follow their general pattern, which has a different type of scene. The Pillsbury *Hu* is more closely connected with a *Hu* in the Musée Guimet, and two elements connect it particularly with a bronze bowl in the Freer Gallery; these are the chariots with horses depicted as though lying on their sides on the ground, and the hunters shooting large, long-beaked birds with "*tseng*" arrows (*Waterbury, Bird-deities in China*, p. 107, pl. 28). On the Freer bowl most of the people have birds' heads and some have birds' tails; there are also bird-men on the Musée Guimet *Hu*, but this is not the case with the Pillsbury *Hu*.

It is customary to attribute these hunting scenes to recent northern nomadic influence; with this opinion the reviewer cannot agree. Game drives were of great antiquity and of vital importance in China; they were not undertaken for so-called "sport," but to obtain a food supply for the population. Mme. Vandier considers that the scenes on the Musée Guimet *Hu* represent a Shamanistic ceremony; this is also applicable to those on the other *Hu* and the Freer bowl. The

Shamanistic game drive would seem to be derived from an ancient northern heritage rather than from a late northern influence. The ceremony may have coexisted with the official religion but was not depicted on ritual vessels until this period. It may owe its appearance here to the increasing importance of the bird deity, which had also existed unofficially for centuries and continued for centuries

after the hunting scenes, which, except for fragments, have ceased to appear.

The format of the *Catalogue* with the decorative title page opposite the portrait of Mr. Pillsbury, the beautiful paper and excellent type, is very fine. The green cover, adorned with the two golden, hatchet-beaked confronted birds, is stimulating and handsome.

FLORANCE WATERBURY

IN MEMORIAM

JEAN SAUVAGET (1901–1950)

Even more than a year after the death of Jean Sauvaget it is hard to realize that he has gone. He had such life, such intense vitality, such keen interest in everything connected with his field, and was most generous of his time to anyone coming to him for help or advice. His knowledge was vast in scope, from architecture to pottery, from the Classical to the Ottoman periods, and in the languages of Islam. In history, such as the history of art and architecture, he never forgot that all is based on people, and grows out of the background of contemporary social and political life: understanding of the function of a building or of an object is necessary before one can go on to its artistic relationships. In Arabic epigraphy he accomplished a great deal, both by the number of new inscriptions he discovered and by his share in the *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe*. Though he did not wish to be called an arabist, every text that he edited or translated is a model, carried out with fine accuracy and complete understanding. But his greatness is due to far more than the mastery of varied fields of knowledge—his great gift was his insight, his instinct for going to the heart of a problem, for recognizing the essential point and pursuing it with his rigorous and scrupulous method. In the field of Islamic art and archaeology, among other famous scholars of the twentieth century, his work stands out by reason of its justice and its impartiality, based on his sound common sense; nothing is exaggerated and everything is seen in the proper proportion. Everything that he touched upon was illuminated; and his penetrating ideas were expressed so lucidly and so convincingly that to foreigners his writings seem an epitome of "la clarté française."

The facts of his life are well known. Even as a young student he showed great brilliance. Having had a thorough grounding in classical studies, which is of the greatest importance in understanding Islamic civilization, he then entered the Ecole des Langues Orientales, and thus chose his life work. In 1924 he went to Syria, which became the field for his exploration and research. As Secretary of the Institut Français de Damas he made the opportunity for thorough and intimate study of the whole area. In 1937 he became Directeur d'Etudes at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes, Sorbonne. In 1946, at the age of forty-five, he was invited to the Collège de France, in a position honored by him as much as it was an honor to him. In 1947 he suffered the great grief of the death of his wife. But in 1948, during the XXI^e Congrès International des Orientalistes, he concealed his own personal feelings, shared the necessary responsibilities, and showed to his friends his usual spirit, thoughtfulness, and great helpfulness. His final illness overtook him suddenly, when he was still full of ideas and plans for his future work. At his death he was only forty-nine; in so short a life he made more vital and permanent contributions to scholarship than many who have lived much longer.

The decision to work in Syria proved a fortunate and inspired one. Twenty-two years after he first went there, in his opening address at the Collège de France in 1946, he pointed out that Syria offers a cross section of three periods that are decisive in the development of Islamic civilization or instructive for the study of history in general—the Umayyad, the Seljuq and the Ottoman. All are caused by the mingling of more than one culture, and are international in scope; and the Umayyad, though the earliest, is an epitome of the whole

civilization of Islam. The choice of Sauvaget when a young man was amply justified by the work of his maturity.

Some of his closest friends and colleagues have described various aspects of Sauvaget's work;¹ here the emphasis will be upon what he did in the history of art and archaeology. His love and understanding of the Hellenistic world appears in his studies of Damascus, Laodicea, and Aleppo, where he reconstructed their ancient city plans. Because of this, also, he was able to show that the origin of the so-called "Iranian iwan" goes back not only to Roman Syria, but even to Delos. Especially in one of his masterpieces, his magnificent book on the Umayyad mosque of Medina, he traced the origins of the basilica as well as of the mosque, and proved that three of the essential functional features of the mosque are classical in origin: The miḥrāb, the seat of the political leader; the miḥrāb, a reduced replica of the palatine apse; the maqṣūrah, the curtain hung before the apse of audience halls.

An example of his control of the Early Christian or Byzantine period is his study on the Ghassanids and Sergiopolis; the so-called church outside the walls is really the audience hall of the Arab prince, al-Mundhir, and this fact shed light on the times of Justinian and the whole way of life of the Arab dynasty. Another part of the pre-Islamic world, namely Sasanian art, aroused some of his most brilliant and decisive ideas, and showed the beauty of his objective and exacting method. In 1938, in the *Revue des études islamiques*, Sauvaget exposed the fallacy of calling "Sasanian" anything and everything that comes before and after that period, when it is not precisely

dated, and of considering Persia "le grand initiateur artistique de l'orient"; the fallacy of assuming "Iranian" characteristics for elements which may have been borrowed. The whole question of Sasanian silks must be reviewed sometime in the light of what he pointed out—that the patterns on the carvings at Tāq-i Bostan "sont les seuls documents authentiques dont on dispose sur les industries textiles de la Perse sassanide." He concluded by explaining the profound unity of the pre-Islamic world—that the conquest of Alexander had caused a complete break in the Near Eastern artistic tradition, and that the expansion of Hellenism is the inspiration of all parts of that world, whether Byzantine, Coptic, Syrian, Sasanian, Nabataean, or Umayyad; these are all parallel developments from a common cultural ground.

Two years later, in 1940, he turned to the specific question of Sasanian metalworks, with the same genius for understanding the essentials and for bringing order out of confusion. To read how he removed once and for all from the Sasanian domain and established in the Islamic period two famous, well-known pieces of metalwork, gives one the keenest intellectual pleasure; every sort of artistic and historical fact and interpretation, social and military customs, the literary sources, all are brought together with perfect clarity. Then he pointed out in a few words, in addition to those generally called "post-Sasanian," eight other examples of metalwork which must be either Umayyad or Abbasid. Though he did not analyze them in detail, the art historian who studies these pieces carefully can see how their artistic conception proves Sauvaget's brief indication. Finally he stated that out of sixty pieces considered Sasanian, "une trentaine doivent donc être écartées si l'on tient à garder à l'enquête la rigueur désirable."

Sauvaget's work on Umayyad art has already been touched upon in mentioning the

¹ Maxime Rodinson, *La Nouvelle Clio*, vol. 1-2 (1949-50), pp. 294-300; M. Gaudet-Demombynes, *Syria*, vol. 27, fasc. 3-4 (1950), pp. 383-385; Régis Blachère, *Journal asiatique*, vol. 239, fasc. 1 (1951), pp. 1-4; Louis Robert, *Revue historique*, vol. 207, fasc. 1 (janvier-mars 1952), pp. 173-184.

Sasanian problems; in Umayyad architecture, as well, every article and book is an awakening and a revelation to the reader. This aspect of his work is, to the art historian, the most valuable and exciting, because Umayyad art is basic to the understanding of all Islamic art. As he wrote in 1946, it is in the Umayyad period, by an interplay between Arab traditions and the heritage of Hellenistic culture, that the classic civilization of Islam took shape; the period of the Abbasids only brought it to full bloom; art in the Umayyad period determined the fundamental principles that it would follow to the end. In 1938, in his review of Creswell's first volume, he made clear what is needed to appreciate the meaning of Umayyad architecture: these monuments must be replaced in their true artistic milieu by a study of all pre-Islamic architecture of the Near East; this is the only way to reveal what originality may exist in the first Islamic buildings, and so to fix the exact place of Umayyad art in the art of the East. Sauvaget very largely realized this idea in his great book on the Medina mosque and the basilica plan. Here also, by his unsurpassed method, working from a very large number of literary texts, of which only four had been used before, he made a complete reconstruction of the building, even down to the exact placement and restoration of the inscription bands, the mosaics, the marble facing, and the mihrāb decorated with gold. In a series of articles starting in 1938 he explored the topography, epigraphy, and architecture of Syria of that period—Anjar, Jabal Sais, Boşra, for example. In 1939 his article *Châteaux de Syrie* gave new historical and archaeological information on twenty-five sites (including known Islamic ones and some small ones previously considered Roman or Nabataean), and established the correct text concerning Egyptian workmen at Mshatta. His book, *Introduction à l'histoire de l'orient musulman*, includes a critical bib-

liography on the Umayyad period with special explanation of the necessary Arabic sources. Because what he did publish is so rich and so sound, the loss of his projected work, *Châteaux omeyyades de Syrie*, is even more strongly felt. Indeed, Sauvaget is the person who should have written a volume on the whole of Umayyad art, including metalwork, textiles, sculpture, and painting.

On the Abbasid period his ideas, as expressed in *Argenteries "sassanides"* and *Les ruines omeyyades de 'Andjar*, are equally true and stimulating. He saw it in its proper relationship: "La correspondance communément admise jusqu'ici entre l'art abbasside et les arts antéislamiques de la Perse et de l'Iraq est illusoire: la véritable source d'inspiration est la tradition omeyyade, et à travers elle l'art hellénistique de Syrie;" and when Persia became Muslim it underwent complete "renouvellements" in all its traditions. The paintings of Samarra are not a Sasanian survival, but follow from the mosaics of Antioch and the Umayyad Qaṣr al-Ḥair al-Gharbī. The painting of a figure carrying an animal on its shoulders is not a Sasanian woman with a calf, but a hunter, a man in contemporary Muslim dress, bringing home a deer or antelope. Another great contribution to the Abbasid period is his *'Alḡbār aṣ-Ṣin wa l-Hind*, a model of the critical edition of a text and of translation, with commentary on its sources as well as on the text itself, and an analysis of special terms.

The Fatimid, Ayyubid, and Seljuq periods were treated in about a dozen publications. Sauvaget's few words on a "Fatimid" potsherd actually signed by a Persian opens vistas on the whole question of Fatimid pottery; no one had ever really looked at it before. He established that another type of pottery, the "grenade," is indeed for spreading fire in war, and is not for wine or perfume. Besides special articles on inscriptions, almost all of these publications include something of epigraphy.

His studies include tombs, mosques, caravan-serails, baths; the three-volume work on the Ayyubid monuments of Damascus; and careful and painstaking corrections to the architectural work of Herzfeld. Publications and translations of Arabic texts appeared on the cities of Aleppo, Damascus, and Beirut, running through varying periods. On the Mamluk centuries he again presented new material of all sorts: decrees (epigraphy), pottery, heraldry, the postal system, and nomenclature. He studied the Ottoman Turks both in Constantinople and in their dominion over Syria.

Sauvaget felt the greatest responsibility for the future of Islamic studies, which depends on the training of new generations of beginners. His last years in Paris were devoted to this idea as much as to his writing. His advice and criticism he gladly extended to everyone; thus he could count some distant disciples besides those who were privileged to be his actual pupils.

His creative ideas, his brilliant scholarship, and the example of his life as a teacher, are all sadly needed in every country where people are concerned with Islamic art. His tremendous achievements are a living reproach to those who, like amateurs, think that the art of the Near East is "interesting" or romantic. He has shown us the all-absorbing challenge that lies in a serious approach to these studies. He constantly stressed the necessity for "méthode" and "la science;" for putting together the objective facts and avoiding subjective theories; for rejecting the nonessentials and all nonsense; for drawing from the study of any problem only what may be properly concluded. In the United States his work, especially on pre-Islamic and Early Islamic art, has been very little read and his methods little understood. It is ironic that on the Consultative Committee for *Ars Islamica* his name did not appear until 1951, the year after his death. But it is to be hoped that new genera-

tions in the history of Islamic art will take his work to their hearts. His quality of intelligence, his mastery of the necessary disciplines, his profound and sympathetic understanding of the whole of Islamic civilization, will stand like a beacon to those who wish to follow him from afar.

FLORENCE E. DAY

OTTO KÜMMEL

On February 8, 1952, Professor Dr. Otto Kümmel, formerly Director of the *Ostasiatische Kunstabteilung* and Director General of the Berlin State Museums, died after a long illness in the Mainz University Hospital, in the 78th year of his life.

Otto Kümmel, a strong and willful man from northwest German peasant stock, with a slashing tongue, little patience with people's shortcomings, and a reluctance to mince his words, made many enemies during his life and did not seem to care. He also had some very loyal friends and admirers, from Germany to the Far East, who knew that his rough exterior was basically nothing but an extreme honesty and sincerity.

Kümmel was widely criticized for his political views. Indeed, he sometimes seemed to have left behind the critical sense that distinguished him as a scholar, and instead, a fervent nationalism, stemming from Bismarck's days, pervaded his judgment. But at the same time he protected those of his subordinates who were threatened or persecuted for racial or political reasons, regardless of whether he liked them or shared their views. This is not the place, however, to pass judgment on Kümmel as an *anèr politikos*, nor would this writer feel qualified to do so, but it is the place to speak of him as a scholar.

At the turn of the century the Japanese prints had already conquered the West, and gradually Far Eastern painting and sculpture,

as well as more of the applied arts, began to be known and admired.

After studying at Freiburg, Bonn, and Paris, Kümmel received his Doctor's degree at Freiburg in 1901, with a thesis on Egyptian art. He then turned his attention to the Far East, probably under the influence of Ernst Grosse. He traveled extensively in China and Japan (1906-09 and 1926-27) and acquired a working (reading) knowledge of Chinese and especially Japanese. In the latter language he became very much at home and spoke it quite fluently.

After working in the Hamburg and Freiburg Museums, Kümmel went to Berlin in 1906. From 1909 on he was in charge of the Far Eastern collections (*Ostasiatische Kunst-abteilung*) and also, temporarily, of the Armory (*Zeughaus*). In 1934, he was appointed Director of the Ethnological (*Völkerkunde*) Museum and Director General of the Berlin State Museums, which position he held until the end of the war. He was a Professor Extraordinarius at Berlin University where he taught Far Eastern art and archaeology.

In 1911 Kümmel published *Das Kunst-gewerbe in Japan*, an excellent little handbook. In 1921 *Die Kunst Ostasiens* followed, a picture book with general introduction and detailed information on the plates. *Ostasiatisches Gerät* (1925) also is a well-selected picture book with informative notes, with a general introduction by Ernst Grosse. In 1928 he published *Chinesische Bronzen*, a carefully described selection from the Berlin Museum collection. The handbook *Die Kunst Chinas, Japans und Koreas* appeared in 1929; an outstanding piece of work, condensed to a minimum but full of relevant information and sources. It still is by far the best general book in existence. The catalogue of the Berlin exhibition of Chinese art was published in 1929; the next year he brought out a scholarly, descriptive catalogue (with beautiful plates) of

200 selected masterpieces from this show. Also, in 1930 Kümmel published a descriptive catalogue in memory of Jörg Trübner, and somewhere around that time he edited the catalogue of the Oeder collection of Japanese sword guards and ornaments. In 1939 Kümmel prepared the catalogue of the Berlin exhibition of Japanese art, and in the same year his *Meisterwerke japanischer Landschaftsmalerei*.

As this incomplete list of titles shows, most of Kümmel's publications, with the exception of the handbook, were catalogues and picture books. He wanted to lay the groundwork for historical research and critical appreciation of Far Eastern art and devoted some 40 years of painstaking and unending labor to this purpose. He assembled a library of the relevant Chinese and Japanese literature which in its completeness was unique outside of the Far East. He had culled from these sources and assembled in his numerous files all the biographical data on the artists, as well as the material on their existing works and the reproductions thereof. Among other papers he prepared a critical list of dated or datable monuments which, if published, would have filled many uncomfortable gaps in our knowledge. His data on the more famous artists have been preserved in a condensed form in Thieme-Becker's *Künstler Lexikon*. But, unfortunately, all these files, manuscripts, photographs, slides, and the famous library itself which had provided their raw material were destroyed during the war.

From 1912 Kümmel edited (with William Cohn until 1933) the *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, publication of the Gesellschaft für Ostasiatische Kunst. This journal soon attained international fame and kept up its scholarly standard until its demise in 1945. It has helped considerably to promote interest in the arts of the Far East and to further and improve study, research, and collecting. These

were the goals of the society that published the journal, arranged lectures, and organized exhibitions. Of the latter, the most important ones were the big Chinese exhibition of 1929, in cooperation with the Prussian Academy, and the splendid Japanese show of 1939, co-sponsored by the Japanese Government. In between, there was an exhibition of living Japanese painters in 1931 and one of contemporary Chinese painting in 1934.

The *Ostasiatische Kunstabteilung* was created by Wilhelm von Bode, but was built up mainly by Grosse and Kümmel. The collection got out of the storerooms only in the 1920's though purchases in the Far East had begun as early as 1902. In the course of the years it became the best in Europe, and in some fields, notably Japanese lacquer, it was the best outside the Far East. The Turfan frescoes, brought back by Grünwedel and von LeCoq at the beginning of the century (1902-03 and 1905-07)—a unique collection in itself—were permanently installed in a separate part of the Museum. Some of the other items in this collection are: The Oeder bronze elephant vessel (Chou) and Fu-ch'ai basin (late Chou); the marble torso of a sitting Buddha (China, about 600), and the sitting Buddha in dry lacquer (8th-9th century); the album leaves by Han Jo-cho (the sparrows), Chung-jen, and Li Kung-nien (Sung); the five Arhat paintings by Hsi-chin chü-shih, the Mu-hsi geese (Yüan); scrolls by Ch'iu Ying, Tai Chin, Hsieh Shih-ch'en, Chiang Sung, and Wu I-hsien (Ming); textiles from the Shōsōin (8th century, the Jingōji (9th-11th century), and the Tōji stage (1345); a terracotta figure from the Hōryūji pagoda (711), a demon head from the Hokkedō (735), two Fujiwara Dainichi and two Shitennō, the lifesize portrait-figure of the hermit En no Gyōju (about 1300), the touching Shōtoku at the age of two

(12th century); the painting of a standing Jizō (13th century), the Amewakahiko no Sōshi by Tosa Hirokata (between 1439 and 1456), the Rakan by Minchō from the Tōfukuji, the rooster and the mynah bird by Sesshu, landscape scrolls by Shusetsu, Masanobu, and Ōkyo, and the lovely Kōrin and Kōetsu-Sōtatsu albums; the lacquer Kyōbako from the early tenth century, and others from the fourteenth century and later, including the famous Miwa-hill box by Kōrin and Inrō by Masazane and Tōju.

During the war the Hardt collection of early Chinese jades was added, as well as the Oeder collection of Japanese sword guards and ornaments (in addition to the former Jacoby collection), and the best of the Oeder Japanese prints.

The fate of the Berlin collection was a sad one too, though it fared better than some of the other Berlin museums. The buildings were destroyed by bombs and fire, and with them the larger frescoes from Turfan, the textile collection, and many other works of art. Nearly all of the sculpture, all the metalwork, lacquers, jades, screens, and framed paintings, most of the ceramics, and some of the smaller frescoes, however, were removed to an unknown destination outside Germany by the Soviet occupation authorities.

The fruits of a lifetime of work were destroyed or scattered. Kümmel was a much older man after the war, in which he lost two sons, but his spirit and energy were unbroken. In fact, he began to study Syriac in order to keep himself busy.

Otto Kümmel was outstanding as a scholar as well as a connoisseur. The role he played in giving Far Eastern art and archaeology the place they deserve in Western studies and appreciation will be remembered by students and collectors.

ASCHWIN LIPPE

SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS

AMERICAN RESEARCH CENTER IN EGYPT

The American Research Center in Egypt opened in Cairo in February 1951, with Dr. William Stevenson Smith of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts as its Director for the first year of operation. The next Director was Arthur E. Boak of the University of Michigan. He was succeeded by John D. Cooney of the Brooklyn Museum, who served until June 1953. Then Dr. Arthur Jeffery, Professor of Semitic Languages at Columbia University, became Director and will serve until September 1954.

The Center will admit qualified students of all nationalities whose interest lies in Egypt's past or present; and since the founders believe that the present cannot be understood without the past, nor the past without direct knowledge of the present, the Center embraces as its concern the Prehistoric, Pharaonic, Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine, Coptic, and Islamic fields.

The new Center hopes to cooperate in this work with other institutions—those located in the United States and the Schools founded by the Archaeological Institute of America in Athens, Rome, Jerusalem, and Baghdad, and the School of Prehistoric Research at present operating in North Africa.

The Center has met with the friendliest reception everywhere—from the Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, from the Cairo Museum, from the Universities in Cairo and Alexandria, from the Institut français d'archéologie orientale, from the Swiss Institute for the History of Egyptian Architecture, and from the Arabic Museum and the Coptic Museum, whose facilities offer a wide range of material to scholars. The Director of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chi-

cago and its Field Director in Egypt have offered the cooperation of the Oriental Institute Epigraphic Expedition, whose magnificent library at Chicago House in Luxor is the finest Egyptological library in Egypt outside Cairo. By the adherence of the Egyptian Government, the application of the Fulbright Act has been extended to Egypt; and the Center has been recognized as an organization to which Fulbright grantees may be affiliated.

The Center was incorporated under the laws of Massachusetts in March 1950. The United States Treasury Department has ruled that contributions to the Center are deductible for income tax purposes. Members are voting participants in the Center's affairs; they receive newsletters reporting all activities of the Center, special articles of interest to them, and notices of annual and special meetings which they may attend. All inquiries should be addressed to the Secretary, Fogg Museum of Art, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts. The officials of the Center are as follows:

Edward W. Forbes,	Bernard V. Bothmer,
President	Executive Secretary
Robert Woods Bliss,	Richard A. Parker,
E. E. Calverley,	Membership Secretary
Dows Dunham,	Carl T. Keller,
John A. Wilson,	Treasurer
Vice Presidents	Bernard V. Bothmer,
	Assistant Treasurer

The main purpose of the Center is to create means by which young Americans interested in the civilization of Egypt may be encouraged and assisted to go to that country, and to provide a practical organization in Egypt to facilitate their studies. Inseparable from this must be the furtherance of friendly contacts between Americans and Egyptians. The founders of the Center believe that such study and contact resulting in a knowledge of

the civilization of Egypt would bring a better understanding of the Muslim world by Americans.

Facilities of the Center are available to all scholars and students who request assistance in the following fields:

Prehistoric	History of Fine Arts
Dynastic Pharaonic	Archaeology
Greco-Roman Period	Egyptology
Early Christian	Philology:
Byzantine	Egyptian
Islamic:	Arabic
Art	Coptic
Civilization	Semitic Languages
Architecture	

Professor Jeffery has traveled extensively, and is a widely known scholar. His Koranic studies have perhaps made him as well known in Cairo as in the United States. In the first World War he was in Indonesia and British India; from 1922 to 1938 he was in Cairo at the School of Oriental Studies, and made trips all over the Near East. In 1946 and 1947 he was Annual Professor at the American School of Oriental Research, Jerusalem, and acted as Director for the latter part of the year. Dr. Jeffery's address is: 113 Sharia Kasr al-Aini; and the telephone number of his apartment is Cairo 23022.

The Director will give assistance to visiting scholars and students in finding accommodations in Cairo at reasonable rates. Appointments and contacts with Egyptians and other scholars can be arranged in the specialized fields. Informal gatherings will be held by Dr. and Mrs. Jeffery in the Cairo apartment for the purpose of allowing Egyptians and foreigners to meet one another. Procedures established by the previous Director will be continued. Dr. Jeffery will keep in

touch with scholars and students in Egypt on Fulbright grants, working in cooperation with the U.S. Educational Foundation for Egypt, the American University, and Public Relations and Cultural Attachés of the American Embassy.

The Center will be a clearinghouse for American scholarship. The Director will assist in obtaining photographs, collated tests, and information on objects in Cairo collections, and will deal with inquiries on recent publications and manuscripts. Library services are available, such as microfilming, search for special items, bibliographical data, and information on research programs. Lectures in various fields will be arranged and the Center will keep in touch with all current Egyptian research. Contacts will be made with Egyptian students who have studied in American universities. The services of some of them in assisting visiting scholars will be enlisted.

Communications from museums, colleges, and universities requesting data for their departments, covered in the field of the Center's activities, should be sent directly to Dr. Arthur Jeffery at his Cairo address, given above.

The present Trustees are as follows:

Edwin Brown Allen	Arthur Jeffery
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CORINNA LINDON SMITH

LOUISE WALLACE HACKNEY SCHOLARSHIP

Through the interest and generosity of the late Louise Wallace Hackney a sum of money from her estate has been bequeathed to the American Oriental Society for the establishment of a scholarship to be called the Louise Wallace Hackney Scholarship.

This scholarship, according to the terms of Miss Hackney's generous bequest, is to be used for "The study of Chinese art, with special relation to painting" and for "the translation into English of works upon said subject." It is further stated that the scholarship "shall be given to individuals alone who are citizens of the United States." The scholarship is not open to scholars of recognized standing but "shall be given to either men or women who show aptitude or promise in the said field of learning." It is contemplated that whenever the income will permit, a scholarship may be given at appropriate intervals under the following conditions:

1. Candidacy is limited to graduate students who have successfully completed at least the third year of Chinese-language study at a recognized university and have appropriate knowledge of Chinese history and the history of art.

2. The scholarship tenure will be devoted primarily to research on actual paintings, necessitating the acquisition of competence in reading and translating colophons and seals thereon, and the use of various Chinese source materials; consequently it shall be spent in a museum where both paintings and adequate language guidance are available.

3. Renewals of appointment are possible

though not considered usual. In case of a renewal, another program suitable to the needs of the case may be approved by the Committee.

4. Applications should be addressed to the Chairman of the Committee, Archibald G. Wenley, Director, Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington 25, D. C. They should include a complete statement of qualifications of the candidate, a small recent photograph, and reference to at least two sponsors, who should be recognized scholars in the fields of Chinese language and culture.

CHARLES L. FREER FELLOWSHIP FOR RESEARCH IN ORIENTAL ART

Established in honor of the late Charles L. Freer of Detroit, who founded the Freer Gallery of Art in Washington and left a bequest to the University of Michigan for research and publication in connection with the objects of Oriental art in that Gallery, the fellowship is supported from the proceeds of the bequest. Its stipend is at the rate of \$200 a month and is limited to twelve months per appointee.

Graduate students equipped with a knowledge of Oriental art and languages (primarily Far and Near Eastern) who have passed their preliminary examinations for the doctoral degree in Oriental art may apply for this fellowship, which will entitle the holder to a year of advanced work at the Freer Gallery while completing his thesis.

The award is made by the Charles L. Freer Research and Publication Fund Committee, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

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